W. Grainger Sculp.t

GEO. WASHINGTON.

AN

HISTORICAL

GEOGRAPHICAL, COMMERCIAL,

AND

PHILOSOPHICAL

VIEW

OF THE

AMERICAN UNITED STATES,

AND OF THE

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

IN

AMERICA AND THE WEST-INDIES.

BY

W. WINTERBOTHAM.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

NO event ever proved ſo intereſting, to mankind in general and to the inhabitants of Europe in particular, as the diſcovery of the new world, and the paſſage to India by the cape of Good Hope: it at once gave riſe to a revolution in the commerce and in the power of nations, as well as in the manners, induſtry and government of almoſt the whole world. At this period new connections were formed by the inhabitants of the moſt diſtant regions, for the ſupply of wants they had never before experienced. The productions of climates ſituated under the equator were conſumed in countries bordering on the pole; the induſtry of the north was tranſplanted to the ſouth; and the inhabitants of the weſt were clothed with the manufactures of the eaſt; in ſhort, a general intercourſe of opinions, laws and cuſtoms, diſeaſes and remedies, virtues and vices, were eſtabliſhed amongſt men.

In Europe, in particular, every thing has been changed in conſequence of its commerce and connection with the American continent; but the changes which took place prior to the late revolution, (which eſtabliſhed the liberties of the United States, and transformed the dependent colonies of Britain into an independent commonwealth, or rather a ſociety of commonwealths) only ſerved to increaſe the miſery of mankind, adding to the power of deſpotiſm, and rivetting faſter the ſhackles of oppreſſion; the commerce of Spain, in particular, with the new world, has been ſupported by a ſyſtem of rapine,

murder and oppreſſion; a ſyſtem that has ſpread deſolation and diſtreſs not only in America, but in Europe and Africa. She has, however, benefitted but little by it, for her ſtrength, commerce and induſtry, have evidently declined in proportion to the influx of the gold of the new continent. With Great-Britain, for a conſiderable period, things appeared ſomewhat different; till the epoch of the revolution her commerce with America increaſed her national ſtrength, and added to her own induſtry and wealth, while it deſolated and ravaged the coaſt of Africa.

From the period of the revolution, the influence of America on Europe has been of a different kind: the glorious ſtruggle which the United States ſuſtained, and the inquiries to which that eventful period gave riſe, did much to raiſe mankind from that ſtate of abject ſlavery and degradation, to which deſpotiſm, aided by ſuperſtition, had ſunk them: from that period the rights of man began to be underſtood, and the principles of civil and religious liberty have been canvaſſed with a freedom before unknown, and their influence has extended itſelf from the palace to the cottage: in ſhort, the revolution in the late Britiſh American colonies bids fair ultimately not only to occaſion the emancipation of the other European colonies on that continent, but to accompliſh a complete revolution in all the old governments of Europe.

We have already ſeen a patriot king, aided by a hero who fought for the cauſe of freedom under Waſhington, ſtruggling to render his people free and happy; and we have witneſſed a perjured deſpot expiating his crimes on the ſcaffold, at the command of a people rouſed to a ſenſe of their injuries and rights, by men who had aſſiſted in eſtabliſhing the liberties of America. —In reflecting on thoſe ſcenes as individuals, we can only lament the want of ſucceſs which has attended the former, and regret the crimes of ambitious and unprincipled individuals, which have certainly tarniſhed, but not deſtroyed, the glory of

of the revolution, which has attended the latter. The ſtorm will, however, ere long paſs away, and returning peace will leave the other nations of Europe at liberty to contemplate without prejudice, not only their own ſituation, but the reſources of France drawn forth into action under the influence of an energetic government, founded on the will of the people, and adminiſtered at an expenſe far leſs than what the penſioned minions of its former corrupt court alone devoured. Whenever that period arrives, and arrive it will, it needs not a ſpirit of inſpiration to aſſert, that the other nations of Europe muſt ſubmit to a thorough reformation, or be content to behold their commerce, agriculture, and population decline.

In the mean time the United States are profiting by the convulſed ſituation of Europe, and increaſing, in a degree hitherto unparalleled in the hiſtory of nations, in population and opulence. Their power, commerce and agriculture, are rapidly on the increaſe, and the wiſdom of the federal government has hitherto been ſuch as to render the proſpect of a ſettlement under its foſtering influence truly inviting to the merchant, the manufacturer, the mechanic, and the induſtrious labourer: nor have theſe alone found the United States advantageous; the perſecuted in France or England have there found an aſylum, where their lives, property and liberty are ſecure; where they may almoſt ſay, the wicked ceaſe from troubling, and the weary are at reſt. Nor can any doubt be entertained, but in a ſhort period the man of ſcience, as well as the contemplative and experimental philoſopher, will find the ſhores of Columbia equally propitious to their wiſhes. Education is ſending forth its illuminating rays, and its influence on the riſing generation will aid the Americans in all their other purſuits.

The inhabitants of Europe are not inſenſible of theſe favourable circumſtances. The charms of civil and religious liberty, the advantages of an extenſive and fertile, but uncultivated

vated country, of an increaſing commerce, unſhackled and unencumbered by heavy and impolitic duties and impoſts, have already invited numbers to leave its boſom—numbers, which the iron hand of perſecution and the awful proſpects of inteſtine diviſion or abject ſlavery, will continue to increaſe.

The attention of Europe in general, and of Great-Britain in particular, being thus drawn to the new world, the Editor, at the inſtigation of ſome particular friends, undertook the taſk, which he hopes he has in ſome degree accompliſhed in the following volumes, of affording his countrymen an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with its ſettlement by Europeans—the events that led to the eſtabliſhment and independence of the United States—the nature of their government—their preſent ſituation and advantages, together with their future proſpects in commerce, manufactures and agriculture. This formed the principal deſign of the work; but he farther wiſhed with this to connect a general view of the ſituation of the remaining European poſſeſſions in America and the Weſt-India iſlands; this has been therefore attempted, and nearly a volume is dedicated alone to this ſubject. Connected with the above, one object has been conſtantly kept in view, namely, to afford the emigrator to America a ſummary of general information, that may in ſome meaſure ſerve as a directory to him in the choice of a reſidence, as well as in his after purſuits. This ſuggeſted the propriety of adopting the plan which Mr. Morſe had laid down in his American Geography; and this muſt plead in excuſe for the miſcellaneous matter introduced in the third volume, at the cloſe of the hiſtory of the States.

How far the Editor has ſucceeded in the accompliſhment of this object is not for him to determine; he can only ſay, he has ſpared no pains, nor neglected any opportunity, which his ſituation permitted him to embrace to obtain information; and he has to expreſs his obligations for the obliging communications,

tions of many, whoſe names the peculiarity of his own ſituation will not for obvious reaſons permit him to mention, but for whoſe friendſhip he ſhall ever retain the moſt lively ſentiments of eſteem and gratitude. The Editor's thanks are likewiſe particularly due to ſeveral gentlemen of the ſociety of Quakers, for the documents which have enabled him, with thorough conviction, to wipe off the odium which Mr. Chalmers, in his Annals, and the authors of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, followed by Mr. Morſe, had thrown on the character of William Penn and the firſt ſettlers of Pennſylvania,* and on whoſe authority they were by him inſerted.

With reſpect to the printed authorities which the Editor has followed, he has not only borrowed their ideas, but, where he had not the vanity to conceive himſelf capable of correcting it, he has adopted their language, ſo that in a long narrative he has often no other claim to merit than what ariſes from ſelection and a few connecting ſentences: as, however, by this method it has often become difficult for an author to know his own, the Editor at once begs leave to ſay, he has availed himſelf of the labours and abilities of the *Abbé Raynal*, *Franklin*, *Robertſon*, *Clavigero*, *Jefferſon*, *Belknap*, *Adams*, *Cateſby*, *Buffon*, *Gordon*, *Ramſey*, *Bartram*, *Cox*, *Ruſh*, *Mitchel*, *Cutler*, *Imlay*, *Filſon*, *Barlow*, *Briſſot*, *Morſe*, *Edwards*, and a number of others of leſs import, together with the tranſactions of the Engliſh and American philoſophical ſocieties, American Muſeum, &c.

* The Editor has particularly to requeſt, that thoſe who have taken this Work in Numbers, will, in juſtice to himſelf, as well as to the character of William Penn, deſtroy the half-ſheet, ſignature P p vol. ii. page 289 to 296 incluſive, and ſubſtitute the half-ſheet of the ſame ſignature, given in the laſt Number, in its ſtead—the ſame is requeſted reſpecting the Conſtitution of Pennſylvania and the other cancels marked.

The

The Editor has now only to deprecate the ſeverity of criticiſm. It was impoſſible, in ſelecting from ſuch a variety of authors, to ſecure uniformity of language without immenſe trouble; and from his ſituation, which rendered an eaſy communication with the Printer not only often difficult, but in many caſes impracticable, ſeveral typographical errors will, no doubt, occur to the reader, as well as ſome others of a literary kind. —As theſe, however, do not affect facts, he has not added an errata, but left the whole to the candour and good ſenſe of the reader, to whom he wiſhes, with ſincerity, as much pleaſure in the peruſal, as himſelf has experienced in collecting and arranging the materials.

State Side of Newgate,
Jan. 21ſt, 1795.

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DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

IT is believed by many, that the ancients had ſome imperfect notion of a new world; and ſeveral ancient authors are quoted in confirmation of this opinion. In a book aſcribed to the philoſopher Ariſtotle, we are told that the Carthaginians diſcovered an iſland far beyond the pillars of Hercules, large, fertile, and finely watered with navigable rivers, but uninhabited. This iſland was diſtant a few days ſailing from the Continent; its beauty induced the diſcoverers to ſettle there; but the policy of Carthage diſlodged the colony, and laid a ſtrict prohibition on all the ſubjects of the ſtate not to attempt any future eſtabliſhment. This account is alſo confirmed by an hiſtorian of no mean credit, who relates, that the Tyrians would have ſettled a colony on the new-diſcovered iſland, but were oppoſed by the Carthaginians for ſtate reaſons. Seneca, and other authors are alſo quoted in ſupport of this belief. But however this may be, nobody ever believed the exiſtence of this continent ſo firmly as to go in queſt of it; at leaſt, there are no accounts well ſupported that America received any part of its firſt inhabitants from Europe prior to the 15th century. The Welſh fondly imagine that their country contributed, in 1170, to people the New World, by the adventure of Madoc, ſon of Owen Gwynedd, who, on the death of his father, ſailed there, and colonized part of the country. All that is advanced in proof is, a quotation from one of the Britiſh Poets, which proves no more than that he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſea and land. It is pretended that he made two voyages; that ſailing Weſt, he left Ireland ſo far to the North, that he came to a land unknown, where he ſaw many ſtrange things; that he returned home, and, making a report of the fruitfulneſs of the new-diſcovered country, prevailed on numbers of the Welſh of each ſex to accompany him on a ſecond voyage, from which he never returned. The favourers of this opinion aſſert, that ſeveral Welſh words, ſuch as *gwrando*, "to hearken or liſten;" the iſle of *Creæſo*, or "welcome;" Cape Breton, from the name of Britain; *gwynndwr*, or, "the white water;" and *pengwin*, or, "the bird with

"a white head;" are to be found in the American language. But likeneſs of ſound in a few words will not be deemed ſufficient to eſtabliſh the fact; eſpecially if the meaning has been evidently perverted: for example, the whole penguin tribe have unfortunately not only black heads, but are not inhabitants of the Northern hemiſphere; the name was alſo beſtowed on them by the Dutch, a *pinguedine*, from their exceſſive fatneſs: but the inventor of this, thinking to do honour to his country, inconſiderately caught at a word of European origin, and unheard of in the New World. It may be added, that the Welſh were never a naval people; that the age in which Madoc lived was peculiarly ignorant in navigation; and the moſt which they could have attempted muſt have been a mere coaſting voyage *.

The Norwegians put in for a ſhare of the glory, on grounds rather better than the Welſh. By their ſettlements in Iceland and in Greenland, they had arrived within ſo ſmall a diſtance of the New World, that there is at leaſt a poſſibility of its having been touched at by a people ſo verſed in maritime affairs, and ſo adventurous, as the ancient Normans were. The proofs are much more numerous than thoſe produced by the Britiſh Hiſtorians; for the diſcovery is mentioned in ſeveral of the Iſlandic manuſcripts. The period was about the year 1002, when it was viſited by one Biorn; and the diſcovery purſued to greater effect by Leif, the ſon of Eric, the diſcoverer of Greenland. It does not appear that they reached farther than Labrador; on which coaſt they met with the Eſquimaux, on whom they beſtowed the name of *Skrælingues*, or dwarfiſh people, from their ſmall ſtature. They were armed with bows and arrows, and had leathern canoes, ſuch as they have at preſent. All this is probable; nor ſhould the tale of the German, called *Tuckil*, one of the crew, invalidate the account. He was one day miſſing; but ſoon returned, leaping and ſinging with all the extravagant marks of joy a *bon vivant* could ſhow, on diſcovering the inebriating fruit of his country, the grape: Torfæus even ſays, that he returned in a ſtate of intoxication. To convince his commander, he brought ſeveral bunches, who from that circumſtance named that country *Vinland*. It is not to be denied, that North America produces the true vine; but it is found in far lower latitudes than our ad-

* If the reader, however, wiſhes to examine this curious queſtion ſtill farther, he will meet with all that can be ſaid upon the ſubject, in WILLIAMS's *Enquiry into the truth of the tradition, concerning the Diſcovery of America by Prince Madog*. 8vo.—See alſo IMLAY's *Account of Kentuckey*, page 377, 2d Edit.

venturers

venturers could reach in the time employed in their voyages, which was comprehended in a very ſmall ſpace. There appears no reaſon to doubt of the diſcovery; but as the land was never colonized, nor any advantages made of it, it may fairly be conjectured, that they reached no farther than the barren country of Labrador. In ſhort, it is from a much later period that we muſt date the real diſcovery of America *.

Towards the cloſe of the 14th century, the navigation of Europe was ſcarcely extended beyond the limits of the Mediterranean. The mariner's compaſs had been invented and in common uſe for more than a century; yet with the help of this ſure guide, prompted by the moſt ardent ſpirit of diſcovery, and encouraged by the patronage of princes, the mariners of thoſe days rarely ventured from the ſight of land. They acquired great applauſe by ſailing along the coaſt of Africa and diſcovering ſome of the neighbouring iſlands; and after puſhing their reſearches with the greateſt induſtry and perſeverance for more than half a century, the Portugueſe, who were the moſt fortunate and enterpriſing, extended their diſcoveries Southward no farther than the equator.

The rich commodities of the Eaſt, had for ſeveral ages been brought into Europe by the way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; and it had now become the object of the Portugueſe to find a paſſage to India, by ſailing round the Southern extremity of Africa and then taking an Eaſtern courſe. This great object engaged the general attention of mankind, and drew into the Portugueſe ſervice adventurers from every maritime nation in Europe. Every year added to their experience in navigation, and ſeemed to promiſe a reward to their induſtry. The proſpect, however, of arriving at the Indies was extremely diſtant; fifty years perſeverance in the ſame track, had brought them only to the equator, and it was propable that as many more would elapſe before they could accompliſh their purpoſe, had not COLUMBUS, by an uncommon exertion of genius, formed a deſign no leſs aſtoniſhing to the age in which he lived, than beneficial to poſterity.

Among the foreigners whom the fame of the diſcoveries made by the Portugueſe had allured into their ſervice, was Chriſtopher Colon or Columbus, a ſubject of the republic of Genoa. Neither the time nor

* In the 2d Vol. of the Tranſactions of the Philoſophical Society at Philadelphia, Mr. OTTO, in a *Memoir on the Diſcovery of America*, ſtrenuouſly contends, that one BEHEM, a German, diſcovered the American Continent prior to its being diſcovered by Columbus. For the ingenious arguments in ſupport of this opinion, the reader is referred to the *Memoir*.

place of his birth are known with certainty; but he was deſcended of an honourable family, though reduced to indigence by various misfortunes. His anceſtors having betaken themſelves for ſubſiſtence to a ſea-faring life, Columbus diſcovered, in his early youth, the peculiar character and talents which mark out a man for that profeſſion. His parents, inſtead of thwarting this original propenſity of his mind, ſeem to have encouraged and confirmed it, by the education which they gave him. After acquiring ſome knowledge of the Latin tongue, the only language in which ſcience was taught at that time, he was inſtructed in geometry, coſmography, aſtronomy, and the art of drawing. To theſe he applied with ſuch ardour and predilection, on account of their connection with navigation, his favourite object, that he advanced with rapid proficiency in the ſtudy of them. Thus qualified, in the year 1461, he went to ſea at the age of fourteen, and began his career on that element which conducted him to ſo much glory. His early voyages were to thoſe ports in the Mediterranean which his countrymen the Genoeſe frequented. This being a ſphere too narrow for his active mind, he made an excurſion to the northern ſeas, in 1467, and viſited the coaſts of Iceland, to which the Engliſh and other nations had begun to reſort on account of its fiſhery. As navigation, in every direction, was now become enterpriſing, he proceeded beyond that iſland, the Thule of the ancients, and advanced ſeveral degrees within the polar circle. Having ſatisfied his curioſity by a voyage which tended more to enlarge his knowledge of naval affairs, than to improve his fortune, he entered into the ſervice of a famous ſea-captain, of his own name and family. This man commanded a ſmall ſquadron, fitted out at his own expence, and by cruiſing ſometimes againſt the Mahometans, ſometimes againſt the Venetians, the rivals of his country in trade, had acquired both wealth and reputation. With him Columbus continued for ſeveral years, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his courage, than for his experience as a ſailor. At length, in an obſtinate engagement, off the coaſt of Portugal, with ſome Venetian Caravels, returning richly laden from the Low Countries, the veſſel on board which he ſerved took fire, together with one of the enemy's ſhips, to which it was faſt grappled. In this dreadful extremity his intrepidity and preſence of mind did not forſake him. He threw himſelf into the ſea, laid hold of a floating oar, and by the ſupport of it, and his dexterity in ſwimming, he reached the ſhore, though above two leagues diſtant, and ſaved a life reſerved for great undertakings.

As ſoon as he recovered ſtrength for the journey, he repaired to Liſbon, where many of his countrymen were ſettled. They ſoon conceived

ceived ſuch a favourable opinion of his merit, as well as talents, that they warmly ſolicited him to remain in that kingdom, where his naval ſkill and experience could not fail of rendering him conſpicuous. To every adventurer, animated either with curioſity to viſit new countries, or with ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf, the Portugueſe ſervice was at that time extremely inviting. Columbus liſtened with a favourable ear to the advice of his friends, and having gained the eſteem of a Portugueſe lady, whom he married, fixed his reſidence in Liſbon. This alliance, inſtead of detaching him from a ſea-faring life, contributed to enlarge the ſphere of his naval knowledge, and to excite a deſire of extending it ſtill farther. His wife was a daughter of Bartholomew Pereſtrello, one of the captains employed by prince Henry in his early navigations, and who, under his protection, had diſcovered and planted the iſlands of Porto Santo and Madeira. Columbus got poſſeſſion of the journals and charts of this experienced navigator, and from them he learned the courſe which the Portugueſe had held in making their diſcoveries, as well as the various circumſtances which guided or encouraged them in their attempts. The ſtudy of theſe ſoothed and inflamed his favourite paſſion; and while he contemplated the maps, and read the deſcriptions of the new countries which Pereſtrello had ſeen, his impatience to viſit them became irreſiſtible. In order to indulge it, he made a voyage to Madeira, and continued during ſeveral years to trade with that iſland, with the Canaries, the Azores, the ſettlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portugueſe had diſcovered on the continent of Africa.

By the experience which Columbus acquired, during ſuch a variety of voyages, to almoſt every part of the globe with which, at that time, any intercourſe was carried on by ſea, he was now become one of the moſt ſkilful navigators in Europe. But, not ſatisfied with that praiſe, his ambition aimed at ſomething more. The ſucceſsful progreſs of the Portugueſe navigators had awakened a ſpirit of curioſity and emulation, which ſet every man of ſcience upon examining all the circumſtances that led to the diſcoveries which they had made, or that afforded a proſpect of ſucceeding in any new and bolder undertaking. The mind of Columbus, naturally inquiſitive, capable of deep reflection, and turned to ſpeculations of this kind, was ſo often employed in revolving the principles upon which the Portugueſe had founded their ſchemes of diſcovery, and the mode in which they had carried them on, that he gradually began to form an idea of improving upon their plan, and of accompliſhing diſcoveries which hitherto they had attempted in vain.

To find out a paſſage by ſea to the Eaſt Indies, was the great object in view at that period. From the time that the Portugueſe doubled Cape de Verd,

Verd, this was the point at which they aimed in all their navigations, and, in compariſon with it, all their diſcoveries in Africa appeared inconſiderable. The fertility and riches of India had been known for many ages; its ſpices and other valuable commodities were in high requeſt throughout Europe, and the vaſt wealth of the Venetians ariſing from their having engroſſed this trade, had raiſed the envy of all nations. But how intent ſoever the Portugueſe were upon diſcovering a new route to thoſe deſirable regions, they ſearched for it only by ſteering towards the ſouth, in hopes of arriving at India, by turning to the eaſt, after they had failed round the farther extremity of Africa. This courſe was ſtill unknown, and, even if diſcovered, was of ſuch immenſe length, that a voyage from Europe to India muſt have appeared, at that period, an undertaking extremely arduous, and of very uncertain iſſue. More than half a century had been employed in advancing from Cape Non to the equator; a much longer ſpace of time might elapſe before the more extenſive navigation from that to India could be accompliſhed. Theſe reflections upon the uncertainty, the danger and tedioufneſs of the courſe which the Portugueſe were purſuing, naturally led Columbus to conſider whether a ſhorter and more direct paſſage to the Eaſt Indies might not be found out. After revolving long and ſeriouſly every circumſtance ſuggeſted by his ſuperior knowledge in the theory as well as practice of navigation, after comparing attentively the obſervations of modern pilots with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, he at laſt concluded, that by ſailing directly towards the weſt, acroſs the Atlantic ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the great continent of India, muſt infallibly be diſcovered.

Principles and arguments of various kinds, and derived from different ſources, induced him to adopt this opinion, ſeemingly as chimerical as it was new and extraordinary. The ſpherical figure of the earth was known, and its magnitude aſcertained with ſome degree of accuracy. From this it was evident, that the continents of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, as far as they were known at that time, formed but a ſmall portion of the terraqueous globe. It was ſuitable to our ideas concerning the wiſdom and beneficence of the Author of Nature, to believe that the vaſt ſpace, ſtill unexplored, was not covered entirely by a waſte unprofitable ocean, but occupied by countries fit for the habitation of man. It appeared likewiſe extremely probable, that the continent, on this ſide of the globe, was balanced by a porportional quantity of land in the other hemiſphere. Theſe concluſions concerning the exiſtence of another continent, drawn from the figure and ſtructure of the globe, were confirmed by the obſervations and conjectures of modern navigators. A

Portugueſe pilot, having ſtretched farther to the weſt than was uſual at that time, took up a piece of timber artificially carved, floating upon the ſea; and as it was driven towards him by a weſterly wind, he concluded that it came from ſome unknown land, ſituated in that quarter. Columbus's brother-in-law had found, to the weſt of the Madeira iſles, a piece of timber faſhioned in the ſame manner, and brought by the ſame wind; and had ſeen likewiſe canes of an enormons ſize floating upon the waves, which reſembled thoſe deſcribed by Ptolemy, as productions peculiar to the Eaſt Indies. After a courſe of weſterly winds, trees, torn up by the roots, were often driven upon the coaſts of the Azores, and at one time the dead bodies of two men, with ſingular features, reſembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa, were caſt aſhore there.

As the force of this united evidence, ariſing from theoretical principles and practical obſervations, led Columbus to expect the diſcovery of new countries in the Weſtern Ocean, other reaſons induced him to believe that theſe muſt be connected with the continent of India. Though the ancients had hardly ever penetrated into India farther than the banks of the Ganges, yet ſome Greek authors had ventured to deſcribe the provinces beyond that river. As men are prone, and at liberty, to magnify what is remote or unknown, they repreſented them as regions of an immenſe extent. Cteſias affirmed that India was as large as all the reſt of Aſia. Oneſicritus, whom Pliny the naturaliſt follows, contended that it was equal to a third part of the inhabitable earth. Nearchus aſſerted, that it would take four months to march in a ſtraight line from one extremity of India to the other. The journal of Marco Polo, who had proceeded towards the Eaſt far beyond the limits to which any European had ever advanced, ſeemed to confirm theſe exaggerated accounts of the ancients. By his magnificent deſcriptions of the kingdoms of *Cathay* and *Cipango*, and of many other countries, the names of which were unknown in Europe, India appeared to be a region of vaſt extent. From theſe accounts, which, however defective, were the moſt accurate that the people of Europe had received at that period, with reſpect to the remote parts of the Eaſt, Columbus drew a juſt concluſion. He contended, that, in proportion as the continent of India ſtretched out towards the Eaſt, it muſt, in conſequence of the ſpherical figure of the earth, approach nearer to the iſlands which had lately been diſcovered to the weſt of Africa; that the diſtance from the one to the other was probably not very conſiderable; and that the moſt direct, as well as ſhorteſt courſe, to the remote regions of the Eaſt, was to be found by ſailing due weſt. This notion concerning the vicinity of India to the weſtern

weſtern parts of our continent, was countenanced by ſome eminent writers among the ancients, the ſanction of whoſe authority was neceſſary, in that age, to procure a favourable reception to any tenet. Ariſtotle thought it probable that the Columns of Hercules, or Straits of Gibraltar, were not far removed from the Eaſt Indies, and that there might be a communication by ſea between them. Seneca, in terms ſtill more explicit, affirms, that, with a fair wind, one might ſail from Spain to India in a few days. The famous Atlantic iſland deſcribed by Plato, and ſuppoſed by many to be a real country, beyond which an unknown continent was ſituated, is repreſented by him as lying at no great diſtance from Spain. After weighing all theſe particulars, Columbus, in whoſe character the modeſty and diffidence of true genius was united with the ardent enthuſiaſm of a projector, did not reſt with ſuch abſolute aſſurance either upon his own arguments, or upon the authority of the ancients, as not to conſult ſuch of his contemporaries as were capable of comprehending the nature of the evidence which he produced in ſupport of his opinion. As early as the year one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-four, he communicated his ideas concerning the probability of diſcovering new countries, by ſailing weſtwards, to Paul, a phyſician of Florence, eminent for his knowledge of coſmography, and who, from the learning as well as candour which he diſcovers in his reply, appears to have been well intitled to the confidence which Columbus placed in him. He warmly approved of the plan, ſuggeſted ſeveral facts in confirmation of it, and encouraged Columbus to perſevere in an undertaking ſo laudable, and which muſt redound ſo much to the honour of his country, and the benefit of Europe.

To a mind leſs capable of forming and of executing great deſigns than that of Columbus, all thoſe reaſonings, and obſervations, and authorities, would have ſerved only as the foundation of ſome plauſible and fruitleſs theory, which might have furniſhed matter for ingenious diſcourſe, or fanciful conjecture. But with his ſanguine and enterpriſing temper, ſpeculation led directly to action. Fully ſatisfied himſelf with reſpect to the truth of his ſyſtem, he was impatient to bring it to the teſt of experiment, and to ſet out upon a voyage of diſcovery. The firſt ſtep towards this was to ſecure the patronage of ſome of the conſiderable powers in Europe, capable of undertaking ſuch an enterpriſe. As long abſence had not extinguiſhed the affection which he bore to his native country, he wiſhed that it ſhould reap the fruits of his labours and invention. With this view, he laid his ſcheme before the ſenate of Genoa, and making his country the firſt tender of his ſervice, offered to ſail under the banners of the republic, in queſt of the new regions which he

he expected to discover. But Columbus had resided for so many years in foreign parts, that his countrymen were unacquainted with his abilities and character; and, though a maritime people, were so little accustomed to distant voyages, that they could form no just idea of the principles on which he founded his hopes of success. They inconsiderately rejected his proposal, as the dream of a chimerical projector, and lost for ever the opportunity of restoring their commonwealth to its ancient splendour.

Having performed what was due to his country, Columbus was so little discouraged by the repulse which he had received, that, instead of relinquishing his undertaking, he pursued it with fresh ardour. He made his next overture to John II. king of Portugal, in whose dominions he had been long established, and whom he considered, on that account, as having the second claim to his service. Here every circumstance seemed to promise him a more favourable reception. He applied to a monarch of an enterprising genius, no incompetent judge in naval affairs, and proud of patroniſing every attempt to discover new countries. His subjects were the most experienced navigators in Europe, and the least apt to be intimidated either by the novelty or boldness of any maritime expedition. In Portugal, the professional skill of Columbus, as well as his personal good qualities, were thoroughly known; and as the former rendered it probable that his scheme was not altogether visionary, the latter exempted him from the suspicion of any sinister intention in proposing it. Accordingly, the king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, and two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. As in Genoa, ignorance had opposed and disappointed Columbus; in Lisbon, he had to combat with prejudice, an enemy no less formidable. The persons, according to whose decision his scheme was to be adopted or rejected, had been the chief directors of the Portuguese navigations, and had advised to search for a passage to India, by steering a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended as shorter and more certain. They could not, therefore, approve of his proposal, without submitting to the double mortification, of condemning their own theory, and of acknowledging his superior sagacity. After teasing him with captious questions, and starting innumerable objections, with a view of betraying him into such a particular explanation of his system, as might draw from him a full discovery of its nature, they deferred passing a final judgement with respect to it. In the mean time, they conspired to rob him of the honour and advantages

which he expected from the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, adviſing the king to diſpatch a veſſel, ſecretly, in order to attempt the propoſed diſcovery, by following exactly the courſe which Columbus ſeemed to point out. John, forgetting on this occaſion the ſentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counſel. But the pilot, choſen to execute Columbus's plan, had neither the genius, nor the fortitude of its author. Contrary winds aroſe, no ſight of approaching land appeared, his courage failed, and he returned to Liſbon, execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

Upon diſcovering this diſhonourable tranſaction, Columbus felt the indignation natural to an ingenuous mind, and in the warmth of his reſentment determined to break off all intercourſe with a nation capable of ſuch flagrant treachery. He inſtantly quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain towards the cloſe of the year one thouſand four hundred and eighty-four. As he was now at liberty to court the protection of any patron, whom he could engage to approve of his plan, and to carry it into execution, he reſolved to propoſe it in perſon to Ferdinand and Iſabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon. But as he had already experienced the uncertain iſſue of applications to kings and miniſters, he took the precaution of ſending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas, in order that he might negociate, at the ſame time, with Henry VII. who was reputed one of the moſt ſagacious as well as opulent princes in Europe.—

It was not without reaſon that Columbus entertained doubts and fears with reſpect to the reception of his propoſals in the Spaniſh court. Spain was, at that juncture, engaged in a dangerous war with Granada, the laſt of the Mooriſh kingdoms in that country. The wary and ſuſpicious temper of Ferdinand was not formed to reliſh bold or uncommon deſigns. Iſabella, though more generous and enterpriſing, was under the influence of her huſband in all her actions. The Spaniards had hitherto made no efforts to extend navigation beyond its ancient limits, and had beheld the amazing progreſs of diſcovery among their neighbours the Portugueſe, without one attempt to imitate or to rival them. The war with the Infidels afforded an ample field to the national activity and love of glory. Under circumſtances ſo unfavourable, it was impoſſible for Columbus to make rapid progreſs with a nation, naturally ſlow and dilatory in forming all its reſolutions. His character, however, was admirably adapted to that of the people, whoſe confidence and protection he ſolicited. He was grave, though courteous in his deportment; circumſpect in his words and actions; irreproachable in his morals; and

exemplary in his attention to all the duties and functions of religion. By qualities ſo reſpectable, he not only gained many private friends, but acquired ſuch general eſteem, that, notwithſtanding the plainneſs of his appearance, ſuitable to the mediocrity of his fortune, he was not conſidered as a mere adventurer, to whom indigence had ſuggeſted a viſionary project, but was received as a perſon to whoſe propoſitions ſerious attention was due.

Ferdinand and Iſabella, though fully occupied by their operations againſt the Moors, paid ſo much regard to Columbus, as to remit the conſideration of his plan to the queen's confeſſor, Ferdinand de Talavera. He conſulted ſuch of his countrymen as were ſuppoſed beſt qualified to decide with reſpect to a ſubject of this kind. But true ſcience had, hitherto, made ſo little progreſs in Spain, that the pretended philoſophers, ſelected to judge in a matter of ſuch moment, did not comprehend the firſt principles upon which Columbus founded his conjectures and hopes. Some of them, from miſtaken notions concerning the dimenſions of the globe, contended that a voyage to thoſe remote parts of the eaſt, which Columbus expected to diſcover, could not be performed in leſs than three years. Others concluded, that either he would find the ocean to be of infinite extent, according to the opinion of ſome ancient philoſophers; or, if he ſhould perſiſt in ſteering towards the weſt beyond a certain point, that the convex figure of the globe would prevent his return, and that he muſt inevitably periſh, in the vain attempt to open a communication between the two oppoſite hemiſpheres, which nature had for ever disjoined. Even without deigning to enter into any particular diſcuſſion, many rejected the ſcheme in general, upon the credit of a maxim, under which the ignorant and unenterpriſing ſhelter themſelves in every age, "That it is preſumptuous in any perſon, to ſuppoſe that he alone poſſeſſes knowledge ſuperior to all the reſt of mankind united." They maintained, that if there were really any ſuch countries as Columbus pretended, they could not have remained ſo long concealed, nor would the wiſdom and ſagacity of former ages have left the glory of this invention to an obſcure Genoeſe pilot.

It required all Columbus's patience and addreſs to negociate with men capable of advancing ſuch ſtrange propoſitions. He had to contend not only with the obſtinacy of ignorance, but with what is ſtill more intractable, the pride of falſe knowledge. After innumerable conferences, and waſting five years in fruitleſs endeavours to inform and to ſatisfy judges ſo little capable of deciding with propriety, Talavera, at laſt, made ſuch an unfavourable report to Ferdinand and Iſabella, as induced them to acquaint Columbus, that until the war with the Moors ſhould be

brought to a period, it would be imprudent to engage in any new and expenſive enterpriſe.

Whatever care was taken to ſoften the harſhneſs of this declaration, Columbus conſidered it as a final rejection of his propoſals. But happily for mankind, the ſuperiority of genius, which is capable of forming great and uncommon deſigns, is uſually accompanied with an ardent enthuſiaſm, which can neither be cooled by delays, nor damped by diſappointment. Columbus was of this ſanguine temper. Though he felt deeply the cruel blow given to his hopes, and retired immediately from a court, where he had been amuſed ſo long with vain expectations, his confidence in the juſtneſs of his own ſyſtem did not diminiſh, and his impatience to demonſtrate the truth of it by an actual experiment became greater than ever. Having courted the protection of ſovereign ſtates without ſucceſs, he applied, next, to perſons of inferior rank, and addreſſed ſucceſſively the dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi, who, though ſubjects, were poſſeſſed of power and opulence more than equal to the enterpriſe which he projected. His negociations with them proved as fruitleſs, as thoſe in which he had been hitherto engaged; for theſe noblemen were either as little convinced by Columbus's arguments as their ſuperiors, or they were afraid of alarming the jealouſy, and offending the pride of Ferdinand, by countenancing a ſcheme which he had rejected.

Amid the painful ſenſations occaſioned by ſuch a ſucceſſion of diſappointments, Columbus had to ſuſtain the additional diſtreſs, of having received no accounts from his brother, whom he had ſent to the court of England. In his voyage to that country, Bartholomew had been ſo unfortunate as to fall into the hands of pirates, who having ſtripped him of every thing, detained him a priſoner for ſeveral years. At length, he made his eſcape, and arrived in London, but in ſuch extreme indigence, that he was obliged to employ himſelf, during a conſiderable time, in drawing and ſelling maps, in order to pick up as much money as would purchaſe a decent dreſs, in which he might venture to appear at court. He then laid before the king the propoſals, with which he had been entruſted by his brother, and, notwithſtanding Henry's exceſſive caution and parſimony, which rendered him averſe to new or expenſive undertakings, he received Columbus's overtures, with more approbation, than any monarch to whom they had hitherto been preſented.

Meanwhile, Columbus being unacquainted with his brother's fate, and having now no proſpect of encouragement in Spain, reſolved to viſit the court of England in perſon, in hopes of meeting with a more favourable reception there. He had already made preparations for this purpoſe,

purpoſe, and taken meaſures for the diſpoſal of his children during his abſence, when Juan Perez, the guardian of the monaſtery of Rabida, near Palos, in which they had been educated, earneſtly ſolicited him to defer his journey for a ſhort time. Perez was a man of conſiderable learning, and of ſome credit with Queen Iſabella, to whom he was known perſonally. He was warmly attached to Columbus, with whoſe abilities as well as integrity he had many opportunities of being acquainted. Prompted by curioſity or by friendſhip, he entered upon an accurate examination of his ſyſtem, in conjunction with a phyſician ſettled in the neighbourhood, who was a conſiderable proficient in mathematical knowledge. This inveſtigation ſatisfied them ſo thoroughly, with reſpect to the ſolidity of the principles on which Columbus founded his opinion, and the probability of ſucceſs in executing the plan which he propoſed, that Perez, in order to prevent his country from being deprived of the glory and benefit, which muſt accrue to the patrons of ſuch a grand enterpriſe, ventured to write to Iſabella, conjuring her to conſider the matter anew, with the attention which it merited.

Moved by the repreſentations of a perſon whom ſhe reſpected, Iſabella deſired Perez to repair immediately to the village of Santa Fé, in which, on account of the ſiege of Granada, the court reſided at that time, that ſhe might confer with him upon this important ſubject. The firſt effect of their interview was a gracious invitation of Columbus back to court, accompanied with the preſent of a ſmall ſum to equip him for the journey. As there was now a certain proſpect, that the war with the Moors would ſpeedily be brought to an happy iſſue by the reduction of Granada, which would leave the nation at liberty to engage in new undertakings; this, as well as the mark of royal favour, with which Columbus had been lately honoured, encouraged his friends to appear with greater confidence than formerly in ſupport of his ſcheme. The chief of theſe, Alonſo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Caſtile, and Luis de Santangel, receiver of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in Arragon, whoſe meritorious zeal in promoting this great deſign entitles their names to an honourable place in hiſtory, introduced Columbus to many perſons of high rank, and intereſted them warmly in his behalf.

But it was not an eaſy matter to inſpire Ferdinand with favourable ſentiments. He ſtill regarded Columbus's project as extravagant and chimerical; and in order to render the efforts of his partizans ineffectual, he had the addreſs to employ in this new negociation with him, ſome of the perſons who had formerly pronounced his ſcheme to be impracticable. To their aſtoniſhment, Columbus appeared before them with the ſame confident hopes of ſucceſs as formerly, and inſiſted upon the

the ſame high recompence. He propoſed that a ſmall fleet ſhould be fitted out, under his command, to attempt the diſcovery, and demanded to be appointed hereditary admiral and viceroy of all the ſeas and lands which he ſhould diſcover, and to have the tenth of the profits ariſing from them, ſettled irrevocably upon himſelf and his deſcendants. At the ſame time, he offered to advance the eighth part of the ſum neceſſary for accompliſhing his deſign, on condition that he ſhould be entitled to a proportional ſhare of benefit from the adventure. If the enterpriſe ſhould totally miſcarry, he made no ſtipulation for any reward or emolument whatever. Inſtead of viewing this conduct as the cleareſt evidence of his full perſuaſion with reſpect to the truth of his own ſyſtem, or being ſtruck with that magnanimity which, after ſo many delays and repulſes, would ſtoop to nothing inferior to its original claims, the perſons with whom Columbus treated, began meanly to calculate the expence of the expedition, and the value of the reward which he demanded. The expence, moderate as it was, they repreſented to be too great for Spain, in the preſent exhauſted ſtate of its finances. They contended, that the honours and emoluments claimed by Columbus, were exorbitant, even if he ſhould perform the utmoſt of what he had promiſed; and if all his ſanguine hopes ſhould prove illuſive, ſuch vaſt conceſſions to an adventurer would be deemed not only inconſiderate, but ridiculous. In this impoſing garb of caution and prudence, their opinion appeared ſo plauſible, and was ſo warmly ſupported by Ferdinand, that Iſabella declined giving any countenance to Columbus, and abruptly broke off the negociation with him which ſhe had begun.

This was more mortifying to Columbus than all the diſappointments which he had hitherto met with. The invitation to court from Iſabella, like an unexpected ray of light, had opened ſuch proſpects of ſucceſs, as encouraged him to hope that his labours were at an end; but now darkneſs and uncertainty returned, and his mind, firm as it was, could hardly ſupport the ſhock of ſuch an unforeſeen reverſe. He withdrew in deep anguiſh from court, with an intention of proſecuting his voyage to England, as his laſt reſource.

About that time Granada ſurrendered, and Ferdinand and Iſabella, in triumphal pomp, took poſſeſſion of a city, the reduction of which extirpated a foreign power from the heart of their dominions, and rendered them maſters of all the provinces, extending from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal. As the flow of ſpirits which accompanies ſucceſs elevates the mind, and renders it enterpriſing, Quintanilla and Santangel, the vigilant and diſcerning patrons of Columbus, took advantage of this favourable ſituation, in order to make one effort

more

more in behalf of their friend. They addreſſed themſelves to Iſabella, and, after expreſſing ſome ſurpriſe, that ſhe, who had always been the munificent patroneſs of generous undertakings, ſhould heſitate ſo long to countenance the moſt ſplendid ſcheme that had ever been propoſed to any monarch; they repreſented to her, that Columbus was a man of a ſound underſtanding and virtuous character, well qualified, by his experience in navigation, as well as his knowledge of geometry, to form juſt ideas with reſpect to the ſtructure of the globe and the ſituation of its various regions; that, by offering to riſk his own life and fortune in the execution of his ſcheme, he gave the moſt ſatisfying evidence both of his integrity and hope of ſucceſs; that the ſum requiſite for equipping ſuch an armament as he demanded was inconſiderable, and the advantages which might accrue from his undertaking were immenſe; that he demanded no recompence for his invention and labour, but what was to ariſe from the countries which he ſhould diſcover; that, as it was worthy of her magnanimity to make this noble attempt to extend the ſphere of human knowledge, and to open an intercourſe with regions hitherto unknown, ſo it would afford the higheſt ſatisfaction to her piety and zeal, after re-eſtabliſhing the Chriſtian faith in thoſe provinces of Spain from which it had been long baniſhed, to diſcover a new world, to which ſhe might communicate the light and bleſſings of divine truth; that if now ſhe did not decide inſtantly, the opportunity would be irretrievably loſt; that Columbus was on his way to foreign countries, where ſome prince, more fortunate or adventurous, would cloſe with his propoſals, and Spain would for ever bewail the fatal timidity which had excluded her from the glory and advantages that ſhe had once in her power to have enjoyed.

Theſe forcible arguments, urged by perſons of ſuch authority, and at a juncture ſo well choſen, produced the deſired effect. They diſpelled all Iſabella's doubts and fears; ſhe ordered Columbus to be inſtantly recalled, declared her reſolution of employing him on his own terms, and regretting the low ſtate of her finances, generouſly offered to pledge her own jewels, in order to raiſe as much money as might be needed in making preparations for the voyage. Santangel, in a tranſport of gratitude, kiſſed the queen's hand, and in order to ſave her from having recourſe to ſuch a mortifying expedient for procuring money, engaged to advance immediately the ſum that was requiſite.

Columbus had proceeded ſome leagues on his journey, when the meſſenger from Iſabella overtook him. Upon receiving an account of the unexpected revolution in his favour, he returned directly to Santo Fe, though ſome remainder of diffidence ſtill mingled itſelf with his joy.

But

But the cordial reception which he met with from Iſabella, together with the near proſpect of ſetting out upon that voyage which had ſo long been the object of his thoughts and wiſhes, ſoon effaced the remembrance of all that he had ſuffered in Spain, during eight tedious years of ſolicitation and ſuſpenſe. The negociation now went forward with facility and diſpatch, and a treaty of capitulation with Columbus was ſigned on the ſeventeenth of April, one thouſand four hundred and ninety-two. The chief articles of it were, 1. Ferdinand and Iſabella, as ſovereigns of the ocean, conſtituted Columbus their high admiral in all the ſeas, iſlands, and continents which ſhould be diſcovered by his induſtry; and ſtipulated, that he and his heirs for ever ſhould enjoy this office, with the ſame powers and prerogatives which belonged to the high admiral of Caſtile, within the limits of his juriſdiction. 2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the iſlands and continents which he ſhould diſcover; but if, for the better adminiſtration of affairs, it ſhould hereafter be neceſſary to eſtabliſh a ſeparate governor in any of thoſe countries, they authoriſed Columbus to name three perſons, of whom they would chuſe one for that office; and the dignity of viceroy, with all its immunities, was likewiſe to be hereditary in the family of Columbus. 3. They granted to Columbus and his heirs for ever the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries which he ſhould diſcover. 4. They declared, that if any controverſy or law-ſuit ſhall ariſe with reſpect to any mercantile tranſaction in the countries which ſhould be diſcovered, it ſhould be determined by the ſole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him. 5. They permitted Columbus to advance one-eighth part of what ſhould be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he ſhould diſcover, and intitled him, in return, to an eighth part of the profit.

Though the name of Ferdinand appears conjoined with that of Iſabella in this tranſaction, his diſtruſt of Columbus was ſtill ſo violent that he refuſed to take any part in the enterpriſe as king of Arragon. As the whole expence of the expedition was to be defrayed by the crown of Caſtile, Iſabella reſerved for her ſubjects of that kingdom an excluſive right to all the benefits which might redound from its ſucceſs.

As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, Iſabella, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations for the voyage, endeavoured to make ſome reparation to Columbus for the time which he had loſt in fruitleſs ſolicitation. By the twelfth of May, all that depended upon her was adjuſted; and Columbus waited on the king and queen, in order to receive their final inſtructions. Every thing reſpecting the deſtination

and

and conduct of the voyage, they committed implicitly to the diſpoſal of his prudence. But, that they might avoid giving any juſt cauſe of offence to the king of Portugal, they ſtrictly enjoined him not to approach near to the Portugueſe ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea, or in any of the other countries to which the Portugueſe claimed right as diſcoverers. Iſabella had ordered the ſhips, of which Columbus was to take the command, to be fitted out in the port of Palos, a ſmall maritime town in the province of Andaluſia. As the guardian Juan Perez, to whom Columbus has already been ſo much indebted, reſided in the neighbourhood of this place, he, by the influence of that good eccleſiaſtic, as well as by his own connection with the inhabitants, not only raiſed among them what he wanted of the ſum that he was bound by treaty to advance, but engaged ſeveral of them to accompany him in the voyage. The chief of theſe aſſociates were three brothers of the name of Pinzon, of conſiderable wealth, and of great experience in naval affairs, who were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in the expedition.

But, after all the efforts of Iſabella and Columbus, the armament was not ſuitable, either to the dignity of the nation by which it was equiped, or to the importance of the ſervice for which it was deſtined. It conſiſted of three veſſels. The largeſt, a ſhip of no conſiderable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of *Santa Maria*, out of reſpect for the Bleſſed Virgin, whom he honoured with ſingular devotion. Of the ſecond, called the *Pinta*, Martin Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis pilot. The third, named the *Nigna*, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon. Theſe two were light veſſels, hardly ſuperior in burden or force to large boats. This ſquadron, if it merits that name, was victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, moſtly ſailors, together with a few adventurers who followed the fortune of Columbus, and ſome gentlemen of Iſabella's court, whom ſhe appointed to accompany him. Though the expence of the undertaking was one of the circumſtances which chiefly alarmed the court of Spain, and retarded ſo long the negociation with Columbus, the ſum employed in fitting out this ſquadron did not exceed four thouſand pounds.

As the art of ſhip-building in the fifteenth century was extremely rude, and the bulk of veſſels was accommodated to the ſhort and eaſy voyages along the coaſt which they were accuſtomed to perform, it is a proof of the courage as well as enterpriſing genius of Columbus, that he ventured, with a fleet ſo unfit for a diſtant navigation, to explore unknown ſeas, where he had no chart to guide him, no knowledge of the tides and currents, and no experience of the dangers to which he might

be expoſed. His eagerneſs to accompliſh the great deſign which had ſo long engroſſed his thoughts, made him overlook or diſregard every circumſtance that would have intimidated a mind leſs adventurous. He puſhed forward the preparations with ſuch ardour, and was ſeconded ſo effectually by the perſons to whom Iſabella committed the ſuperintendence of this buſineſs, that every thing was ſoon in readineſs for the voyage. But as Columbus was deeply impreſſed with ſentiments of religion, he would not ſet out upon an expedition ſo arduous, and of which one great object was to extend the knowledge of the Chriſtian faith, without imploring publicly the guidance and protection of Heaven. With this view, he, together with all the perſons under his command, marched in ſolemn proceſſion to the monaſtery of Rabida. After confeſſing their ſins, and obtaining abſolution, they received the holy ſacrament from the hands of the guardian, who joined his prayers to theirs for the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe which he had ſo zealouſly patronized.

Next morning, being Friday the third day of Auguſt, in the year one thouſand four hundred and ninety-two, Columbus ſet ſail, a little before ſun-riſe, in preſence of a vaſt crowd of ſpectators, who ſent up their ſupplications to Heaven for the proſperous iſſue of the voyage, which they wiſhed, rather than expected. Columbus ſteered directly for the Canary Iſlands, and arrived there, Auguſt 13, 1492, without any occurrence that would have deſerved notice on any other occaſion. But, in a voyage of ſuch expectation and importance, every circumſtance was the object of attention. The rudder of the Pinta broke looſe, the day after ſhe left the harbour, and that accident alarmed the crew, no leſs ſuperſtitious than unſkilful, as a certain omen of the unfortunate deſtiny of the expedition. Even in the ſhort run to the Canaries, the ſhips were found to be ſo crazy and ill appointed, as to be very improper for a navigation which was expected to be both long and dangerous. Columbus refitted them, however, to the beſt of his power, and having ſupplied himſelf with freſh proviſions he took his departure from Gomera, one of the moſt weſterly of the Canary iſlands, on the ſixth day of September.

Here the voyage of diſcovery may properly be ſaid to begin; for Columbus holding his courſe due weſt, left immediately the uſual track of navigation, and ſtretched into unfrequented and unknown ſeas. The firſt day, as it was very calm, he made but little way; but on the ſecond, he loſt ſight of the Canaries; and many of the ſailors, dejected already and diſmayed, when they contemplated the boldneſs of the undertaking, began to beat their breaſts, and to ſhed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with aſſurances of ſucceſs, and the proſpect of vaſt wealth, in thoſe opulent regions whither he was conducting them. This early diſcovery of the ſpirit of his followers taught

taught Columbus, that he muſt prepare to ſtruggle, not only with the unavoidable difficulties which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with ſuch as were likely to ariſe from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command; and he perceived that the art of governing the minds of men would be no leſs requiſite for accompliſhing the diſcoveries which he had in view, than naval ſkill and undaunted courage. Happily for himſelf, and for the country by which he was employed, he joined to the ardent temper and inventive genius of a projector, virtues of another ſpecies, which are rarely united with them. He poſſeſſed a thorough knowledge of mankind, an inſinuating addreſs, a patient perſeverance in executing any plan, the perfect government of his paſſions, and the talent of acquiring an aſcendant over thoſe of other men. All theſe qualities, which formed him for command, were accompanied with that ſuperior knowledge of his profeſſion, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. To unſkilful Spaniſh ſailors, accuſtomed only to coaſting voyages in the Mediterranean, the maritime ſcience of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years experience, improved by an acquaintance with all the inventions of the Portugueſe, appeared immenſe. As ſoon as they put to ſea, he regulated every thing by his ſole authority; he ſuperintended the execution of every order; and allowing himſelf only a few hours for ſleep, he was at all other times upon deck. As his courſe lay through ſeas which had not formerly been viſited, the ſounding-line, or inſtruments for obſervation, were continually in his hands. After the example of the Portugueſe diſcoverers, he attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fiſhes, of ſea-weeds, and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence, with a minute exactneſs, in the journal which he kept. As the length of the voyage could not fail of alarming ſailors habituated only to ſhort excurſions, Columbus endeavoured to conceal from them the real progreſs which they made. With this view, though they run eighteen leagues on the ſecond day after they left Gomera, he gave out that they had advanced only fifteen, and he uniformly employed the ſame artifice of reckoning ſhort during the whole voyage. By the fourteenth of September, the fleet was above two hundred leagues to the weſt of the Canary Iſles, at a greater diſtance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time. There they were ſtruck with an appearance no leſs aſtoniſhing than new. They obſerved that the magnetic needle, in their compaſſes, did not point exactly to the polar ſtar, but varied towards the weſt; and as they proceeded, this variation increaſed. This appearance, which is now familiar, though it ſtill remains one of the myſteries of nature, into the

cauſe of which the ſagacity of man hath not been able to penetrate, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundleſs unknown ocean, far from the uſual courſe of navigation; nature itſelf ſeemed to be altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no leſs quickneſs than ingenuity, invented a reaſon for this appearance, which, though it did not ſatisfy himſelf, ſeemed ſo plauſible to them, that it diſpelled their fears, or ſilenced their murmurs.

He ſtill continued to ſteer due weſt, nearly in the ſame latitude with the Canary iſlands. In this courſe he came within the ſphere of the trade wind, which blows invariably from eaſt to weſt, between the tropics and a few degrees beyond them. He advanced before this ſteady gale with ſuch uniform rapidity, that it was ſeldom neceſſary to ſhift a ſail. When about four hundred leagues to the weſt of the Canaries, he found the ſea ſo covered with weeds, that it reſembled a meadow of vaſt extent; and in ſome places they were ſo thick, as to retard the motion of the veſſels. This ſtrange appearance occaſioned new alarm and diſquiet. The ſailors imagined that they were now arrived at the utmoſt boundary of the navigable ocean; that theſe floating weeds would obſtruct their farther progreſs, and concealed dangerous rocks, or ſome large tract of land, which had ſunk, they knew not how, in that place. Columbus endeavoured to perſuade them, that what had alarmed, ought rather to have encouraged them, and was to be conſidered as a ſign of approaching land. At the ſame time, a briſk gale aroſe, and carried them forward. Several birds were ſeen hovering about the ſhip*, and directed their flight towards the weſt. The deſponding crew reſumed ſome degree of ſpirit, and began to entertain freſh hopes,

* As the Portugueſe, in making their diſcoveries, did not depart far from the coaſt of Africa, they concluded that birds, whoſe flight they obſerved with great attention, did not venture to any conſiderable diſtance from land. In the infancy of navigation, it was not known, that birds often ſtretch their flight to an immenſe diſtance from any ſhore. In ſailing towards the Weſt-Indian iſlands, birds are often ſeen at the diſtance of two hundred leagues from the neareſt coaſt. Sloane's Nat. Hiſt. of Jamaica, vol. i. p. 30. Cateſby ſaw an owl at ſea, when the ſhip was ſix hundred leagues diſtant from land. Nat. Hiſt. of Carolina, pref. p. 7. Hiſt. Naturelle de M. Buffon, tom. xvi. p. 32. From which it appears, that this indication of land, on which Columbus ſeems to have relied with ſome confidence, was extremely uncertain. This obſervation is confirmed by Captain Cook, the moſt extenſive and experienced navigator of any age or nation. "No one yet knows (ſays he) to what diſtance any of the oceanic birds go to ſea; for my own part, I do not believe that there is one in the whole tribe that can be relied on in pointing out the vicinity of land." Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 275.

Upon

Upon the firſt of October they were, according to the admiral's reckoning, ſeven hundred and ſeventy leagues to the weſt of the Canaries; but leſt his men ſhould be intimidated by the prodigious length of navigation, he gave out that they had proceeded only five hundred and eighty-four leagues; and, fortunately for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor thoſe of the other ſhips, had ſkill ſufficient to correct this error, and diſcover the deceit. They had now been above three weeks at ſea; they had proceeded far beyond what former navigators had attempted or deemed poſſible; all their prognoſtics of diſcovery, drawn from the flight of birds and other circumſtances, had proved fallacious; the appearances of land, with which their own credulity or the artifice of their commander had from time to time flattered and amuſed them, had been altogether illuſive, and their proſpect of ſucceſs ſeemed now to be as diſtant as ever. Theſe reflections occurred often to men, who had no other object or occupation, than to reaſon and diſcourſe concerning the intention and circumſtances of their expedition. They made impreſſion, at firſt, upon the ignorant and timid, and extending, by degrees, to ſuch as were better informed or more reſolute, the contagion ſpread at length from ſhip to ſhip. From ſecret whiſpers or murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. They taxed their ſovereign with inconſiderate credulity, in paying ſuch regard to the vain promiſes and raſh conjectures of an indigent foreigner, as to hazard the lives of ſo many of her own ſubjects, in proſecuting a chimerical ſcheme. They affirmed that they had fully performed their duty, by venturing ſo far in an unknown and hopeleſs courſe, and could incur no blame, for refuſing to follow, any longer, a deſperate adventurer to certain deſtruction. They contended, that it was neceſſary to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy veſſels were ſtill in a condition to keep the ſea, but expreſſed their fears that the attempt would prove vain, as the wind, which had hitherto been ſo favourable to their courſe, muſt render it impoſſible to ſail in the oppoſite direction. All agreed that Columbus ſhould be compelled by force to adopt a meaſure on which their common ſafety depended. Some of the more audacious propoſed, as the moſt expeditious and certain method for getting rid at once of his remonſtrances, to throw him into the ſea, being perſuaded that, upon their return to Spain, the death of an unſucceſsful projector would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curioſity.

Columbus was fully ſenſible of his perilous ſituation. He had obſerved, with great uneaſineſs, the fatal operation of ignorance and of fear in producing diſaffection among his crew, and ſaw that it was now ready

to

to burſt out into open mutiny. He retained, however, perfect preſence of mind. He affected to ſeem ignorant of their machinations. Notwithſtanding the agitation and ſolicitude of his own mind, he appeared with a cheerful countenance, like a man ſatisfied with the progreſs which he had made, and confident of ſucceſs. Sometimes he employed all the arts of inſinuation to ſoothe his men. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition or avarice, by magnificent deſcriptions of the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occaſions, he aſſumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their ſovereign, if, by their daſtardly behaviour, they ſhould defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt the Spaniſh name above that of every other nation. Even with ſeditious ſailors, the words of a man whom they had been accuſtomed to reverence, were weighty and perſuaſive, and not only reſtrained them from thoſe violent exceſſes, which they meditated, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for ſome time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land ſeemed to be more certain, and excited hope in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks, making towards the ſouth-weſt. Columbus, in imitation of the Portugueſe navigators, who had been guided, in ſeveral of their diſcoveries, by the motion of birds, altered his courſe from due weſt towards that quarter whither they pointed their flight. But, after holding on for ſeveral days in this new direction, without any better ſucceſs than formerly, having ſeen no object, during thirty days, but the ſea and the ſky, the hopes of his companions ſubſided faſter than they had riſen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and deſpair, appeared in every countenance. All ſenſe of ſubordination was loſt: the officers, who had hitherto concurred with Columbus in opinion, and ſupported his authority, now took part with the private men; they aſſembled tumultuouſly on the deck, expoſtulated with their commander, mingled threats with their expoſtulations, and required him inſtantly to tack about and to return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourſe to any of his former arts, which having been tried ſo often, had loſt their effect; and that it was impoſſible to rekindle any zeal for the ſucceſs of the expedition among men, in whoſe breaſts fear had extinguiſhed every generous ſentiment. He ſaw that it was no leſs vain to think of employing either gentle or ſevere meaſures, to quell a mutiny ſo general and ſo violent. It was neceſſary, on all theſe accounts, to ſoothe paſſions which he could no longer command, and to give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He promiſed

miſed ſolemnly to his men that he would comply with their requeſt, provided they would accompany him, and obey his commands for three days longer, and if, during that time, land were not diſcovered, he would then abandon the enterpriſe, and direct his courſe towards Spain.

Enraged as the ſailors were, impatient to turn their faces again towards their native country, this propoſition did not appear to them unreaſonable. Nor did Columbus hazard much in confining himſelf to a term ſo ſhort. The preſages of diſcovering land were now ſo numerous and promiſing, that he deemed them infallible. For ſome days the ſounding line reached the bottom, and the ſoil which it brought up indicated land to be at no great diſtance. The flocks of birds increaſed, and were compoſed not only of ſea fowl, but of ſuch land birds as could not be ſuppoſed to fly far from the ſhore. The crew of the Pinta obſerved a cane floating, which ſeemed to have been newly cut, and likewiſe a piece of timber artificially carved. The ſailors aboard the Nigna took up the branch of a tree with red berries, perfectly freſh. The clouds around the ſetting ſun aſſumed a new appearance; the air was more mild and warm, and, during night, the wind became unequal and variable. From all theſe ſymptoms, Columbus was ſo confident of being near land, that on the evening of the eleventh of October, after public prayers for ſucceſs, he ordered the ſails to be furled, and the ſhips to lie to, keeping ſtrict watch, leſt they ſhould be driven aſhore in the night. During this interval of ſuſpence and expectation, no man ſhut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to diſcover the land, which had been ſo long the object of their wiſhes.

About two hours before midnight, Columbus ſtanding on the forecaſtle, obſerved a light at a diſtance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Guttierez, a page of the queen's wardrobe. Guttierez perceived it, and calling to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three ſaw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight, the joyful ſound of *land, land,* was heard from the Pinta, which kept always ahead of the other ſhips. But, having been ſo often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was now become ſlow of belief, and waited, in all the anguiſh of uncertainty and impatience, for the return of day. As ſoon as morning dawned, Friday, October 12, all doubts and fears were diſpelled. From every ſhip an iſland was ſeen about two leagues to the north, whoſe flat and verdant fields, well ſtored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, preſented the aſpect of a delightful country. The crew of the Pinta inſtantly began the *Te Deum,* as a hymn of thankſgiving to God, and were joined by thoſe of

of the other ſhips, with tears of joy and tranſports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to Heaven was followed by an act of juſtice to their commander. They threw themſelves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of ſelf-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and inſolence, which had created him ſo much unneceſſary diſquiet, and had ſo often obſtructed the proſecution of his well-concerted plan; and paſſing, in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man, whom they had ſo lately reviled and threatened, to be a perſon inſpired by Heaven with ſagacity and fortitude more than human, in order to accompliſh a deſign, ſo far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages.

As ſoon as the ſun aroſe, all their boats were manned and armed. They rowed towards the iſland with their colours diſplayed, with warlike muſic, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coaſt, they ſaw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the ſpectacle had drawn together, whoſe attitudes and geſtures expreſſed wonder and aſtoniſhment at the ſtrange objects which preſented themſelves to their view. Columbus was the firſt European who ſet foot in the New World which he had diſcovered. He landed in a rich dreſs, and with a naked ſword in his hand. His men followed, and kneeling down, they all kiſſed the ground which they had ſo long deſired to ſee. They next erected a crucifix, and proſtrating themſelves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to ſuch an happy iſſue. They then took ſolemn poſſeſſion of the country for the crown of Caſtile and Leon, with all the formalities which the Portugueſe were accuſtomed to obſerve in acts of this kind, in their new diſcoveries.

The Spaniards, while thus employed, were ſurrounded by many of the natives, who gazed, in ſilent admiration, upon actions which they could not comprehend, and of which they did not foreſee the conſequences. The dreſs of the Spaniards, the whiteneſs of their ſkins, their beards, their arms, appeared ſtrange and ſurpriſing. The vaſt machines in which they had traverſed the ocean, that ſeemed to move upon the waters with wings, and uttered a dreadful ſound reſembling thunder, accompanied with lightning and ſmoke, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they began to reſpect their new gueſts as a ſuperior order of beings, and concluded that they were children of the Sun, who had deſcended to viſit the earth.

The Europeans were hardly leſs amazed at the ſcene now before them. Every herb, and ſhrub, and tree, was different from thoſe which

flouriſhed in Europe. The ſoil ſeemed to be rich, but bore few marks of cultivation. The climate, even to Spaniards, felt warm, though extremely delightful. The inhabitants appeared in the ſimple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their ſhoulders, or was bound in tufts around their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly ſmooth. Their complexion was of a duſky copper colour, their features ſingular, rather than diſagreeable, their aſpect gentle and timid. Though not tall, they were well ſhaped, and active. Their faces, and ſeveral parts of their body, were fantaſtically painted with glaring colours. They were ſhy at firſt through fear, but ſoon became familiar with the Spaniards, and with tranſports of joy received from them hawks-bells, glaſs beads, or other baubles, in return for which they gave ſuch proviſions as they had, and ſome cotton yarn, the only commodity of value that they could produce. Towards evening, Columbus returned to his ſhips, accompanied by many of the iſlanders in their boats, which they called *canoes*, and though rudely formed out of the trunk of a ſingle tree, they rowed them with ſurpriſing dexterity. Thus, in the firſt interview between the inhabitants of the old and new worlds, every thing was conducted amicably, and to their mutual ſatisfaction. The former, enlightened and ambitious, formed already vaſt ideas with reſpect to the advantages which they might derive from the regions that began to open to their view. The latter, ſimple and undiſcerning, had no foreſight of the calamities and deſolation which were approaching their country.

Columbus, who now aſſumed the title and authority of admiral and viceroy, called the iſland which he had diſcovered *San Salvador*. It is better known by the name of *Guanahani*, which the natives gave to it, and is one of that large cluſter of iſlands called the Lucaya or Bahama iſles. It is ſituated above three thouſand miles to the weſt of Gomera, from which the ſquadron took its departure, and only four degrees to the ſouth of it; ſo little had Columbus deviated from the weſterly courſe, which he had choſen as the moſt proper.

Columbus employed the next day in viſiting the coaſts of the iſland; and from the univerſal poverty of the inhabitants, he perceived that this was not the rich country for which he ſought. But, comformably to his theory concerning the diſcovery of thoſe regions of Aſia which ſtretched towards the eaſt, he concluded that San Salvador was one of the iſles which geographers deſcribed as ſituated in the great ocean adjacent to India. Having obſerved that moſt of the people whom he had ſeen wore ſmall plates of gold, by way of ornament, in their noſ-

trils, he eagerly inquired where they got that precious metal. They pointed towards the ſouth, and made him comprehend by ſigns, that gold abounded in countries ſituated in that quarter. Thither he immediately determined to direct his courſe, in full confidence of finding there thoſe opulent regions which had been the object of his voyage, and would be a recompence for all his toils and dangers. He took along with him ſeven of the natives of San Salvador, that, by acquiring the Spaniſh language, they might ſerve as guides and interpreters; and thoſe innocent people conſidered it as a mark of diſtinction when they were ſelected to accompany him.

He ſaw ſeveral iſlands, and touched at three of the largeſt, on which he beſtowed the names of St. Mary of the Conception, Fernandina, and Iſabella. But as their ſoil, productions, and inhabitants, nearly reſembled thoſe of San Salvador, he made no ſtay in any of them. He inquired every where for gold, and the ſigns that were uniformly made by way of anſwer, confirmed him in the opinion that it was brought from the ſouth. He followed that courſe, and ſoon diſcovered a country which appeared very extenſive, not perfectly level, like thoſe which he had already viſited, but ſo diverſified with riſing grounds, hills, rivers, woods, and plains, that he was uncertain whether it might prove an iſland, or part of the continent. The natives of San Salvador, whom he had on board, called it *Cuba*; Columbus gave it the name of Juanna. He entered the mouth of a large river with his ſquadron, and all the inhabitants fled to the mountains as he approached the ſhore. But as he reſolved to careen his ſhips in that place, he ſent ſome Spaniards, together with one of the people of San Salvador, to view the interior parts of the country. They, having advanced above ſixty miles from the ſhore, reported upon their return, that the ſoil was richer and more cultivated than any they had hitherto diſcovered; that, beſides many ſcattered cottages, they had found one village, containing above a thouſand inhabitants; that the people, though naked, ſeemed to be more intelligent than thoſe of San Salvador, but had treated them with the ſame reſpectful attention, kiſſing their feet, and honouring them as ſacred beings allied to Heaven; that they had given them to eat a certain root, the taſte of which reſembled roaſted cheſnuts, and likewiſe a ſingular ſpecies of corn called *maize*, which, either when roaſted whole or ground into meal, was abundantly palatable; that there ſeemed to be no four-footed animals in the country, but a ſpecies of dogs, which could not bark, and a creature reſembling a rabbit, but of a much ſmaller ſize; that they had obſerved ſome ornaments of gold among the people, but of no great value.

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Theſe meſſengers had prevailed with ſome of the natives to accompany them, who informed Columbus, that the gold of which they made their ornaments was found in *Cubanacan*. By this word they meant the middle or inland part of Cuba; but Columbus, being ignorant of their language, as well as unaccuſtomed to their pronunciation, and his thoughts running continually upon his own theory concerning the diſcovery of the Eaſt Indies, he was led, by the reſemblance of ſound, to ſuppoſe that they ſpoke of the Great Khan, and imagined that the opulent kingdom of *Cathay*, deſcribed by Marco Polo, was not very remote. This induced him to employ ſome time in viewing the country. He viſited almoſt every harbour, from Porto del Principe, on the north coaſt of Cuba, to the eaſtern extremity of the iſland; but though delighted with the beauty of the ſcenes, which every where preſented themſelves, and amazed at the luxuriant fertility of the ſoil, both which, from their novelty, made a more lively impreſſion upon his imagination *, he did not find gold in ſuch quantity as was ſufficient to ſatisfy either the avarice of his followers, or the expectations of the court to which he was to return. The people of the country, as much aſtoniſhed at his eagerneſs in queſt of gold, as the Europeans were at their ignorance and ſimplicity, pointed towards the eaſt, where an iſland which they called Hayti was ſituated, in which that metal was more abundant than among them. Columbus ordered his ſquadron to bend its courſe thither; but Martin Alonſo Pinzon, impatient to be the firſt who ſhould take poſſeſſion of the treaſures which this country was ſuppoſed to contain, quitted his companions, regardleſs of all the admiral's ſignals to ſlacken ſail until they ſhould come up with him.

Columbus, retarded by contrary winds, did not reach Hayti till the ſixth of December. He called the port where he firſt touched St.

* In a letter of the admiral's to Ferdinand and Iſabella, he deſcribes one of the harbours in Cuba, with all the enthuſiaſtic admiration of a diſcoverer.—"I diſcovered a river which a galley might eaſily enter; the beauty of it induced me to ſound, and I found from five to eight fathoms of water. Having proceeded a conſiderable way up the river, every thing invited me to ſettle there. The beauty of the river, the clearneſs of the water, through which I could ſee the ſandy bottom, the multitude of palm-trees of different kinds, the talleſt and fineſt I had ſeen, and an infinite number of other large and flouriſhing trees, the birds, and the verdure of the plains, are ſo wonderfully beautiful, that this country excels all others as far as the day ſurpaſſes the night in brightneſs and ſplendour, ſo that I often ſaid, that it would be in vain for me to attempt to give your highneſſes a full account of it, for neither my tongue nor my pen could come up to the truth, and indeed I am ſo much amazed at the ſight of ſuch beauty, that I know not how to deſcribe." Life of Columbus, c. 30.

Nicholas, and the iſland itſelf Eſpagnola, in honour of the kingdom by which he was employed; and it is the only country, of thoſe he had yet diſcovered, which has retained the name that he gave it. As he could neither meet with the Pinta, nor have any intercourſe with the inhabitants, who fled in great conſternation towards the woods, he ſoon quitted St. Nicholas, and ſailing along the northern coaſt of the iſland, he entered another harbour, which he called the Conception. Here he was more fortunate; his people overtook a woman who was flying from them, and after treating her with great gentleneſs, diſmiſſed her with a preſent of ſuch toys as they knew were moſt valued in thoſe regions. The deſcription which ſhe gave to her countrymen of the humanity and wonderful qualities of the ſtrangers; their admiration of the trinkets, which ſhe ſhewed with exultation; and their eagerneſs to participate of the ſame favours; removed all their fears, and induced many of them to repair to the harbour. The ſtrange objects which they beheld, and the baubles, which Columbus beſtowed upon them, amply gratified their curioſity and their wiſhes. They nearly reſembled the people of Guanahani and Cuba. They were naked like them, ignorant, and ſimple; and ſeemed to be equally unacquainted with all the arts which appear moſt neceſſary in poliſhed ſocieties; but they were gentle, credulous, and timid, to a degree which rendered it eaſy to acquire the aſcendant over them, eſpecially as their exceſſive admiration led them into the ſame error with the people of the other iſlands, in believing the Spaniards to be more than mortals, and deſcended immediately from Heaven. They poſſeſſed gold in greater abundance than their neighbours, which they readily exchanged for bells, beads, or pins; and in this unequal traffic both parties were highly pleaſed, each conſidering themſelves as gainers by the tranſaction. Here Columbus was viſited by a prince or *cazique* of the country. He appeared with all the pomp known among a ſimple people, being carried in a ſort of palanquin upon the ſhoulders of four men, and attended by many of his ſubjects, who ſerved him with great reſpect. His deportment was grave and ſtately, very reſerved towards his own people, but with Columbus and the Spaniards extremely courteous. He gave the admiral ſome thin plates of gold, and a girdle of curious workmanſhip, receiving in return preſents of ſmall value, but highly acceptable to him.

Columbus, ſtill intent on diſcovering the mines which yielded gold, continued to interrogate all the natives with whom he had any intercourſe concerning their ſituation. They concurred in pointing out a mountainous country, which they called *Cibao*, at ſome diſtance from the ſea, and farther towards the eaſt. Struck with this ſound, which appeared

appeared to him the ſame with *Cipango*, the name by which Marco Polo, and other travellers to the eaſt, diſtinguiſhed the iſlands of Japan, he no longer doubted with reſpect to the vicinity of the countries which he had diſcovered to the remote parts of Aſia; and, in full expectation of reaching ſoon thoſe regions which had been the object of his voyage, he directed his courſe towards the eaſt. He put into a commodious harbour, which he called St. Thomas, and found that diſtrict to be under the government of a powerful cazique, named *Guacanahari*, who, as he afterwards learned, was one of the five ſovereigns among whom the whole iſland was divided. He immediately ſent meſſengers to Columbus, who, in his name, delivered to him the preſent of a maſk curiouſly faſhioned, with the ears, noſe, and mouth of beaten gold, and invited him to the place of his reſidence, near the harbour now called Cape Francois, ſome leagues towards the eaſt. Columbus diſpatched ſome of his officers to viſit this prince, who, as he behaved himſelf with greater dignity, ſeemed to claim more attention. They returned, with ſuch favourable accounts both of the country and of the people, as made Columbus impatient for that interview with Guacanahari to which he had been invited.

He ſailed for this purpoſe from St. Thomas, on the twenty-fourth of December with a fair wind, and the ſea perfectly calm; and as, amidſt the multiplicity of his occupations, he had not ſhut his eyes for two days, he retired at midnight in order to take ſome repoſe, having committed the helm to the pilot, with ſtrict injunctions not to quit it for a moment. The pilot, dreading no danger, careleſsly left the helm to an unexperienced cabin boy, and the ſhip, carried away by a current, was daſhed againſt a rock. The violence of the ſhock awakened Columbus. He ran up to the deck. There, all was confuſion and deſpair. He alone retained preſence of mind. He ordered ſome of the ſailors to take a boat, and carry out an anchor aſtern; but, inſtead of obeying, they made off towards the Nigna, which was about half a league diſtant. He then commanded the maſts to be cut down, in order to lighten the ſhip; but all his endeavours were too late; the veſſel opened near the keel, and filled ſo faſt with water that its loſs was inevitable. The ſmoothneſs of the ſea, and the timely aſſiſtance of boats from the Nigna, enabled the crew to ſave their lives. As ſoon as the iſlanders heard of this diſaſter, they crowded to the ſhore, with their prince Guacanahari at their head. Inſtead of taking advantage of the diſtreſs in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune with tears of ſincere condolance. Not ſatisfied with this unavailing expreſſion of their ſympathy

ſympathy, they put to ſea a number of canoes, and, under the direction of the Spaniards, aſſiſted in ſaving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the united labour of ſo many hands, almoſt every thing of value was carried aſhore. As faſt as the goods were landed, Guacanahari in perſon took charge of them. By his orders they were all depoſited in one place, and armed centinels were poſted, who kept the multitude at a diſtance, in order to prevent them not only from embezzling, but from inſpecting too curiouſly what belonged to their gueſts. Next morning this prince viſited Columbus, who was now on board the Nigna, and endeavoured to conſole him for his loſs, by offering all that he poſſeſſed to repair it *.

The condition of Columbus was ſuch, that he ſtood in need of conſolation. He had hitherto procured no intelligence of the Pinta, and no longer doubted but that his treacherous aſſociate had ſet ſail for Europe, in order to have the merit of carrying the firſt tidings of the extraordinary diſcoveries which had been made, and to pre-occupy ſo far the ear of their ſovereign, as to rob him of the glory and reward to which he was juſtly entitled. There remained but one veſſel, and that the ſmalleſt and moſt crazy of the ſquadron, to traverſe ſuch a vaſt ocean, and carry

* The account which Columbus gives of the humanity and orderly behaviour of the natives on this occaſion is very ſtriking. "The king (ſays he, in a letter to Ferdinand and Iſabella) having been informed of our misfortune, expreſſed great grief for our loſs, and immediately ſent aboard all the people in the place in many large canoes; we ſoon unloaded the ſhip of every thing that was upon deck, as the king gave us great aſſiſtance: he himſelf, with his brothers and relations, took all poſſible care that every thing ſhould be properly done both aboard and on ſhore. And, from time to time, he ſent ſome of his relations weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all that he had. I can aſſure your highneſſes, that ſo much care would not have been taken in ſecuring our effects in any part of Spain, as all our property was put together in one place near his palace, until the houſes which he wanted to prepare for the cuſtody of it, were emptied. He immediately placed a guard of armed men, who watched during the whole night, and thoſe on ſhore lamented as if they had been much intereſted in our loſs. The people are ſo affectionate, ſo tractable, and ſo peaceable, that I ſwear to your highneſſes, that there is not a better race of men, nor a better country in the world. They love their neighbour as themſelves; their converſation is the ſweeteſt and mildeſt in the world, cheerful, and always accompanied with a ſmile. And although it is true that they go naked, yet your highneſſes may be aſſured that they have many very commendable cuſtoms; the king is ſerved with great ſtate, and his behaviour is ſo decent, that it is pleaſant to ſee him, as it is likewiſe to obſerve the wonderful memory which theſe people have, and their deſire of knowing every thing, which leads them to inquire into its cauſes and effects." Life of Columbus, c. 32. It is probable that the Spaniards were indebted for this officious attention, to the opinion which the Indians entertained of them as a ſuperior order of beings.

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ſo many men back to Europe. Each of thoſe circumſtances was alarming, and filled the mind of Columbus with the utmoſt ſolicitude. The deſire of overtaking Pinzon, and of effacing the unfavourable impreſſions which his miſrepreſentations might make in Spain, made it neceſſary to return thither without delay. The difficulty of taking ſuch a number of perſons aboard the Nigna, confirmed him in an opinion, which the fertility of the country, and the gentle temper of the people, had already induced him to form. He reſolved to leave a part of his crew in the iſland, that, by reſiding there, they might learn the language of the natives, ſtudy their diſpoſition, examine the nature of the country, ſearch for mines, prepare for the commodious ſettlement of the colony, with which he purpoſed to return, and thus ſecure and facilitate the acquiſition of thoſe advantages which he expected from his diſcoveries. When he mentioned this to his men, all approved of the deſign; and from impatience under the fatigue of a long voyage, from the levity natural to ſailors, or from the hopes of amaſſing wealth in a country which afforded ſuch promiſing ſpecimens of its riches, many offered voluntarily to be among the number of thoſe who ſhould remain.

Nothing was now wanting towards the execution of this ſcheme, but to obtain the conſent of Guacanahari; and his unſuſpicious ſimplicity ſoon preſented to the admiral a favourable opportunity of propoſing it. Columbus having, in the beſt manner he could, by broken words and ſigns, expreſſed ſome curioſity to know the cauſe which had moved the iſlanders to fly with ſuch precipitation upon the approach of his ſhips, the cazique informed him that the country was much infeſted by the incurſions of certain people, whom he called *Carribeans*, who inhabited ſeveral iſlands to the ſouth-eaſt. Theſe he deſcribed as a fierce and warlike race of men, who delighted in blood, and devoured the fleſh of the priſoners who were ſo unhappy as to fall into their hands; and as the Spaniards, at their firſt appearance, were ſuppoſed to be Carribeans, whom the natives, however numerous, durſt not face in battle, they had recourſe to their uſual method of ſecuring their ſafety, by flying into the thickeſt and moſt impenetrable woods. Guacanahari, while ſpeaking of thoſe dreadful invaders, diſcovered ſuch ſymptoms of terror, as well as ſuch conſciouſneſs of the inability of his own people to reſiſt them, as led Columbus to conclude that he would not be alarmed at the propoſition of any ſcheme which afforded him the proſpect of an additional ſecurity againſt their attacks. He inſtantly offered him the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards to repel his enemies; he engaged to take him and his people under the protection of the powerful monarch whom he ſerved, and offered to leave in the iſland ſuch a number of his men as ſhould be ſufficient, not

only to defend the inhabitants from future incurſions, but to avenge their paſt wrongs.

The credulous prince cloſed eagerly with the propoſal, and thought himſelf already ſafe under the patronage of beings ſprung from Heaven, and ſuperior in power to mortal men. The ground was marked out for a ſmall fort, which Columbus called *Navidad*, becauſe he had landed there on Chriſtmas day. A deep ditch was drawn around it. The ramparts were fortified with palliſades, and the great guns, ſaved out of the admiral's ſhip, were planted upon them. In ten days the work was finiſhed; that ſimple race of men labouring with inconſiderate aſſiduity in erecting this firſt monument of their own ſervitude. During this time Columbus, by his careſſes and liberality, laboured to increaſe the high opinion which the natives entertained of the Spaniards. But while he endeavoured to inſpire them with confidence in their diſpoſition to do good, he wiſhed likewiſe to give them ſome ſtriking idea of their power to puniſh and deſtroy ſuch as were the objects of their indignation. With this view, in preſence of a vaſt aſſembly, he drew up his men in order of battle, and made an oſtentatious but innocent diſplay of the ſharpneſs of the Spaniſh ſwords, of the force of their ſpears, and the operation of their croſs-bows. Theſe rude people, ſtrangers to the uſe of iron, and unacquainted with any hoſtile weapons, but arrows of reeds pointed with the bones of fiſhes, wooden ſwords, and javelins hardened in the fire, wondered and trembled. Before this ſurpriſe or fear had time to abate, he ordered the great guns to be fired. The ſudden exploſion ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they fell flat to the ground, covering their faces with their hands; and when they beheld the aſtoniſhing effect of the bullets among the trees, towards which the cannon had been pointed, they concluded that it was impoſſible to reſiſt men, who had the command of ſuch deſtructive inſtruments, and who came armed with thunder and lightning againſt their enemies.

After giving ſuch impreſſions both of the beneficence and power of the Spaniards, as might have rendered it eaſy to preſerve an aſcendant over the minds of the natives, Columbus appointed thirty-eight of his people to remain in the iſland. He entruſted the command of theſe to Diego de Arada, a gentleman of Cordova, inveſting him with the ſame powers which he himſelf had received from Ferdinand and Iſabella; and furniſhed him with every thing requiſite for the ſubſiſtence or defence of this infant colony. He ſtrictly enjoined them to maintain concord among themſelves, to yield an unreſerved obedience to their commander, to avoid giving offence to the natives by any violence or exaction, to cultivate the friendſhip of Guacanahari, but not to put themſelves in his power

power by ſtraggling in ſmall parties, or marching too far from the fort. He promiſed to reviſit them ſoon, with ſuch a reinforcement of ſtrength as might enable them to take full poſſeſſion of the country, and to reap all the fruits of their diſcoveries. In the mean time, he engaged to mention their names to the king and queen, and to place their merit and ſervices in the moſt advantageous light.

Having thus taken every precaution for the ſecurity of the Colony, he left Navidad on the fourth of January, one thouſand four hundred and ninety-three, and ſteering towards the eaſt, diſcovered, and gave names to moſt of the harbours on the northern coaſt of the iſland. On the ſixth, he deſcried the Pinta, and ſoon came up with her, after a ſeparation of more than ſix weeks. Pinzon endeavoured to juſtify his conduct, by pretending that he had been driven from his courſe by ſtreſs of weather, and prevented from returning by contrary winds. The admiral, though he ſtill ſuſpected his perfidious intentions, and knew well what he urged in his own defence to be frivolous as well as falſe, was ſo ſenſible that this was not a proper time for venturing upon any high ſtrain of authority, and felt ſuch ſatisfaction in this junction with his conſort, which delivered him from many diſquieting apprehenſions, that lame as Pinzon's apology was, he admitted of it without difficulty, and reſtored him to favour. During his abſence from the admiral, Pinzon had viſited ſeveral harbours in the iſland, had acquired ſome gold by trafficking with the natives, but had made no diſcovery of any importance.

From the condition of his ſhips, as well as the temper of his men, Columbus now found it neceſſary to haſten his return to Europe. The former, having ſuffered much during a voyage of ſuch an unuſual length, were extremely leaky. The latter expreſſed the utmoſt impatience to reviſit their native country, from which they had been ſo long abſent, and where they had things ſo wonderful and un-heard of to relate. Accordingly, on the ſixteenth of January, he directed his courſe towards the north-eaſt, and ſoon loſt ſight of land. He had on board ſome of the natives, whom he had taken from the different iſlands which he diſcovered; and beſides the gold, which was the chief object of reſearch, he had collected ſpecimens of all the productions which were likely to become ſubjects of commerce in the ſeveral countries, as well as many unknown birds, and other natural curioſities, which might attract the attention of the learned, or excite the wonder of the people. The voyage was proſperous to the fourteenth of February, and he had advanced near five hundred leagues acroſs the Atlantic Ocean, when the wind began to riſe, and continued to blow with increaſing rage, which termi-

nated in a furious hurricane. Every expedient that the naval ſkill and experience of Columbus could deviſe was employed, in order to ſave the ſhips. But it was impoſſible to withſtand the violence of the ſtorm, and as they were ſtill far from any land, deſtruction ſeemed inevitable. The ſailors had recourſe to prayers to Almighty God, to the invocation of ſaints, to vows and charms, to every thing that religion dictates, or ſuperſtition ſuggeſts, to the affrighted mind of man. No proſpect of deliverance appearing, they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, and expected every moment to be ſwallowed up in the waves. Beſides the paſſions which naturally agitate and alarm the human mind in ſuch awful ſituations, when certain death, in one of his moſt terrible forms, is before it, Columbus had to endure feelings of diſtreſs peculiar to himſelf. He dreaded that all knowledge of the amazing diſcoveries which he had made was now to periſh; mankind were to be deprived of every benefit that might have been derived from the happy ſucceſs of his ſchemes, and his own name would deſcend to poſterity as that of a raſh deluded adventurer, inſtead of being tranſmitted with the honour due to the author and conductor of the moſt noble enterpriſe that had ever been undertaken. Theſe reflections extinguiſhed all ſenſe of his own perſonal danger. Leſs affected with the loſs of life, than ſolicitous to preſerve the memory of what he had attempted and achieved, he retired to his cabbin, and wrote, upon parchment, a ſhort account of the voyage which he had made, of the courſe which he had taken, of the ſituation and riches of the countries which he had diſcovered, and of the colony that he had left there. Having wrapt up this in an oiled cloth, which he incloſed in a cake of wax, he put it into a caſk carefully ſtopped up, and threw it into the ſea, in hopes that ſome fortunate accident might preſerve a depoſit of ſo much importance to the world *.

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* Every monument of ſuch a man as Columbus is valuable. A letter which he wrote to Ferdinand and Iſabella, deſcribing what paſſed on this occaſion, exhibits a moſt ſtriking picture of his intrepidity, his humanity, his prudence, his public ſpirit, and courtly addreſs. "I would have been leſs concerned for this misfortune, had I alone been in danger, both becauſe my life is a debt that I owe to the Supreme Creator, and becauſe I have at other times been expoſed to the moſt imminent hazard. But what gave me infinite grief and vexation was, that after it had pleaſed our Lord to give me faith to undertake this enterprize, in which I had now been ſo ſucceſsful, that my opponents would have been convinced, and the glory of your highneſſes, and the extent of your territory increaſed by me; it ſhould pleaſe the Divine Majeſty to ſtop all by my death. All this would have been more tolerable, had it not been attended with the loſs of thoſe men whom I had carried with me, upon promiſe of the greateſt proſperity, who ſeeing themſelves in ſuch diſtreſs, curſed not only their coming along with me, but that fear and awe of me,

At length Providence interpoſed, to ſave a life reſerved for other ſervices. The wind abated, the ſea became calm, and on the evening of the fifteenth, Columbus and his companions diſcovered land; and though uncertain what it was, they made towards it. They ſoon knew it to be St. Mary, one of the Azores or weſtern iſles, ſubject to the crown of Portugal. There, after a violent conteſt with the governor, in which Columbus diſplayed no leſs ſpirit than prudence, he obtained a ſupply of freſh proviſions, and whatever elſe he needed. One circumſtance, however, greatly diſquieted him. The Pinta, of which he had loſt ſight on the firſt day of the hurricane, did not appear; he dreaded for ſome time that ſhe had foundered at ſea, and that all her crew had periſhed: afterwards, his former ſuſpicions recurred, and he became apprehenſive that Pinzon had born away for Spain, that he might reach it before him, and, by giving the firſt account of his diſcoveries, might obtain ſome ſhare of his fame.

In order to prevent this, he left the Azores on the twenty-fourth of February, as ſoon as the weather would permit. At no great diſtance from the coaſt of Spain, when near the end of his voyage, and ſeem-

me, which prevented them from returning as they had often reſolved to have done. But beſides all this, my ſorrow was greatly increaſed, by recollecting that I had left my two ſons at ſchool at Cordova, deſtitute of friends, in a foreign country, when it could not in all probability be known that I had done ſuch ſervices as might induce your highneſſes to remember them. And though I comforted myſelf with the faith that our Lord would not permit that, which tended ſo much to the glory of his church, and which I had brought about with ſo much trouble, to remain imperfect, yet I conſidered, that on account of my ſins, it was his will to deprive me of that glory, which I might have attained in this world. While in this confuſed ſtate, I thought on the good fortune which accompanies your highneſſes, and imagined, that although I ſhould periſh, and the veſſel be loſt, it was poſſible that you might ſomehow come to the knowledge of my voyage, and the ſucceſs with which it was attended. For that reaſon I wrote upon parchment with the brevity which the ſituation required, that I had diſcovered the lands which I promiſed, in how many days I had done it, and what courſe I had followed. I mentioned the goodneſs of the country, the character of the inhabitants, and that your highneſſes ſubjects were left in poſſeſſion of all that I had diſcovered. Having ſealed this writing, I addreſſed it to your highneſſes, and promiſed a thouſand ducats to any perſon who ſhould deliver it ſealed, ſo that if any foreigners found it, the promiſed reward might prevail on them not to give the information to another. I then cauſed a great caſk to be brought to me, and wrapping up the parchment in an oiled cloth, and afterwards in a cake of wax, I put it into the caſk, and having ſtopt it well, I caſt it into the ſea. All the men believed that it was ſome act of devotion. Imagining that this might never chance to be taken up, as the ſhips approached nearer to Spain, I made another packet like the firſt, and placed it at the top of the poop, ſo that if the ſhip ſunk, the caſk remaining above water might be committed to the guidance of fortune."

ingly beyond the reach of any diſaſter, another ſtorm aroſe, little inferior to the former in violence; and after driving before it during two days and two nights, he was forced to take ſhelter in the river Tagus. Upon application to the king of Portugal, on the fourth of March, one thouſand four hundred and ninety-three, he was allowed to come up to Liſbon; and, notwithſtanding the envy which it was natural for the Portugueſe to feel, when they beheld another nation entering upon that province of diſcovery which they had hitherto deemed peculiarly their own, and in its firſt eſſay, not only rivalling but eclipſing their fame, Columbus was received with all the marks of diſtinction due to a man who had performed things ſo extraordinary and unexpected. The king admitted him into his preſence, treated him with the higheſt reſpect, and liſtened to the account which he gave of his voyage with admiration mingled with regret. While Columbus, on his part, enjoyed the ſatisfaction of deſcribing the importance of his diſcoveries, and of being now able to prove the ſolidity of his ſchemes to thoſe very perſons, who with an ignorance diſgraceful to themſelves, and fatal to their country, had lately rejected them as the projects of a viſionary or deſigning adventurer.

Columbus was ſo impatient to return to Spain, that he remained only five days in Liſbon. On the fifteenth of March he arrived in the port of Palos, ſeven months and eleven days from the time when he ſet out thence upon his voyage. As ſoon as his ſhip was diſcovered approaching the port, all the inhabitants of Palos ran eagerly to the ſhore, in order to welcome their relations and fellow-citizens, and to hear tidings of their voyage. When the proſperous iſſue of it was known, when they beheld the ſtrange people, the unknown animals, and ſingular productions brought from the countries which had been diſcovered, the effuſion of joy was general and unbounded. The bells were rung, the cannon fired; Columbus was received at landing with royal honours, and all the people, in ſolemn proceſſion, accompanied him and his crew to the church, where they returned thanks to Heaven, which had ſo wonderfully conducted and crowned with ſucceſs, a voyage of greater length and of more importance, than had been attempted in any former age. On the evening of the ſame day, he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Pinta, which the violence of the tempeſt had driven far to the north, enter the harbour.

The firſt care of Columbus was to inform the king and queen, who were then at Barcelona, of his arrival and ſucceſs. Ferdinand and Iſabella, no leſs aſtoniſhed than delighted with this unexpected event, deſired

fired Columbus, in terms the moſt reſpectful and flattering, to repair immediately to court, that from his own mouth they might receive a full detail of his extraordinary ſervices and diſcoveries. During his journey to Barcelona, the people crowded from the adjacent country, following him every where with admiration and applauſe. His entrance into the city was conducted, by order of Ferdinand and Iſabella, with pomp ſuitable to the great event, which added ſuch diſtinguiſhed luſtre to their reign. The people whom he brought along with him from the countries which he had diſcovered, marched firſt, and by their ſingular complexion, the wild peculiarity of their features, and uncouth finery, appeared like men of another ſpecies. Next to them were carried the ornaments of gold, faſhioned by the rude art of the natives, the grains of gold found in the mountains, and duſt of the ſame metal gathered in the rivers. After theſe, appeared the various commodities of the new diſcovered countries, together with their curious productions. Columbus himſelf cloſed the proceſſion, and attracted the eyes of all the ſpectators, who gazed with admiration on the extraordinary man, whoſe ſuperior ſagacity and fortitude had conducted their countrymen, by a route concealed from paſt ages, to the knowledge of a new world. Ferdinand and Iſabella received him clad in their royal robes, and ſeated upon a throne, under a magnificent canopy. When he approached they ſtood up, and raiſing him as he kneeled to kiſs their hands, commanded him to take his ſeat upon a chair prepared for him, and to give a circumſtantial account of his voyage. He delivered it with a gravity and compoſure no leſs ſuitable to the diſpoſition of the Spaniſh nation, than to the dignity of the audience in which he ſpoke, and with that modeſt ſimplicity which characteriſes men of ſuperior minds; who, ſatisfied with having performed great actions, court not vain applauſe by an oſtentatious diſplay of their exploits. When he had finiſhed his narration, the king and queen, kneeling down, offered up ſolemn thanks to Almighty God for the diſcovery of thoſe new regions, from which they expected ſo many advantages to flow in upon the kingdoms ſubject to their government. Every mark of honour that gratitude or admiration could ſuggeſt was conferred upon Columbus. Letters patent were iſſued, confirming to him and to his heirs all the privileges contained in the capitulation concluded at Santa Fé; his family was ennobled; the king and queen, and, after their example, the courtiers, treated him, on every occaſion, with all the ceremonious reſpect paid to perſons of the higheſt rank. But what pleaſed him moſt, as it gratified his active mind, bent continually upon great objects, was, an order to equip, without delay, an armament of ſuch force, as might enable him not only

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to take poſſeſſion of the countries which he had already diſcovered, but to go in ſearch of thoſe more opulent regions, which he ſtill confidently expected to find.

While preparations were making for this expedition, the fame of Columbus's ſucceſsful voyage ſpread over Europe, and excited general attention. The multitude, ſtruck with amazement when they heard that a new world had been found, could hardly believe an event ſo much above their conception. Men of ſcience, capable of comprehending the nature, and of diſcerning the effects, of this great diſcovery, received the account of it with admiration and joy. They ſpoke of his voyage with rapture, and congratulated one another upon their felicity, in having lived in the period when, by this extraordinary event, the boundaries of human knowledge were ſo much extended, and ſuch a new field of inquiry and obſervation opened, as would lead mankind to a perfect acquaintance with the ſtructure and productions of the habitable globe. Various opinions and conjectures were formed concerning the new-found countries, and what diviſion of the earth they belonged to. Columbus adhered tenaciouſly to his original opinion, that they ſhould be reckoned a part of thoſe vaſt regions in Aſia, comprehended under the general name of India. This ſentiment was confirmed by the obſervations which he made concerning the productions of the countries he had diſcovered. Gold was known to abound in India, and he had met with ſuch promiſing ſamples of it in the iſlands which he viſited, as led him to believe that rich mines of it might be found. Cotton, another production of the Eaſt Indies, was common there. The pimento of the iſlands he imagined to be a ſpecies of the Eaſt-Indian pepper. He miſtook a root, ſomewhat reſembling rhubarb, for that valuable drug, which was then ſuppoſed to be a plant peculiar to the Eaſt Indies. The birds brought home by him were adorned with the ſame rich plumage which diſtinguiſhes thoſe of India. The alligator of the one country appeared to be the ſame with the crocodile of the other. After weighing all theſe circumſtances, not only the Spaniards, but the other nations of Europe, ſeem to have adopted the opinion of Columbus. The countries which he had diſcovered were conſidered as a part of India. In conſequence of this notion, the name of Indies is given to them by Ferdinand and Iſabella, in a ratification of their former agreement, which was granted to Columbus upon his return. Even after the error which gave riſe to this opinion was detected, and the true poſition of the New World was aſcertained, the name has remained, and the appellation of *Weſt Indies* is given by all the people of Europe to the country, and that of *Indians* to its inhabitants.

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The name by which Columbus diſtinguiſhed the countries which he had diſcovered was ſo inviting, the ſpecimens of their riches and fertility, which he produced, were ſo conſiderable, and the reports of his companions, delivered frequently with the exaggeration natural to travellers, ſo favourable, as to excite a wonderful ſpirit of enterpriſe among the Spaniards. Though little accuſtomed to naval expeditions, they were impatient to ſet out upon the voyage. Volunteers of every rank ſolicited to be employed. Allured by the inviting proſpects which opened to their ambition and avarice, neither the length nor danger of the navigation intimidated them. Cautious as Ferdinand was, and averſe to every thing new and adventurous, he ſeems to have catched the ſame ſpirit with his ſubjects. Under its influence, preparations for a ſecond expedition were carried on with a rapidity unuſual in Spain, and to an extent that would be deemed not inconſiderable in the preſent age. The fleet conſiſted of ſeventeen ſhips, ſome of which were of good burden. It had on board fifteen hundred perſons, among whom were many of noble families, who had ſerved in honourable ſtations. The greater part of theſe being deſtined to remain in the country, were furniſhed with every thing requiſite for conqueſt or ſettlement, with all kinds of European domeſtic animals, with ſuch ſeeds and plants as were moſt likely to thrive in the climate of the Weſt Indies, with utenſils and inſtruments of every ſort, and with ſuch artificers as might be moſt uſeful in an infant colony.

But, formidable and well provided as this fleet was, Ferdinand and Iſabella did not reſt their title to the poſſeſſion of the newly-diſcovered countries upon its operations alone. The example of the Portugueſe, as well as the ſuperſtition of the age, made it neceſſary to obtain from the Roman pontiff a grant of thoſe territories which they wiſhed to occupy. The Pope, as the vicar and repreſentative of Jeſus Chriſt, was ſuppoſed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth. Alexander VI. a pontiff infamous for every crime which diſgraces humanity, filled the papal throne at that time. As he was born Ferdinand's ſubject, and very ſolicitous to ſecure the protection of Spain, in order to facilitate the execution of his ambitious ſchemes in favour of his own family, he was extremely willing to gratify the Spaniſh monarchs. By an act of liberality which coſt him nothing, and that ſerved to eſtabliſh the juriſdiction and pretenſions of the papal ſee, he granted in full right to Ferdinand and Iſabella all the countries inhabited by Infidels, which they had diſcovered, or ſhould diſcover; and, in virtue of that power which he derived from Jeſus Chriſt, he conferred on the crown of Caſtile vaſt regions, to the poſſeſſion of which he himſelf was ſo far from

from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their ſituation, and ignorant even of their exiſtence. As it was neceſſary to prevent this grant from interfering with that formerly made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line, ſuppoſed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues to the weſtward of the Azores, ſhould ſerve as the limit between them; and, in the plenitude of his power, beſtowed all to the eaſt of this imaginary line upon the Portugueſe, and all to the weſt of it upon the Spaniards. Zeal for propagating the Chriſtian faith was the conſideration employed by Ferdinand in ſoliciting this bull, and is mentioned by Alexander as his chief motive for iſſuing it. In order to manifeſt ſome concern for this laudable object, ſeveral friars, under the direction of Father Boyl, a Catalonian monk of great reputation, as apoſtolical vicar, were appointed to accompany Columbus, and to devote themſelves to the inſtruction of the natives. The Indians whom Columbus had brought along with him, having received ſome tincture of Chriſtian knowledge, were baptized with much ſolemnity, the king himſelf, the prince his ſon, and the chief perſons of his court, ſtanding as their godfathers. Thoſe firſt fruits of the New World have not been followed by ſuch an increaſe as pious men wiſhed, and had reaſon to expect.

Ferdinand and Iſabella having thus acquired a title, which was then deemed completely valid, to extend their diſcoveries, and to eſtabliſh their dominion over ſuch a conſiderable portion of the globe, nothing now retarded the departure of the fleet. Columbus was extremely impatient to reviſit the colony which he had left, and to purſue that career of glory upon which he had entered. He ſet ſail from the bay of Cadiz on the twenty-fifth of September, and touching again at the iſland of Gomera, he ſteered farther towards the ſouth than in his former voyage. By holding this courſe, he enjoyed more ſteadily the benefit of the regular winds, which reign within the tropics, and was carried towards a large cluſter of iſlands, ſituated conſiderably to the eaſt of thoſe which he had already diſcovered. On the twenty-ſixth day, Nov. 2, after his departure from Gomera, he made land. It was one of the Caribbee or Leeward iſlands, to which he gave the name of Deſeada, on account of the impatience of his crew to diſcover ſome part of the New World. After this he viſited ſucceſſively Dominica, Marigalante, Antigua, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and ſeveral other iſlands, ſcattered in his way as he advanced towards the north-weſt. All theſe he found to be inhabited by that fierce race of people whom Guacanahari had painted in ſuch frightful colours. His deſcriptions appeared not to have been exaggerated. The Spaniards never at-

tempted to land without meeting with ſuch a reception, as diſcovered the martial and daring ſpirit of the natives; and in their habitations were found relics of thoſe horrid feaſts which they had made upon the bodies of their enemies taken in war.

But as Columbus was eager to know the ſtate of the colony which he had planted, and to ſupply it with the neceſſaries of which he ſuppoſed it to be in want, he made no ſtay in any of thoſe iſlands, and proceeded directly to Hiſpaniola. When he arrived off Navidad, the ſtation in which he had left the thirty-eight men under the command of Arada, he was aſtoniſhed that none of them appeared, and expected every moment to ſee them running with tranſports of joy to welcome their countrymen. Full of ſolicitude about their ſafety, and foreboding in his mind what had befallen them, he rowed inſtantly to land. All the natives from whom he might have received information had fled. But the fort which he had built was entirely demoliſhed, and the tattered garments, the broken arms and utenſils ſcattered about it, left no room to doubt concerning the unhappy fate of the garriſon. While the Spaniards were ſhedding tears over thoſe ſad memorials of their fellow-citizens, a brother of the cazique Guacanahari arrived. From him Columbus received a particular detail of what had happened after his departure from the iſland. The familiar intercourſe of the Indians with the Spaniards tended gradually to diminiſh the ſuperſtitious veneration with which their firſt appearance had inſpired that ſimple people. By their own indiſcretion and ill conduct, the Spaniards ſpeedily effaced thoſe favourable impreſſions, and ſoon convinced the natives, that they had all the wants, and weakneſſes, and paſſions of men. As ſoon as the powerful reſtraint which the preſence and authority of Columbus impoſed was withdrawn, the garriſon threw off all regard for the officer whom he had inveſted with command. Regardleſs of the prudent inſtructions which he had given them, every man became independent, and gratified his deſires without controul. The gold, the women, the proviſions of the natives, were all the prey of thoſe licentious oppreſſors. They roamed in ſmall parties over the iſland, extending their rapacity and inſolence to every corner of it. Gentle and timid as the people were, thoſe unprovoked injuries at length exhauſted their patience, and rouzed their courage. The cazique of Cibao, whoſe country the Spaniards chiefly infeſted on account of the gold which it contained, ſurpriſed and cut off ſeveral of them, while they ſtraggled in as perfect ſecurity as if their conduct had been altogether inoffenſive. He then aſſembled his ſubjects, and ſurrounding the fort, ſet it on fire. Some of the Spaniards were killed in defending it, the reſt periſhed in attempting

to make their eſcape by croſſing an arm of the ſea. Guacanahari, whom all their exactions had not alienated from the Spaniards, took arms in their behalf, and, in endeavouring to protect them, had received a wound, by which he was ſtill confined.

Though this account was far from removing the ſuſpicions which the Spaniards entertained with reſpect to the fidelity of Guacanahari, Columbus perceived ſo clearly that this was not a proper juncture for inquiring into his conduct with ſcrupulous accuracy, that he rejected the advice of ſeveral of his officers, who urged him to ſeize the perſon of that prince, and to revenge the death of their countrymen by attacking his ſubjects. He repreſented to them the neceſſity of ſecuring the friendſhip of ſome potentate of the country, in order to facilitate the ſettlement which they intended, and the danger of driving the natives to unite in ſome deſperate attempt againſt them, by ſuch an ill-timed and unavailing exerciſe of rigour. Inſtead of waſting his time in puniſhing paſt wrongs, he took precaution for preventing any future injury. With this view, he made choice of a ſituation more healthy and commodious than that of Navidad. He traced out the plan of a town in a large plain near a ſpacious bay, and obliging every perſon to put his hand to a work on which their common ſafety depended, the houſes and ramparts were ſoon ſo far advanced by their united labour, as to afford them ſhelter and ſecurity. This riſing city, the firſt that the Europeans founded in the New World, he named Iſabella, in honour of his patroneſs the queen of Caſtile.

In carrying on this neceſſary work, Columbus had not only to ſuſtain all the hardſhips, and to encounter all the difficulties, to which infant colonies are expoſed when they ſettle in an uncultivated country, but he had to contend with what was more inſuperable, the lazineſs, the impatience, and mutinous diſpoſition of his followers. By the enervating influence of a hot climate, the natural inactivity of the Spaniards ſeemed to increaſe. Many of them were gentlemen, unaccuſtomed to the fatigue of bodily labour, and all had engaged in the enterpriſe with the ſanguine hopes excited by the ſplendid and exaggerated deſcriptions of their countrymen who returned from the firſt voyage, or by the miſtaken opinion of Columbus, that the country which he had diſcovered was either the Cipango of Marco Polo, or the Ophir, from which Solomon imported thoſe precious commodities which ſuddenly diffuſed ſuch extraordinary riches through his kingdom. But when, inſtead of that golden harveſt which they had expected to reap without toil or pains, the Spaniards ſaw their proſpect of wealth was remote as well as uncertain, and that it could not be attained but by the ſlow and perſevering

ſevering efforts of induſtry, the diſappointment of thoſe chimerical hopes occaſioned ſuch dejection of mind as bordered on deſpair, and led to general diſcontent. In vain did Columbus endeavour to revive their ſpirits by pointing out the fertility of the ſoil, and exhibiting the ſpecimens of gold daily brought in from different parts of the iſland. They had not patience to wait for the gradual returns which the former might yield, and the latter they deſpiſed as ſcanty and inconſiderable. The ſpirit of diſaffection ſpread, and a conſpiracy was formed, which might have been fatal to Columbus and the colony. Happily he diſcovered it, and ſeizing the ring-leaders, puniſhed ſome of them, ſent others priſoners into Spain whither he diſpatched twelve of the ſhips which had ſerved as tranſports, with an earneſt requeſt for a reinforcement of men and a large ſupply of proviſions.

Meanwhile, in order to baniſh that idleneſs which, by allowing his people leiſure to brood over their diſappointment, nouriſhed the ſpirit of diſcontent, Columbus planned ſeveral expeditions into the interior part of the country. He ſent a detachment, under the command of Alonſo de Ojeda, a vigilant and enterpriſing officer, to viſit the diſtrict of Cibao, which was ſaid to yield the greateſt quantity of gold, and followed him in perſon with the main body of his troops. In this expedition, March 12, 1494, he diſplayed all the pomp of military magnificence that he could exhibit, in order to ſtrike the imagination of the natives. He marched with colours flying, with martial muſic, and with a ſmall body of cavalry that paraded ſometimes in the front and ſometimes in the rear. As thoſe were the firſt horſes which appeared in the New World, they were objects of terror no leſs than of admiration to the Indians, who having no tame animals themſelves, were unacquainted with that vaſt acceſſion of power, which man hath acquired by ſubjecting them to his dominion. They ſuppoſed them to be rational creatures. They imagined that the horſe and the rider formed one animal, with whoſe ſpeed they were aſtoniſhed, and whoſe impetuoſity and ſtrength they conſidered as irreſiſtible. But while Columbus endeavoured to inſpire the natives with a dread of his power, he did not neglect the arts of gaining their love and confidence. He adhered ſcrupuloufly to the principles of integrity and juſtice in all his tranſactions with them, and treated them, on every occaſion, not only with humanity, but with indulgence. The diſtrict of Cibao anſwered the deſcription given of it by the natives. It was mountainous and uncultivated, but in every river, and brook, gold was gathered either in duſt or in grains, ſome of which were of conſiderable ſize. The Indians had never opened any mines in ſearch of gold. To penetrate into the

bowels of the earth, and to refine the rude ore, were operations too complicated and laborious for their talents and induſtry, and they had no ſuch high value for gold as to put their ingenuity and invention upon the ſtretch in order to obtain it. The ſmall quantity of that precious metal which they poſſeſſed, was either picked up in the beds of the rivers, or waſhed from the mountains by the heavy rains that fall within the tropics. But, from thoſe indications, the Spaniards could no longer doubt that the country contained rich treaſures in its bowels, of which they hoped ſoon to be maſters. In order to ſecure the command of this valuable province, Columbus erected a ſmall fort, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, by way of ridicule upon ſome of his incredulous followers, who would not believe that the country produced gold, until they ſaw it with their own eyes, and touched it with their hands.

The account of thoſe promiſing appearances of wealth in the country of Cibao came very ſeaſonably to comfort the deſponding colony, which was effected with diſtreſſes of various kinds. The ſtock of proviſions which had been brought from Europe was moſtly conſumed; what remained was ſo much corrupted by the heat and moiſture of the climate, as to be almoſt unfit for uſe; the natives cultivated ſo ſmall a portion of ground, and with ſo little ſkill, that it hardly yielded what was ſufficient for their own ſubſiſtence; the Spaniards at Iſabella had hitherto neither time nor leiſure to clear the ſoil, ſo as to reap any conſiderable fruits of their own induſtry. On all theſe accounts, they became afraid of periſhing with hunger, and were reduced already to a ſcanty allowance. At the ſame time, the diſeaſes predominant in the torrid zone, and which rage chiefly in thoſe uncultivated countries, where the hand of induſtry has not opened the woods, drained the marches, and confined the rivers within a certain channel, began to ſpread among them. Alarmed at the violence and unuſual ſymptoms of thoſe maladies, they exclaimed againſt Columbus and his companions in the former voyage, who, by their ſplendid but deceitful deſcriptions of Hiſpaniola, had allured them to quit Spain for a barbarous uncultivated land, where they muſt either be cut off by famine, or die of unknown diſtempers. Several of the officers and perſons of note, inſtead of checking, joined in thoſe ſeditious complaints. Father Boyl, the apoſtolical vicar, was one of the moſt turbulent and outrageous. It required all the authority and addreſs of Columbus to re-eſtabliſh ſubordination and tranquillity in the colony. Threats and promiſes were alternately employed for this purpoſe; but nothing contributed more to ſoothe the malcontents than the proſpect of finding, in the mines of Cibao, ſuch a rich ſtore of treaſure

as would be a recompence for all their ſufferings, and efface the memory of former diſappointments.

When, by his unwearied endeavours, concord and order were ſo far reſtored, that he could venture to leave the iſland, Columbus reſolved to purſue his diſcoveries, that he might be able to aſcertain whether thoſe new countries with which he had opened a communication were connected with any region of the earth already known, or whether they were to be conſidered as a ſeparate portion of the globe hitherto unviſited. He appointed his brother Don Diego, with the aſſiſtance of a council of officers, to govern the iſland in his abſence; and gave the command of a body of ſoldiers to Don Pedro Margarita, with which he was to viſit the different parts of the iſland, and endeavour to eſtabliſh the authority of the Spaniards among the inhabitants. Having left them very particular inſtructions with reſpect to their conduct, he weighed anchor on the twenty-fourth of April, with one ſhip and two ſmall barks under his command. During a tedious voyage of full five months, he had a trial of almoſt all the numerous hardſhips to which perſons of his profeſſion are expoſed, without making any diſcovery of importance, except the iſland of Jamaica. As he ranged along the ſouthern coaſt of Cuba, he was entangled in a labyrinth formed by an incredible number of ſmall iſlands, to which he gave the name of the Queen's Garden. In this unknown courſe, among rocks and ſhelves, he was retarded by contrary winds, aſſaulted with furious ſtorms, and alarmed with the terrible thunder and lightning which is often almoſt inceſſant between the tropics. At length his proviſions fell ſhort; his crew, exhauſted with fatigue, as well as hunger, murmured and threatened, and were ready to proceed to the moſt deſperate extremities againſt him. Beſet with danger in ſuch various forms, he was obliged to keep continual watch, to obſerve every occurrence with his own eyes, to iſſue every order, and to ſuperintend the execution of it. On no occaſion, was the extent of his ſkill and experience as a navigator ſo much tried. To theſe the ſquadron owed its ſafety. But this unremitted fatigue of body, and intenſe application of mind, overpowering his conſtitution, though naturally vigorous and robuſt, brought on a feveriſh diſorder, which terminated in a lethargy, that deprived him of ſenſe and memory and had almoſt proved fatal to his life.

But, on his return Sept. 27, to Hiſpaniola, the ſudden emotion of joy which he felt upon meeting with his brother Bartholomew at Iſabella, occaſioned ſuch a flow of ſpirits as contributed greatly to his recovery. It was now thirteen years ſince the two brothers, whom ſimilarity of talents united in cloſe friendſhip, had ſeparated from each other,

other, and during that long period there had been no intercourſe between them. Bartholomew, after finiſhing his negociation in the court of England, had ſet out for Spain by the way of France. At Paris he received an account of the extraordinary diſcoveries which his brother had made in his firſt voyage, and that he was then preparing to embark on a ſecond expedition. Though this naturally induced him to purſue his journey with the utmoſt diſpatch, the admiral had ſailed for Hiſpaniola before he reached Spain. Ferdinand and Iſabella received him with the reſpect due to the neareſt kinſman of a perſon whoſe merit and ſervices rendered him ſo conſpicuous; and as they knew what conſolation his preſence would afford to his brother, they perſuaded him to take the command of three ſhips, which they had appointed to carry proviſions to the colony of Iſabella.

He could not have arrived at any juncture when Columbus ſtood more in need of a friend capable of aſſiſting him with his counſels, or of dividing with him the cares and burden of government. For although the proviſions now brought from Europe, afforded a temporary relief to the Spaniards from the calamities of famine, the ſupply was not in ſuch quantity as to ſupport them long, and the iſland did not hitherto yield what was ſufficient for their ſuſtenance. They were threatened with another danger, ſtill more formidable than the return of ſcarcity, and which demanded more immediate attention. No ſooner did Columbus leave the iſland on his voyage of diſcovery, than the ſoldiers under Margarita, as if they had been ſet free from diſcipline and ſubordination, ſcorned all reſtraint. Inſtead of conforming to the prudent inſtructions of Columbus, they diſperſed in ſtraggling parties over the iſland, lived at diſcretion upon the natives, waſted their proviſions, ſeized their women, and treated that inoffenſive race with all the inſolence of military oppreſſion.

As long as the Indians had any proſpect that their ſufferings might come to a period by the voluntary departure of the invaders, they ſubmitted in ſilence, and diſſembled their ſorrow; but they now perceived that the yoke would be as permament as it was intolerable. The Spaniards had built a town, and ſurrounded it with ramparts. They had erected forts in different places. They had encloſed and ſown ſeveral fields. It was apparent that they came not to viſit the country, but to ſettle in it. Though the number of thoſe ſtrangers was inconſiderable, the ſtate of cultivation among this rude people was ſo imperfect, and in ſuch exact proportion to their own conſumption, that it was with difficulty they could afford ſubſiſtence to their new gueſts. Their own mode of life was ſo indolent and inactive, the warmth of the climate ſo enervating, the conſtitution of their bodies naturally ſo feeble, and ſo unac-

cuſtomed to the laborious exertions of induſtry, that they were ſatisfied with a proportion of food amazingly ſmall. A handful of maize, or a little of the inſipid bread made of a caſſada-root, was ſufficient to ſupport men, whoſe ſtrength and ſpirits were not exhauſted by any vigorous efforts either of body or mind. The Spaniards, though the moſt abſtemious of all the European nations, appeared to them exceſſively voracious. One Spaniard conſumed as much as ſeveral Indians. This keenneſs of appetite ſurprized them ſo much, and ſeemed to them to be ſo inſatiable, that they ſuppoſed the Spaniards had left their own country, becauſe it did not produce as much as was requiſite to gratify their immoderate deſire of food, and had come among them in queſt of nouriſhment. Self-preſervation prompted them to wiſh for the departure of gueſts who waſted ſo faſt their ſlender ſtock of proviſions. The injuries which they ſuffered, added to their impatience for this event. They had long expected that the Spaniards would retire of their own accord. They now perceived that, in order to avert the deſtruction with which they were threatened, either by the ſlow conſumption of famine, or by the violence of their oppreſſors, it was neceſſary to aſſume courage, to attack thoſe formidable invaders with united force, and drive them from the ſettlements of which they had violently taken poſſeſſion.

Such were the ſentiments which univerſally prevailed among the Indians, when Columbus returned to Iſabella. Inflamed by the unprovoked outrages of the Spaniards, with a degree of rage of which their gentle natures, formed to ſuffer and ſubmit, ſeemed highly ſuſceptible, they waited only for a ſignal from their leaders to fall upon the colony. Some of the caziques had already ſurpriſed and cut off ſeveral ſtragglers. The dread of this impending danger united the Spaniards, and re-eſtabliſhed the authority of Columbus, as they ſaw no proſpect of ſafety but in committing themſelves to his prudent guidance. It was now neceſſary to have recourſe to arms, the employing of which againſt the Indians, Columbus had hitherto avoided with the greateſt ſolicitude. Unequal as the conflict may ſeem, between the naked inhabitants of the New World, armed with clubs, ſticks hardened in the fire, wooden ſwords, and arrows pointed with bones or flints; and troops accuſtomed to the diſcipline, and provided with the inſtruments of deſtruction known in the European art of war, the ſituation of the Spaniards was far from being exempt from danger. The vaſt ſuperiority of the natives in number, compenſated many defects. An handful of men was about to encounter a whole nation. One adverſe event, or even any adverſe delay in determining the fate of the war, might prove fatal

fatal to the Spaniards. Conſcious that ſucceſs depended on the vigour and rapidity of his operations, Columbus inſtantly aſſembled his forces. They were reduced to a very ſmall number. Diſeaſes, engendered by the warmth and humidity of the country, or occaſioned by their own licentiouſneſs, had raged among them with much violence; experience had not yet taught them the art either of curing theſe, or the precautions requiſite for guarding them; two-thirds of the original adventurers were dead, and many of thoſe who ſurvived were incapable of ſervice. The body which took the field on March 24, 1495, conſiſted only of two hundred foot, twenty horſe, and twenty large dogs; and how ſtrange ſoever it may ſeem, to mention the laſt as compoſing part of a military force, they were not perhaps the leaſt formidable and deſtructive of the whole, when employed againſt naked and timid Indians. All the caziques of the iſland, Guacanahari excepted, who retained an inviolable attachment to the Spaniards, were in arms to oppoſe Columbus, with forces amounting, if we may believe the Spaniſh hiſtorians, to a hundred thouſand men. Inſtead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the faſtneſſes of the woods and mountains, they were ſo imprudent as to take their ſtation in the Vega Real, the moſt open plain in the country. Columbus did not allow them time to perceive their error, or to alter their poſition. He attacked them during the night, when undiſciplined troops are leaſt capable of acting with union and concert, and obtained an eaſy and bloodleſs victory. The conſternation with which the Indians were filled by the noiſe and havoc made by the fire-arms, by the impetuous force of the cavalry, and the firſt onſet of the dogs, was ſo great, that they threw down their weapons, and fled without attempting reſiſtance. Many were ſlain; more were taken priſoners, and reduced to ſervitude; and ſo thoroughly were the reſt intimidated, that from that moment they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, relinquiſhing all thoughts of contending with aggreſſors whom they deemed invincible.

Columbus employed ſeveral months in marching through the iſland, and in ſubjecting it to the Spaniſh government, without meeting with any oppoſition. He impoſed a tribute upon all the inhabitants above the age of fourteen. Each perſon who lived in thoſe diſtricts where gold was found, was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold duſt as filled a hawk's bell; from thoſe in other parts of the country, twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. This was the firſt regular taxation of the Indians, and ſerved as a precedent for exactions ſtill more intolerable. Such an impoſition was extremely contrary to thoſe maxims which Columbus had hitherto inculcated with reſpect to the mode of treating them.

them. But intrigues were carrying on in the court of Spain at this juncture, in order to undermine his power and diſcredit his operations, which conſtrained him to depart from his own ſyſtem of adminiſtration. Several unfavourable accounts of his conduct, as well as of the countries diſcovered by him, had been tranſmitted to Spain. Margaritta and Father Boyl were now at court; and in order to juſtify their own conduct, or to gratify their reſentment, watched with malevolent attention for every opportunity of ſpreading inſinuations to his detriment. Many of the courtiers viewed his growing reputation and power with envious eyes. Fonſeca, archdeacon of Seville, who was intruſted with the chief direction of Indian affairs, had conceived ſuch an unfavourable opinion of Columbus, for ſome reaſon which the contemporary writers have not mentioned, that he liſtened with partiality to every invective againſt him. It was not eaſy for an unfriended ſtranger, unpractiſed in courtly arts, to counteract the machinations of ſo many enemies. Columbus ſaw that there was but one method of ſupporting his own credit, and of ſilencing all his adverſaries. He muſt produce ſuch a quantity of gold as would not only juſtify what he had reported with reſpect to the richneſs of the country, but encourage Ferdinand and Iſabella to perſevere in proſecuting his plans. The neceſſity of obtaining it, forced him not only to impoſe this heavy tax upon the Indians, but to exact payment of it with extreme rigour; and may be pleaded in excuſe for his deviating on this occaſion from the mildneſs and humanity with which he uniformly treated that unhappy people.

The labour, attention, and foreſight which the Indians were obliged to employ in procuring the tribute demanded of them, appeared the moſt intolerable of all evils, to men accuſtomed to paſs their days in a careleſs, improvident indolence. They were incapable of ſuch a regular and perſevering exertion of induſtry, and felt it ſuch a grievous reſtraint upon their liberty, that they had recourſe to an expedient for obtaining deliverance from this yoke, which demonſtrates the exceſs of their impatience and deſpair. They formed a ſcheme of ſtarving thoſe oppreſſors whom they durſt not attempt to expel; and from the opinion which they entertained with reſpect to the voracious appetite of the Spaniards, they concluded the execution of it to be very practicable. With this view they ſuſpended all the operations of agriculture; they ſowed no maize, they pulled up the roots of the manioc or caſſada which were planted, and retiring to the moſt inacceſſible parts of the mountains, left the uncultivated plains to their enemies. This deſperate reſolution produced in ſome degree the effects which they expected. The Spaniards were reduced to extreme want; but they received ſuch

ſeaſonable ſupplies of proviſions from Europe, and found ſo many reſources in their own ingenuity and induſtry, that they ſuffered no great loſs of men. The wretched Indians were the victims of their own ill-concerted policy. A great multitude of people, ſhut up in the mountainous part of the country, without any food but the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, ſoon felt the utmoſt diſtreſſes of famine. This brought on contagious diſeaſes; and, in the courſe of a few months, more than a third part of the inhabitants of the iſland periſhed, after experiencing miſery in all its various forms.

But while Columbus was eſtabliſhing the foundations of the Spaniſh grandeur in the New World, his enemies laboured with unwearied aſſiduity to deprive him of the glory and rewards, which by his ſervices and ſufferings he was intitled to enjoy. The hardſhips unavoidable in a new ſettlement, the calamities occaſioned by an unhealthy climate, the diſaſters attending a voyage in unknown ſeas, were all repreſented as the effects of his reſtleſs and inconſiderate ambition. His prudent attention to preſerve diſcipline and ſubordination was denominated exceſs of rigour; the puniſhments which he inflicted upon the mutinous and diſorderly were imputed to cruelty. Theſe accuſations gained ſuch credit in a jealous court, that a commiſſioner was appointed to repair to Hiſpaniola, and to inſpect into the conduct of Columbus. By the recommendation of his enemies, Aguado, a groom of the bed-chamber, was the perſon to whom this important truſt was committed. But in this choice they ſeem to have been more influenced by the obſequious attachment of the man to their intereſt, than by his capacity for the ſtation. Puffed up with ſuch ſudden elevation, Aguado diſplayed, in the exerciſe of this office, all the frivolous ſelf-importance, and acted with all the diſguſting inſolence, which are natural to little minds, when raiſed to unexpected dignity, or employed in functions to which they are not equal. By liſtening with eagerneſs to every accuſation againſt Columbus, and encouraging not only the malcontent Spaniards, but even the Indians, to produce their grievances, real or imaginary, he fomented the ſpirit of diſſention in the iſland, without eſtabliſhing any regulation of public utility, or that tended to redreſs the many wrongs, with the odium of which he wiſhed to load the admiral's adminiſtration. As Columbus felt ſenſibly how humiliating his ſituation muſt be, if he ſhould remain in that country while ſuch a partial inſpector obſerved his motions, and controuled his juriſdiction, he took the reſolution of returning to Spain, in order to lay a full account of all his tranſactions, particularly with reſpect to the points in diſpute between him and his adverſaries, before Ferdinand and Iſabella, from whoſe juſtice and diſcernment

ſcernment he expected an equal and a favourable deciſion. He committed the adminiſtration of affairs, during his abſence, in one thouſand four hundred and ninety-ſix, to Don Bartholomew his brother, with the title of Adelantado, or Lieutenant Governor. By a choice leſs fortunate, and which proved the ſource of many calamities to the colony, he appointed Francis Roldan chief juſtice, with very extenſive powers.

In returning to Europe, Columbus held a courſe different from that which he had taken in his former voyage. He ſteered almoſt due eaſt from Hiſpaniola, in the parallel of twenty-two degrees of latitude; as experience had not yet diſcovered the more certain and expeditious method of ſtretching to the north, in order to fall in with the ſouth-weſt winds. By this ill-adviſed choice, which, in the infancy of navigation between the New and Old Worlds, can hardly be imputed to the admiral as a defect in naval ſkill, he was expoſed to infinite fatigue and danger, in a perpetual ſtruggle with the trade-winds, which blow without variation from the eaſt between the tropics. Notwithſtanding the almoſt inſuperable difficulties of ſuch a navigation, he perſiſted in his courſe with his uſual patience and firmneſs, but made ſo little way, that he was three months without ſeeing land. At length his proviſions began to fail, the crew was reduced to the ſcanty allowance of ſix ounces of bread a-day for each perſon. The admiral fared no better than the meaneſt ſailor. But, even in this extreme diſtreſs, he retained the humanity which diſtinguiſhes his character, and refuſed to comply with the earneſt ſolicitations of his crew, ſome of whom propoſed to feed upon the Indian priſoners whom they were carrying over, and others inſiſted to throw them over-board, in order to leſſen the conſumption of their ſmall ſtock. He repreſented that they were human beings, reduced by a common calamity to the ſame condition with themſelves, and intitled to ſhare an equal fate. His authority and remonſtrances diſſipated thoſe wild ideas ſuggeſted by deſpair. Nor had they time to recur, as they came ſoon within ſight of the coaſt of Spain, when all their fears and ſufferings ended.

Columbus appeared at court with the modeſt but determined confidence of a man conſcious not only of integrity, but of having performed great ſervices. Ferdinand and Iſabella, aſhamed of their own facility in lending too favourable an ear to frivolous or ill-founded accuſations, received him with ſuch diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect, as covered his enemies with ſhame. Their cenſures and calumnies were no more heard of at that juncture. The gold, the pearls, the cotton, and other commodities of value which Columbus produced, ſeemed fully to refute what the mal-contents had propagated with reſpect to the poverty of the

country. By reducing the Indians to obedience, and impoſing a regular tax upon them, he had ſecured to Spain a large acceſſion of new ſubjects, and the eſtabliſhment of a revenue that promiſed to be conſiderable. By the mines which he had found out and examined, a ſource of wealth ſtill more copious was opened. Great and unexpected as thoſe advantages were, Columbus repreſented them only as preludes to future acquiſitions, and as the earneſt of more important diſcoveries, which he ſtill meditated, and to which thoſe he had already made would conduct him with eaſe and certainty.

The attentive conſideration of all theſe circumſtances made ſuch impreſſion, not only upon Iſabella, who was flattered with the idea of being the patroneſs of all Columbus's enterpriſes, but even upon Ferdinand, who having originally expreſſed his diſapprobation of his ſchemes, was ſtill apt to doubt of their ſucceſs, that they reſolved to ſupply the colony in Hiſpaniola with every thing which could render it a permanent eſtabliſhment, and to furniſh Columbus with ſuch a fleet, that he might proceed to ſearch for thoſe new countries, of whoſe exiſtence he ſeemed to be confident. The meaſures moſt proper for accompliſhing both theſe deſigns were concerted with Columbus. Diſcovery had been the ſole object of the firſt voyage to the New World; and though, in the ſecond, ſettlement had been propoſed, the precautions taken for that purpoſe had either been inſufficient, or were rendered ineffectual by the mutinous ſpirit of the Spaniards, and the unforeſeen calamities ariſing from various cauſes. Now a plan was to be formed of a regular colony, that might ſerve as a model to all future eſtabliſhments. Every particular was conſidered with attention, and the whole arranged with a ſcrupulous accuracy. The preciſe number of adventurers who ſhould be permitted to embark was fixed. They were to be of different ranks and profeſſions; and the proportion of each was eſtabliſhed, according to their uſefulneſs and the wants of the colony. A ſuitable number of women was to be choſen to accompany theſe new ſettlers. As it was the firſt object to raiſe proviſions in a country where ſcarcity of food had been the occaſion of ſo much diſtreſs, a conſiderable body of huſbandmen was to be carried over. As the Spaniards had then no conception of deriving any benefit from thoſe productions of the New World which have ſince yielded ſuch large returns of wealth to Europe, but had formed magnificent ideas, and entertained ſanguine hopes with reſpect to the riches contained in the mines which had been diſcovered, a band of workmen, ſkilled in the various arts employed in digging and refining the precious metals, was provided. All theſe emigrants were to receive pay and ſubſiſtence for ſome years, at the public expence.

Thus

Thus far the regulations were prudent, and well adapted to the end in view. But as it was foreſeen that few would engage voluntarily to ſettle in a country, whoſe noxious climate had been fatal to ſo many of their countrymen, Columbus propoſed to tranſport to Hiſpaniola ſuch malefactors as had been convicted of crimes, which, though capital, were of a leſs atrocious nature; and that for the future a certain proportion of the offenders uſually ſent to the gallies, ſhould be condemned to labour in the mines which were to be opened. This advice, given without due reflection, was as inconſiderately adopted. The priſons of Spain were drained, in order to collect members for the intended colony; and the judges empowered to try criminals, were inſtructed to recruit it by their future ſentences. It is not, however, with ſuch materials, that the foundations of a ſociety, deſtined to be permanent, ſhould be laid. Induſtry, ſobriety, patience, and mutual confidence are indiſpenſably requiſite in an infant ſettlement, where purity of morals muſt contribute more towards eſtabliſhing order, than the operation or authority of laws. But when ſuch a mixture of what is corrupt is admitted into the original conſtitution of the political body, the vices of thoſe unſound and incurable members will probably infect the whole, and muſt certainly be productive of violent and unhappy effects. This the Spaniards fatally experienced; and the other European nations having ſucceſſively imitated the practice of Spain in this particular, pernicious conſequences have followed in their ſettlements, which can be imputed to no other cauſe.

Though Columbus obtained, with great facility and diſpatch, the royal approbation of every meaſure and regulation that he propoſed, his endeavours to carry them into execution were ſo long retarded, as muſt have tired out the patience of any man, leſs accuſtomed to encounter and to ſurmount difficulties. Thoſe delays were occaſioned partly by that tedious formality and ſpirit of procraſtination, with which the Spaniards conduct buſineſs; and partly by the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury, which was drained by the expence of celebrating the marriage of Ferdinand and Iſabella's only ſon with Margaret of Auſtria, and that of Joanna, their ſecond daughter, with Philip archduke of Auſtria; but muſt be chiefly imputed to the malicious arts of Columbus's enemies. Aſtoniſhed at the reception which he met with upon his return, and overawed by his preſence, they gave way, for ſome time, to a tide of favour too ſtrong for them to oppoſe. Their enmity, however, was too inveterate to remain long inactive. They reſumed their operations, and by the aſſiſtance of Fonſeca, the miniſter for Indian affairs, who was now promoted to the biſhopric of Bajados, they threw in ſo many obſtacles

ſtacles to protract the preparations for Columbus's expedition, that a year elapſed before he could procure two ſhips to carry over a part of the ſupplies deſtined for the colony, and almoſt two years were ſpent before the ſmall ſquadron was equipped of which he himſelf was to take the command.

This ſquadron conſiſted of ſix ſhips only, of no great burden, and but indifferently provided for a long or dangerous navigation. This voyage which he now meditated was in a courſe different from any he had undertaken. As he was fully perſuaded that the fertile regions of India lay to the ſouth-weſt of thoſe countries which he had diſcovered, he propoſed, as the moſt certain method of finding out theſe, to ſtand directly ſouth from the Canary or Cape de Verd iſlands, until he came under the equinoctial line, and then to ſtretch to the weſt before the favourable wind for ſuch a courſe, which blows invariably between the tropics. With this idea he ſet ſail, on May the thirtieth, one thouſand four hundred and ninety-eight, and touched firſt at the Canary, and then at the Cape de Verd iſlands, on July the fourth. From the former he diſpatched three of his ſhips with a ſupply of proviſions for the colony in Hiſpaniola: with the other three, he continued his voyage towards the ſouth. No remarkable occurrence happened till July the nineteenth, when they arrived within five degrees of the line. There they were becalmed, and at the ſame time the heat became ſo exceſſive, that many of their wine caſks burſt, the liquor in others ſoured, and their proviſions corrupted. The Spaniards, who had never ventured ſo far to the ſouth, were afraid that the ſhips would take fire, and began to apprehend the reality of what the ancients had taught concerning the deſtructive qualities of that torrid region of the globe. They were relieved, in ſome meaſure, from their fears by a ſeaſonable fall of rain. This, however, though ſo heavy and unintermitting that the men could hardly keep the deck, did not greatly mitigate the intenſeneſs of the heat. The admiral, who with his uſual vigilance had in perſon directed every operation, from the beginning of the voyage, was ſo much exhauſted by fatigue and want of ſleep, that it brought on a violent fit of the gout, accompanied with a fever. All theſe circumſtances conſtrained him to yield to the importunities of his crew, and to alter his courſe to the north-weſt, in order to reach ſome of the Caribbee iſlands, where he might refit, and be ſupplied with proviſions.

On the firſt of Auguſt, the man ſtationed in the round top ſurpriſed them with the joyful cry of *land*. They ſtood towards it, and diſcovered a conſiderable iſland, which the admiral called Trinidad, a name it ſtill retains. It lies on the coaſt of Guiana, near the mouth of the Orinoco.

Orinoco. This, though a river only of the third or fourth magnitude in the New World, far ſurpaſſes any of the ſtreams in our hemiſphere. It rolls towards the ocean ſuch a vaſt body of water, and ruſhes into it with ſuch impetuous force, that when it meets the tide, which on that coaſt riſes to an uncommon height, their colliſion occaſions a ſwell and agitation of the waves no leſs ſurpriſing than formidable. In this conflict, the irreſiſtible torrent of the river ſo far prevails, that it freſhens the ocean many leagues with its flood. Columbus, before he could perceive the danger, was entangled among thoſe adverſe currents and tempeſtuous waves, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he eſcaped through a narrow ſtrait, which appeared ſo tremendous, that he called it La Boca del Drago. As ſoon as the conſternation which this occaſioned, permitted him to reflect upon the nature of an appearance ſo extraordinary, he diſcerned in it a ſource of comfort and hope. He juſtly concluded, that ſuch a vaſt body of water as this river contained, could not be ſupplied by any iſland, but muſt flow through a country of immenſe extent, and of conſequence that he was now arrived at that continent which it had long been the object of his wiſhes to diſcover. Full of this idea, he ſtood to the weſt along the coaſt of thoſe provinces which are now known by the names of Paria and Cumana. He landed in ſeveral places, and had ſome intercourſe with the people, who reſembled thoſe of Hiſpaniola in their appearance and manner of life. They wore, as ornaments, ſmall plates of gold, and pearls of conſiderable value, which they willingly exchanged for European toys. They ſeemed to poſſeſs a better underſtanding, and greater courage, than the inhabitants of the iſlands. The country produced four-footed animals of ſeveral kinds, as well as a great variety of fowls and fruits. The admiral was ſo much delighted with its beauty and fertility, that with the warm enthuſiaſm of a diſcoverer, he imagined it to be the paradiſe deſcribed in Scripture, which the Almighty choſe for the reſidence of man, while he retained innocence that rendered him worthy of ſuch a habitation. Thus Columbus had the glory not only of diſcovering to mankind the exiſtence of a New World, but made conſiderable progreſs towards a perfect knowledge of it; and was the firſt man who conducted the Spaniards to that vaſt continent which has been the chief ſeat of their empire, and the ſource of their treaſures in this quarter of the globe. The ſhattered condition of his ſhips, ſcarcity of proviſions, his own infirmities, together with the impatience of his crew, prevented him from purſuing his diſcoveries any farther, and made it neceſſary to bear away for Hiſpaniola. In his way thither he diſcovered the iſlands of Cubagua and Margarita, which afterwards became remarkable for

their pearl-fiſhery. When he arrived at Hiſpaniola, on the thirtieth of Auguſt, he was waſted to an extreme degree with fatigue and ſickneſs; but found the affairs of the colony in ſuch a ſituation, as afforded him no proſpect of enjoying that repoſe of which he ſtood ſo much in need.

Many revolutions had happened in that country during his abſence. His brother the adelantado, in conſequence of the advice which the admiral gave before his departure, had removed the colony from Iſabella to a more commodious ſtation, on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland, and laid the foundation of St. Domingo, which was long the moſt conſiderable European town in the New World, and the ſeat of the ſupreme courts in the Spaniſh dominions there. As ſoon as the Spaniards were eſtabliſhed in this new ſettlement, the adelantado, that they might neither languiſh in inactivity, nor have leiſure to form new cabals, marched into thoſe parts of the iſland which his brother had not yet viſited or reduced to obedience. As the people were unable to reſiſt, they ſubmitted every where to the tribute which he impoſed. But they ſoon found the burden to be ſo intolerable, that, overawed as they were by the ſuperior power of their oppreſſors, they took arms againſt them. Thoſe inſurrections, however, were not formidable. A conflict with timid and naked Indians was neither dangerous nor of doubtful iſſue.

But while the adelantado was employed againſt them in the field, a mutiny, of an aſpect far more alarming, broke out among the Spaniards. The ringleader of it was Francis Roldan, whom Columbus had placed in a ſtation which required him to be the guardian of order and tranquility in the colony. A turbulent and inconſiderate ambition precipitated him into this deſperate meaſure, ſo unbecoming his rank. The arguments which he employed to ſeduce his countrymen were frivolous and ill-founded. He accuſed Columbus and his two brothers of arrogance and ſeverity; he pretended that they aimed at eſtabliſhing an independent dominion in the country; he taxed them with an intention of cutting off part of the Spaniards by hunger and fatigue, that they might more eaſily reduce the remainder to ſubjection; he repreſented it as unworthy of Caſtilians, to remain the tame and paſſive ſlaves, of three Genoeſe adventurers. As men have always a propenſity to impute the hardſhips of which they feel the preſſure, to the miſconduct of their rulers; as every nation views with a jealous eye the power and exaltation of foreigners, Roldan's inſinuations made a deep impreſſion on his countrymen. His character and rank added weight to them. A conſiderable number of the Spaniards made choice of him as their leader, and taking arms againſt the adelantado and his brother, ſeized the king's magazine of proviſions, and endeavoured to ſurpriſe the

the fort at St. Domingo. This was preſerved by the vigilance and courage of Don Diego Columbus. The mutineers were obliged to retire to the province of Xaragua, where they continued not only to diſclaim the adelantado's authority themſelves, but excited the Indians to throw off the yoke.

Such was the diſtracted ſtate of the colony when Columbus landed at St. Domingo. He was aſtoniſhed to find that the three ſhips which he had diſpatched from the Canaries were not yet arrived. By the unſkilfulneſs of the pilots, and the violence of currents, they had been carried a hundred and ſixty miles to the weſt of St. Domingo, and forced to take ſhelter in a harbour of the province of Xaragua, where Roldan and his ſeditious followers were cantoned. Roldan careſully concealed from the commanders of the ſhips his inſurrection againſt the adelantado, and employing his utmoſt addreſs to gain their confidence, perſuaded them to ſet on ſhore a conſiderable part of the new ſettlers whom they brought over, that they might proceed by land to St. Domingo. It required but few arguments to prevail with thoſe men to eſpouſe his cauſe. They were the refuſe of the jails of Spain, to whom idleneſs, licentiouſneſs, and deeds of violence were familiar; and they returned eagerly to a courſe of life nearly reſembling that to which they had been accuſtomed. The commanders of the ſhips perceiving, when it was too late, their imprudence in diſembarking ſo many of their men, ſtood away for St. Domingo, and got ſafe into the port a few days after the admiral; but their ſtock of proviſions was ſo waſted during a voyage of ſuch long continuance, that they brought little relief to the colony.

By this junction with a band of ſuch bold and deſperate aſſociates, Roldan became extremely formidable, and no leſs extravagant in his demands. Columbus, though filled with reſentment at his ingratitude, and highly exaſperated by the inſolence of his followers, made no haſte to take the field. He trembled at the thoughts of kindling the flames of a civil war, in which, whatever party prevailed, the power and ſtrength of both muſt be ſo much waſted, as might encourage the common enemy to unite and complete their deſtruction. At the ſame time, he obſerved, that the prejudices and paſſions which incited the rebels to take arms, had ſo far infected thoſe who ſtill adhered to him, that many of them were adverſe, and all cold to the ſervice. From ſuch ſentiments with reſpect to the public intereſt, as well as from this view of his own ſituation, he choſe to negociate rather than to fight. By a ſeaſonable proclamation, offering free pardon to ſuch as ſhould merit it by returning to their duty, he made impreſſion upon ſome of the malcontents. By engaging to grant ſuch as ſhould deſire it the liberty of returning to

Spain, he allured all thoſe unfortunate adventurers, who, from ſickneſs and diſappointment, were diſguſted with the country. By promiſing to re-eſtabliſh Roldan in his former office, he ſoothed his pride; and by complying with moſt of his demands in behalf of his followers, he ſatisfied their avarice. Thus, gradually and without bloodſhed, but after many tedious negociations, he diſſolved this dangerous combination which threatened the colony with ruin; and reſtored the appearance of order, regular government, and tranquillity.

In conſequence of this agreement with the mutineers, lands were alloted them in different parts of the iſland, and the Indians ſettled in each diſtrict were appointed to cultivate a certain portion of ground for the uſe of thoſe new maſters *. The performance of this work was ſubſtituted in place of the tribute formerly impoſed; and how neceſſary ſoever ſuch a regulation might be in a ſickly and feeble colony, it introduced among the Spaniards the *Repartimientos*, or diſtributions of Indians eſtabliſhed by them in all their ſettlements, which brought numberleſs calamities upon that unhappy people, and ſubjected them to the moſt grievous oppreſſion. This was not the only bad effect of the inſurrection in Hiſpaniola; it prevented Columbus from proſecuting his diſcoveries on the continent, as ſelf-preſervation obliged him to keep near his perſon his brother the adelantado, and the ſailors whom he intended to have employed in that ſervice. As ſoon as his affairs would permit, he ſent ſome of his ſhips to Spain with a journal of the voyage which he had made, a deſcription of the new countries which he had diſcovered, a chart of the coaſt along which he had ſailed, and ſpecimens of the gold, the pearls, and other curious or valuable productions which he had acquired by trafficking with the natives. At the ſame time he tranſmitted an account of the inſurrection in Hiſpaniola; he accuſed the mutineers not only of having thrown the colony into ſuch violent convulſions as threatened its diſſolution, but of having obſtructed every attempt towards diſcovery and improvement, by their unprovoked rebellion againſt their ſuperiors, and propoſed ſeveral regulations for the better government of the iſland, as well as the extinction of that mutinous ſpirit, which, though ſuppreſſed at preſent, might ſoon burſt out with additional rage. Roldan and his aſſociates did not neglect to convey to Spain, by the ſame ſhips, an apology for their own conduct, together with their recriminations upon the admiral and his brothers. Unfortunately for the honour of Spain, and the happineſs of Columbus, the latter gained moſt credit in the court of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and produced unexpected effects.

* 1499.

But,

But, previous to the relating of theſe, it is proper to take a view of ſome events, which merit attention, both on account of their own importance, and their connection with the hiſtory of the New World. While Columbus was engaged in his ſucceſſive voyages to the weſt, the ſpirit of diſcovery did not languiſh in Portugal, the kingdom where it firſt acquired vigour, and became enterpriſing. Self-condemnation and regret were not the only ſentiments to which the ſucceſs of Columbus, and reflection upon their own imprudence in rejecting his propoſals, gave riſe among the Portugueſe. They excited a general emulation to ſurpaſs his performances, and an ardent deſire to make ſome reparation to their country for their own error. With this view, Emmanuel, who inherited the enterpriſing genius of his predeceſſors, perſiſted in their grand ſcheme of opening a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope; and ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, equipped a ſquadron for that important voyage. He gave the command of it to Vaſco de Gama, a man of noble birth, poſſeſſed of virtue, prudence, and courage, equal to the ſtation. The ſquadron, like all thoſe fitted out for diſcovery in the infancy of navigation, was extremely feeble, conſiſting only of three veſſels, of neither burden nor force adequate to the ſervice. As the Europeans were at that time little acquainted with the courſe of the trade-winds and periodical monſoons which render navigation in the Atlantic ocean, as well as in the ſea that ſeparates Africa from India, at ſome ſeaſons eaſy, and at others not only dangerous, but almoſt impracticable, the time choſen for Gama's departure was the moſt improper during the whole year. He ſet ſail from Liſbon on the ninth of July, 1497, and ſtanding towards the ſouth, had to ſtruggle for four months with contrary winds, before he could reach the Cape of Good Hope. On November 20, their violence began to abate; and during an interval of calm weather, Gama doubled that formidable promontory, which had ſo long been the boundary of navigation, and directed his courſe towards the north-eaſt, along the African coaſt. He touched at ſeveral ports; and after various adventures, which the Portugueſe hiſtorians relate with high but juſt encomiums upon his conduct and intrepidity, he came to anchor before the city of Melinda. Throughout all the vaſt countries which extend along the coaſt of Africa, from the river Senegal to the confines of Zanguebar, the Portugueſe had found a race of men rude and uncultivated, ſtrangers to letters, to arts and commerce, and differing from the inhabitants of Europe no leſs in their features and complexion, than in their manners and inſtitutions. As they advanced from this, they obſerved, to their inexpreſſible joy, that the human form gradually altered and improved, the Aſiatic features

began to predominate, marks of civilization appeared, letters were known, the Mahometan religion was eſtabliſhed, and a commerce, far from being inconſiderable, was carried on. At that time ſeveral veſſels from India were in the port of Melinda. Gama now purſued his voyage with almoſt abſolute certainty of ſucceſs, and, under the conduct of a Mahometan pilot, arrived at Calecut, upon the coaſt of Malabar, on the twenty-ſecond of May one thouſand four hundred and ninety-eight. What he beheld of the wealth, the populouſneſs, the cultivation, the induſtry and arts of this highly civilized country, far ſurpaſſed any idea that he had formed, from the imperfect accounts which the Europeans had hitherto received of it. But as he poſſeſſed neither ſufficient force to attempt a ſettlement, nor proper commodities with which he could carry on commerce of any conſequence, he haſtened back to Portugal, with an account of his ſucceſs in performing a voyage the longeſt, as well as moſt difficult, that had ever been made ſince the firſt invention of navigation. He landed at Liſbon on the fourteenth of September, one thouſand four hundred and ninety-nine, two years two months and five days from the time he left that port.

Thus, during the courſe of the fifteenth century, mankind made greater progreſs in exploring the ſtate of the habitable globe, than in all the ages which had elapſed previous to that period. The ſpirit of diſcovery, feeble at firſt and cautious, moved within a very narrow ſphere, and made its efforts with heſitation and timidity. Encouraged by ſucceſs, it became adventurous, and boldly extended its operations. In the courſe of its progreſſion, it continued to acquire vigour, and advanced at length with a rapidity and force which burſt through all the limits within which ignorance and fear had hitherto circumſcribed the activity of the human race. Almoſt fifty years were employed by the Portugueſe in creeping along the coaſt of Africa from Cape Non to Cape de Verd, the latter of which lies only twelve degrees to the ſouth of the former. In leſs than thirty years they ventured beyond the equinoctial line into another hemiſphere, and penetrated to the ſouthern extremity of Africa, at the diſtance of forty-nine degrees from Cape de Verd. During the laſt ſeven years of the century, a New World was diſcovered in the weſt, not inferior in extent to all the parts of the earth with which mankind were at that time acquainted. In the eaſt, unknown ſeas and countries were found out, and a communication, long deſired, but hitherto concealed, was opened between Europe and the opulent regions of India. In compariſon with events ſo wonderful and unexpected, all that had hitherto been deemed great or ſplendid, faded away and diſappeared. Vaſt objects now preſented themſelves. The human

human mind, roused and interested by the prospect, engaged with ardour in pursuit of them, and exerted its active powers in a new direction.

This spirit of enterprise, though but newly awakened in Spain, began soon to operate extensively. All the attempts towards discovery made in that kingdom, had hitherto been carried on by Columbus alone, and at the expence of the sovereign. But now private adventurers, allured by the magnificent descriptions he gave of the regions which he had visited, as well as by the specimens of their wealth which he produced, offered to fit out squadrons at their own risk, and to go in quest of new countries. The Spanish court, whose scanty revenues, were exhausted by the charge of its expeditions to the New World, which, though they opened alluring prospects of future benefit, yielded a very sparing return of present profit, was extremely willing to devolve the burden of discovery upon its subjects. It seized with joy an opportunity of rendering the avarice, the ingenuity, and efforts of projectors, instrumental in promoting designs of certain advantage to the public, though of doubtful success with respect to themselves. One of the first propositions of this kind was made by Alonso de Ojeda, a gallant and active officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. His rank and character procured him such credit with the merchants of Seville, that they undertook to equip four ships, provided he could obtain the royal licence, authorising the voyage. The powerful patronage of the bishop of Badajos easily secured success in a suit so agreeable to the court. Without consulting Columbus, or regarding the rights and jurisdiction which he had acquired by the capitulation in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, Ojeda was permitted to set out for the New World. In order to direct his course, the bishop communicated to him the admiral's journal of his last voyage, and his charts of the countries which he had discovered. Ojeda struck out into no new path of navigation, but adhering servilely to the route which Columbus had taken, arrived on the coast of Paria. He traded with the natives, and standing to the west, proceeded as far as Cape de Vela, and ranged along a considerable extent of coast beyond that on which Columbus had touched. Having thus ascertained the opinion of Columbus, that this country was a part of the continent, Ojeda returned in October, by way of Hispaniola to Spain, with some reputation as a discoverer, but with little benefit to those who had raised the funds for the expedition.

Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage. In what station he served, is uncertain; but as he was an experienced sailor, and eminently skilful in all the sciences subservient

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to navigation, he muſt have acquired ſome authority among his companions, that they willingly allowed him to have a chief ſhare in directing their operations during the voyage. Soon after his return, he tranſmitted an account of his adventures and diſcoveries to one of his countrymen; and labouring with the vanity of a traveller to magnify his own exploits, he had the addreſs and confidence to frame his narrative, ſo as to make it appear that he had the glory of having firſt diſcovered the continent in the New World. Amerigo's account was drawn up not only with art, but with ſome elegance. It contained an amuſing hiſtory of his voyage, and judicious obſervations upon the natural productions, the inhabitants, and the cuſtoms of the countries which he had viſited. As it was the firſt deſcription of any part of the New World that was publiſhed, a performance ſo well calculated to gratify the paſſion of mankind for what is new and marvellous, circulated rapidly, and was read with admiration. The country, of which Amerigo was ſuppoſed to be the diſcoverer, came gradually to be called by his name. The caprice of mankind, often as unaccountable as unjuſt, has perpetuated this error. By the univerſal conſent of nations, AMERICA is the name beſtowed on this new quarter of the globe. The bold pretenſions of a fortunate impoſtor have robbed the diſcoverer of the New World of a diſtinction which belonged to him. The name of Amerigo has ſupplanted that of Columbus; and mankind may regret an act of injuſtice, which, having received the ſanction of time, it is now too late to redreſs.

During the ſame year, another voyage of diſcovery was undertaken. Columbus not only introduced the ſpirit of naval enterpriſe into Spain, but all the firſt adventurers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this new career, were formed by his inſtructions, and acquired in his voyages the ſkill and information which qualified them to imitate his example. Alonzo Nigno, who had ſerved under the admiral in his laſt expedition, fitted out a ſingle ſhip, in conjunction with Chriſtopher Guerra, a merchant of Seville, and ſailed to the coaſt of Paria. This voyage ſeems to have been conducted with greater attention to private emolument, than to any general or national object. Nigno and Guerra made no diſcoveries of any importance; but they brought home ſuch a return of gold and pearls, as inflamed their countrymen with the deſire of engaging in ſimilar adventures.

Soon after, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of the admiral's companions in his firſt voyage, ſailed from Palos with four ſhips. He ſtood boldly towards the ſouth, and was the firſt Spaniard who ventured to croſs the equinoctial line; but he ſeems to have landed on no part of the coaſt

beyond

beyond the mouth of the Maragnon, or river of the Amazons. All theſe navigators adopted the erroneous theory of Columbus, and believed that the countries which they had diſcovered were part of the vaſt continent of India.

During the laſt year of the fifteenth century, that fertile diſtrict of America, on the confines of which Pinon had ſtopt ſhort, was more fully diſcovered. The ſucceſsful voyage of Gama to the Eaſt Indies having encouraged the king of Portugal to fit out a fleet ſo powerful, as not only to carry on trade, but to attempt conqueſt, he gave the command of it to Pedro Alvarez Cabral. In order to avoid the coaſt of Africa, where he was certain of meeting with variable breezes, or frequent calms, which might retard his voyage, Cabral ſtood out to ſea, and kept ſo far to the weſt, that, to his ſurpriſe, he found himſelf upon the ſhore of an unknown country, in the tenth degree beyond the line. He imagined, at firſt, that it was ſome iſland in the Atlantic ocean hitherto unobſerved; but, proceeding along its coaſt for ſeveral days, he was led gradually to believe, that a country ſo extenſive formed a part of ſome great continent. This latter opinion was well founded. The country with which he fell in belongs to that province in South America, now known by the name of Braſil. He landed; and having formed a very high idea of the fertility of the ſoil, and agreeableneſs of the climate, he took poſſeſſion of it for the crown of Portugal, and diſpatched a ſhip to Liſbon with an account of this event, which appeared to be no leſs important than it was unexpected. Columbus's diſcovery of the New World was the effort of an active genius, enlightened by ſcience, guided by experience, and acting upon a regular plan, executed with no leſs courage than perſeverance. But from this adventure of the Portugueſe, it appears that chance might have accompliſhed that great deſign which it is now the pride of human reaſon to have formed and perfected. If the ſagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the knowledge of that extenſive continent.

While the Spaniards and Portugueſe, by thoſe ſucceſſive voyages, were daily acquiring more enlarged ideas of the extent and opulence of that quarter of the globe which Columbus had made known to them, he himſelf, far from enjoying the tranquillity and honours with which his ſervices ſhould have been recompenſed, was ſtruggling with every diſtreſs in which the envy and malevolence of the people under his command, or the ingratitude of the court which he ſerved, could involve him. Though the pacification with Roldan broke the union and weakened the force of the mutineers, it did not extirpate the ſeeds of diſcord

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out of the iſland. Several of the malcontents continued in arms, refuſing to ſubmit to the admiral. He and his brothers were obliged to take the field alternately, in order to check their incurſions, or to puniſh their crimes. The perpetual occupation and diſquiet which this created, prevented him from giving due attention to the dangerous machinations of his enemies in the court of Spain. A good number of ſuch as were moſt diſſatisfied with his adminiſtration, had embraced the opportunity of returning to Europe with the ſhips which he diſpatched from St. Domingo. The final diſappointment of all their hopes inflamed the rage of theſe unfortunate adventurers againſt Columbus to the utmoſt pitch. Their poverty and diſtreſs, by exciting compaſſion, rendered their accuſations credible, and their complaints intereſting. They teazed Ferdinand and Iſabella inceſſantly with memorials, containing the detail of their own grievances, and the articles of their charge againſt Columbus. Whenever either the king or queen appeared in public, they ſurrounded them in a tumultuary manner, inſiſting with importunate clamours for payment of the arrears due to them, and demanding vengeance upon the author of their ſufferings. They inſulted the admiral's ſons wherever they met them, reproaching them as the offspring of the projector, whoſe fatal curioſity had diſcovered thoſe pernicious regions which drained Spain of its wealth, and would prove the grave of its people. Theſe avowed endeavours of the malcontents from America to ruin Columbus, were ſeconded by the ſecret, but more dangerous inſinuations of that party among the courtiers, which had always thwarted his ſchemes, and envied his ſucceſs and credit.

Ferdinand was diſpoſed to liſten, not only with a willing, but with a partial ear, to theſe accuſations. Notwithſtanding the flattering accounts which Columbus had given of the riches of America, the remittances from it had hitherto been ſo ſcanty, that they fell far ſhort of the expence of the armaments fitted out. The glory of the diſcovery, together with the proſpect of remote commercial advantages, was all that Spain had yet received in return for the efforts which ſhe had made. But time had already diminiſhed the firſt ſenſations of joy which the diſcovery of a New World occaſioned, and fame alone was not an object to ſatisfy the cold intereſted mind of Ferdinand. The nature of commerce was then ſo little underſtood, that, where immediate gain was not acquired, the hope of diſtant benefit, or of ſlow and moderate returns, was totally diſregarded. Ferdinand conſidered Spain, on this account, as having loſt by the enterpriſe of Columbus, and imputed it to his miſconduct and incapacity for government, that a country abound-

ing in gold had yielded nothing of value to its conquerors. Even Iſabella, who from the favourable opinion which ſhe entertained of Columbus, had uniformly protected him, was ſhaken at length by the number and boldneſs of his accuſers, and began to ſuſpect that a diſaffection ſo general muſt have been occaſioned by real grievances, which called for redreſs. The biſhop of Bajados, with his uſual animoſity againſt Columbus, encouraged theſe ſuſpicions, and confirmed them.

As ſoon as the queen began to give way to the torrent of calumny, a reſolution fatal to Columbus was taken. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hiſpaniola, with full powers to enquire into the conduct of Columbus, and, if he ſhould find the charge of mal-adminiſtration proved, to ſuperſede him, and aſſume the government of the iſland. It was impoſſible to eſcape condemnation, when this prepoſterous commiſſion made it the intereſt of the judge to pronounce the perſon, whom he was ſent to try, guilty. Though Columbus had now compoſed all the diſſentions in the iſland; though he had brought both Spaniards and Indians to ſubmit peaceably to his government; though he had made ſuch effectual proviſion for working the mines, and cultivating the country, as would have ſecured a conſiderable revenue to the king, as well as large profits to individuals, Bovadilla, without deigning to attend to the nature or merit of thoſe ſervices, diſcovered, from the moment that he landed in Hiſpaniola, a determined purpoſe of treating him as a criminal. He took poſſeſſion of the admiral's houſe in St. Domingo, from which its maſter happened at that time to be abſent, and ſeized his effects, as if his guilt had been already fully proved; he rendered himſelf maſter of the fort and of the king's ſtores by violence; he required all perſons to acknowledge him as ſupreme governor; he ſet at liberty the priſoners confined by the admiral, and ſummoned him to appear before his tribunal, in order to anſwer for his conduct; tranſmitting to him, together with the ſummons, a copy of the royal mandate, by which Columbus was enjoined to yield implicit obedience to his commands.

Columbus, though deeply affected with the ingratitude and injuſtice of Ferdinand and Iſabella, did not heſitate a moment about his own conduct. He ſubmitted to the will of his ſovereigns with a reſpectful ſilence, and repaired directly to the court of that violent and partial judge whom they had authoriſed to try him. Bovadilla, without admitting him into his preſence, ordered him inſtantly to be arreſted, to be loaded with chains, and hurried on board a ſhip. Even under this humiliating reverſe of fortune, the firmneſs of mind which diſtinguiſhes the character of Columbus, did not forſake him. Conſcious of his own

integrity, and ſolacing himſelf with reflecting upon the great things which he had achieved, he endured this inſult offered to his character, not only with compoſure, but with dignity. Nor had he the conſolation of ſympathy to mitigate his ſufferings. Bovadilla had already rendered himſelf ſo extremely popular, by granting various immunities to the colony, by liberal donations of Indians to all who applied for them, and by relaxing the reins of diſcipline and government, that the Spaniards, who were moſtly adventurers, whom their indigence or crimes had impelled to abandon their native country, expreſſed the moſt indecent ſatisfaction with the diſgrace and impriſonment of Columbus. They flattered themſelves, that now they ſhould enjoy an uncontrouled liberty, more ſuitable to their diſpoſition and former habits of life. Among perſons thus prepared to cenſure the proceedings, and to aſperſe the character of Columbus, Bovadilla collected materials for a charge againſt him. All accuſations, the moſt improbable, as well as inconſiſtent, were received. No informer, however infamous, was rejected. The reſult of this inqueſt, no leſs indecent than partial, he tranſmitted to Spain. At the ſame time, he ordered Columbus, with his two brothers, to be carried thither in fetters; and, adding cruelty to inſult, he confined them in different ſhips, and excluded them from the comfort of that friendly intercourſe which might have ſoothed their common diſtreſs. But while the Spaniards in Hiſpaniola viewed the arbitrary and inſolent proceedings of Bovadilla with a general approbation, which reflects diſhonour upon their name and country, one man ſtill retained a proper ſenſe of the great actions which Columbus had performed, and was touched with the ſentiments of veneration and pity due to his rank, his age, and his merit. Alonſo de Vallejo, the captain of the veſſel on board which the admiral was confined, as ſoon as he was clear of the iſland, approached the priſoner with great reſpect, and offered to releaſe him from the fetters with which he was unjuſtly loaded. "No," replied Columbus, with a generous indignation, "I wear theſe irons in conſequence of an order from my ſovereigns. They ſhall find me as obedient to this as to their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and their command alone ſhall ſet me at liberty."

Fortunately, the voyage to Spain was extremely ſhort. As ſoon as Ferdinand and Iſabella were informed that Columbus was brought home a priſoner, and in chains, they perceived at once what univerſal aſtoniſhment this event muſt occaſion, and what an impreſſion to their diſadvantage it muſt make. All Europe, they foreſaw, would be filled with indignation at this ungenerous requital of a man who had performed actions worthy of the higheſt recompence, and would exclaim againſt the injuſtice

injuſtice of the nation, to which he had been ſuch an eminent benefactor, as well as againſt the ingratitude of the princes whoſe reign he had rendered illuſtrious. Aſhamed of their own conduct, and eager not only to make ſome reparation for this injury, but to efface the ſtain which it might fix upon their character, they inſtantly iſſued orders to ſet Columbus at liberty, on December the ſeventeenth, invited him to court, and remitted money to enable him to appear there in a manner ſuitable to his rank. When he entered the royal preſence, Columbus threw himſelf at the feet of his ſovereigns. He remained for ſome time ſilent; the various paſſions which agitated his mind ſuppreſſing his power of utterance. At length he recovered himſelf, and vindicated his conduct in a long diſcourſe, producing the moſt ſatisfying proofs of his own integrity as well as good intention, and evidence, no leſs clear, of the malevolence of his enemies, who, not ſatisfied with having ruined his fortune, laboured to deprive him of what alone was now left, his honour and his fame. Ferdinand received him with decent civility, and Iſabella with tenderneſs and reſpect. They both expreſſed their ſorrow for what had happened, diſavowed their knowledge of it, and joined in promiſing him protection and future favour. But though they inſtantly degraded Bovadilla, in order to remove from themſelves any ſuſpicion of having authoriſed his violent proceedings, they did not reſtore to Columbus his juriſdiction and privileges as viceroy of thoſe countries which he had diſcovered. Though willing to appear the avengers of Columbus's wrongs, that illiberal jealouſy which prompted them to inveſt Bovadilla with ſuch authority as put it in his power to treat the admiral with indignity ſtill ſubſiſted. They were afraid to truſt a man to whom they had been ſo highly indebted, and retaining him at court under various pretexts, they appointed Nicholas de Ovando, a knight of the military order of Alcantara, governor of Hiſpaniola.

Columbus was deeply affected with this new injury, which came from hands that ſeemed to be employed in making reparation for his paſt ſufferings. The ſenſibility with which great minds feel every thing that implies any ſuſpicion of their integrity, or that wears the aſpect of an affront, is exquiſite. Columbus had experienced both from the Spaniards; and their ungenerous conduct exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he could no longer conceal the ſentiments which it excited. Whereever he went, he carried about with him, as a memorial of their ingratitude, thoſe fetters with which he had been loaded. They were conſtantly hung up in his chamber, and he gave orders that when he died they ſhould be buried in his grave.

Meanwhile, in the year one thouſand five hundred and one, the ſpirit of diſcovery, notwithſtanding the ſevere check which it received by the ungenerous treatment of the man, who firſt excited it in Spain, continued active and vigorous. Roderigo de Baſtidas, a perſon of diſtinction, fitted out two ſhips, in January, in co-partnery with John de la Coſa, who having ſerved under the admiral in two of his voyages, was deemed the moſt ſkilful pilot in Spain. They ſteered directly towards the continent, arrived on the coaſt of Paria, and proceeding to the weſt, diſcovered all the coaſt of the province now known by the name of Tierra Firmè, from Cape de Vela to the gulf of Darien. Not long after Ojeda, with his former aſſociate Amerigo Veſpucci, ſet out upon a ſecond voyage, and being unacquainted with the deſtination of Baſtidas, held the ſame courſe, and touched at the ſame places. The voyage of Baſtidas was proſperous and lucrative, that of Ojeda unfortunate. But both tended to increaſe the ardour of diſcovery; for in proportion as the Spaniards acquired a more extenſive knowledge of the American continent, their idea of its opulence and fertility increaſed.

Before theſe adventurers returned from their voyages, a fleet was equipped, at the public expence, for carrying over Ovando, the new governor to Hiſpaniola. His preſence there was extremely requiſite, in order to ſtop the inconſiderate career of Bovadilla, whoſe imprudent adminiſtration threatened the ſettlement with ruin. Conſcious of the violence and iniquity of his proceedings againſt Columbus, he continued to make it his ſole object to gain the favour and ſupport of his countrymen, by accommodating himſelf to their paſſions and prejudices. With this view, he eſtabliſhed regulations, in every point the reverſe of thoſe which Columbus deemed eſſential to the proſperity of the colony. Inſtead of the ſevere diſcipline, neceſſary in order to habituate the diſſolute and corrupted members of which the ſociety was compoſed to the reſtraints of law and ſubordination, he ſuffered them to enjoy ſuch uncontrouled licence, as encouraged the wildeſt exceſſes. Inſtead of protecting the Indians, he gave a legal ſanction to the oppreſſion of that unhappy people. He took the exact number of ſuch as ſurvived their paſt calamities, divided them into diſtinct claſſes, diſtributed them in property among his adherents, and reduced all the people of the iſland to a ſtate of complete ſervitude. As the avarice of the Spaniards was too rapacious and impatient to try any method of acquiring wealth but that of ſearching for gold, this ſervitude became as grievous as it was unjuſt. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mountains, and compelled to work in the mines by maſters, who impoſed their taſks without mercy or diſcretion. Labour, ſo diſproportioned

tioned to their ſtrength and former habits of life, waſted that feeble race of men with ſuch rapid conſumption, as muſt have ſoon terminated in the utter extinction of the ancient inhabitants of the country.

The neceſſity of applying a ſpeedy remedy to thoſe diſorders, haſtened Ovando's departure. He had the command of the moſt reſpectable armament hitherto fitted out for the New World. It conſiſted of thirty-two ſhips, on board of which two thouſand five hundred perſons embarked, with an intention of ſettling in the country. Upon the arrival of the new governor with this powerful reinforcement to the colony, in the year one thouſand five hundred and two, Bovadilla reſigned his charge, and was commanded to return inſtantly to Spain, in order to anſwer for his conduct. Roldan, and the other ringleaders of the mutineers, who had been moſt active in oppoſing Columbus, were required to leave the iſland at the ſame time. A proclamation was iſſued, declaring the natives to be free ſubjects of Spain, of whom no ſervice was to be exacted contrary to their own inclination, and without paying them an adequate price for their labour. With reſpect to the Spaniards themſelves, various regulations were made, tending to ſuppreſs the licentious ſpirit which had been ſo fatal to the colony, and to eſtabliſh that reverence for law and order on which ſociety is founded, and to which it is indebted for its increaſe and ſtability. In order to limit the exorbitant gain which private perſons were ſuppoſed to make by working the mines, an ordinance was publiſhed, directing all the gold to be brought to a public ſmelting-houſe, and declaring one half of it to be the property of the crown.

While theſe ſteps were taking for ſecuring the tranquillity and welfare of the colony which Columbus had planted, he himſelf was engaged in the unpleaſant employment of ſoliciting the favour of an ungrateful court, and, notwithſtanding all his merits and ſervices, he ſolicited in vain. He demanded, in terms of the original capitulation in one thouſand four hundred and ninety-two, to be reinſtated in his office of viceroy over the countries which he had diſcovered. By a ſtrange fatality, the circumſtance which he urged in ſupport of his claim, determined a jealous monarch to reject it. The greatneſs of his diſcoveries, and the proſpect of their increaſing value, made Ferdinand conſider the conceſſions in the capitulation as extravagant and impolitic. He was afraid of entruſting a ſubject with the exerciſe of a juriſdiction that now appeared to be ſo truly extenſive, and might grow no leſs formidable. He inſpired Iſabella with the ſame ſuſpicions; and under various pretexts, equally frivolous and unjuſt, they eluded all Columbus's requiſitions to perform that which a ſolemn compact bound them to accompliſh. After attending

attending the court of Spain for near two years, as an humble ſuitor, he found it impoſſible to remove Ferdinand's prejudices and apprehenſions; and perceived, at length, that he laboured in vain, when he urged a claim of juſtice or merit with an intereſted and unfeeling prince.

But even this ungenerous return did not diſcourage him from purſuing the great object which firſt called forth his inventive genius, and excited him to attempt diſcovery. To open a new paſſage to the Eaſt Indies was his original and favourite ſcheme. This ſtill engroſſed his thoughts; and either from his own obſervations in his voyage to Paria, or from ſome obſcure hint of the natives, or from the accounts given by Baſtidas and de la Coſa, of their expedition, he conceived an opinion that, beyond the continent of America, there was a ſea which extended to the Eaſt Indies, and hoped to find ſome narrow ſtrait or narrow neck of land, by which a communication might be opened with it and the part of the ocean already known. By a very fortunate conjecture, he ſuppoſed this ſtrait or iſthmus to be ſituated near the gulf of Darien. Full of this idea, though he was now of an advanced age, worn out with fatigue, and broken with infirmities, he offered, with the alacrity of a youthful adventurer, to undertake a voyage which would aſcertain this important point, and perfect the grand ſcheme which from the beginning he propoſed to accompliſh. Several circumſtances concurred in diſpoſing Ferdinand and Iſabella to lend a favourable ear to this propoſal. They were glad to have the pretext of any honourable employment for removing from court a man with whoſe demands they deemed it impolitic to comply, and whoſe ſervices it was indecent to neglect. Though unwilling to reward Columbus, they were not inſenſible of his merit, and from their experience of his ſkill and conduct, had reaſon to give credit to his conjectures, and to confide in his ſucceſs. To theſe conſiderations, a third muſt be added of ſtill more powerful influence. About this time the Portugueſe fleet, under Cabral, arrived from the Indies; and, by the richneſs of its cargo, gave the people of Europe a more perfect idea, than they had hitherto been able to form, of the opulence and fertility of the eaſt. The Portugueſe had been more fortunate in their diſcoveries than the Spaniards. They had opened a communication with countries where induſtry, arts, and elegance flouriſhed; and where commerce had been longer eſtabliſhed, and carried to greater extent, than in any region of the earth. Their firſt voyages thither yielded immediate, as well as vaſt returns of profit, in commodities extremely precious and in great requeſt. Liſbon became immediately the ſeat of commerce and of wealth; while Spain had only the expectation of remote benefit, and of future gain, from the weſtern world. Nothing,

thing, then, could be more acceptable to the Spaniards than Columbus's offer to conduct them to the eaſt, by a route which he expected to be ſhorter, as well as leſs dangerous, than that which the Portugueſe had taken. Even Ferdinand was roufed by ſuch a proſpect, and warmly approved of the undertaking.

But, intereſting as the object of his voyage was to the nation, Columbus could procure only four ſmall barks, the largeſt of which did not exceed ſeventy tons in burden, for performing it. Accuſtomed to brave danger, and to engage in arduous undertakings with inadequate force, he did not heſitate to accept the command of this pitiful ſquadron. His brother Bartholomew, and his ſecond ſon Ferdinand, the hiſtorian of his actions, accompanied him. He ſailed from Cadiz on the ninth of May, and touched, as uſual, at the Canary Iſlands; from thence he purpoſed to have ſtood directly for the continent; but his largeſt veſſel was ſo clumſy and unfit for ſervice, as conſtrained him to bear away for Hiſpaniola, in hopes of exchanging her for ſome ſhip of the fleet that had carried out Ovando. When he arrived off St. Domingo, on June the twenty-ninth, he found eighteen of theſe ſhips ready loaded, and on the point of departing for Spain. Columbus immediately acquainted the governor with the deſtination of his voyage, and the accident which had obliged him to alter his route. He requeſted permiſſion to enter the harbour, not only that he might negociate the exchange of his ſhip, but that he might take ſhelter during a violent hurricane, of which he diſcerned the approach from various prognoſtics, which his experience and ſagacity had taught him to obſerve. On that account, he adviſed him likewiſe to put off for ſome days the departure of the fleet bound for Spain. But Ovando refuſed his requeſt, and deſpiſed his counſel. Under circumſtances in which humanity would have afforded refuge to a ſtranger, Columbus was denied admittance into a country of which he had diſcovered the exiſtence and acquired the poſſeſſion. His ſalutary warning, which merited the greateſt attention, was regarded as the dream of a viſionary prophet, who arrogantly pretended to predict an event beyond the reach of human foreſight. The fleet ſet ſail for Spain. Next night the hurricane came on with dreadful impetuoſity. Columbus, aware of the danger, took precautions againſt it, and ſaved his little ſquadron. The fleet deſtined for Spain met with the fate which the raſhneſs and obſtinacy of its commanders deſerved. Of eighteen ſhips two or three only eſcaped. In this general wreck periſhed Bovadilla, Roldan, and the greater part of thoſe who had been the moſt active in perſecuting Columbus, and oppreſſing the Indians. Together with themſelves, all the wealth which they

they had acquired by their injuſtice and cruelty was ſwallowed up. It exceeded in value two hundred thouſand *peſos*; an immenſe ſum at that period, and ſufficient not only to have ſcreened them from any ſevere ſcrutiny into their conduct, but to have ſecured them a gracious reception in the Spaniſh court. Among the ſhips that eſcaped, one had on board all the effects of Columbus which had been recovered from the ruins of his fortune. Hiſtorians, ſtruck with the exact diſcrimination of characters, as well as the juſt diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments, conſpicuous in thoſe events, univerſally attribute them to an immediate interpoſition of divine Providence, in order to avenge the wrongs of an injured man, and to puniſh the oppreſſors of an innocent people. Upon the ignorant and ſuperſtitious race of men, who were witneſſes of this occurrence, it made a different impreſſion. From an opinion, which vulgar admiration is apt to entertain with reſpect to perſons who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſagacity and inventions, they believed Columbus to be poſſeſſed of ſupernatural powers, and imagined that he had conjured up this dreadful ſtorm by magical art, and incantations, in order to be avenged of his enemies.

Columbus ſoon left Hiſpaniola, July 14, where he met with ſuch an inhoſpitable reception, and ſtood towards the continent. After a tedious and dangerous voyage, he diſcovered Guanaia, an iſland not far diſtant from the coaſt of Honduras. There he had an interview with ſome inhabitants of the continent, who arrived in a large canoe. They appeared to be a people more civilized, and who had made greater progreſs in the knowledge of uſeful arts, than any whom he had hitherto diſcovered. In return to the inquiries which the Spaniards made, with their uſual eagerneſs, concerning the places where the Indians got the gold which they wore by way of ornament, they directed them to countries ſituated to the weſt, in which gold was found in ſuch profuſion, that it was applied to the moſt common uſes. Inſtead of ſteering in queſt of a country ſo inviting, which would have conducted him along the coaſt of Yucatan to the rich empire of Mexico, Columbus was ſo bent upon his favourite ſcheme of finding out the ſtrait which he ſuppoſed to communicate with the Indian ocean, that he bore away to the eaſt towards the gulf of Darien. In this navigation he diſcovered all the coaſt of the continent, from Cape Gracias a Dios, to a harbour which, on account of its beauty and ſecurity, he called Porto Bello. He ſearched, in vain, for the imaginary ſtrait, through which he expected to make his way into an unknown ſea; and though he went on ſhore ſeveral times, and advanced into the country, he did not penetrate ſo far as to croſs the narrow iſthmus which ſeparates the gulf of Mexico from

from the great ſouthern ocean. He was ſo much delighted, however, with the fertility of the country, and conceived ſuch an idea of its wealth, from the ſpecimens of gold produced by the natives, that he reſolved to leave a ſmall colony upon the river Belem, in the province of Veragua, under the command of his brother, and to return himſelf to Spain, in order to procure what was requiſite for rendering the eſtabliſhment permanent. But the ungovernable ſpirit of the people under his command, deprived Columbus of the glory of planting the firſt colony on the continent of America. Their inſolence and rapaciouſneſs provoked the natives to take arms, and as theſe were a more hardy and warlike race of men than the inhabitants of the iſlands, they cut off part of the Spaniards, and obliged the reſt to abandon a ſtation which was found to be untenable.

This repulſe, the firſt that the Spaniards met with from any of the American nations, was not the only misfortune that befel Columbus; it was followed by a ſucceſſion of all the diſaſters to which navigation is expoſed. Furious hurricanes, with violent ſtorms of thunder and lightning, threatened his leaky veſſels with deſtruction; while his diſcontented crew, exhauſted with fatigue, and deſtitute of proviſions, was unwilling or unable to execute his commands. One of his ſhips periſhed; he was obliged to abandon another, as unfit for ſervice; and with the two which remained, he quitted that part of the continent which in his anguiſh he named the Coaſt of Vexation, and bore away for Hiſpaniola. New diſtreſſes awaited him in this voyage. He was driven back by a violent tempeſt from the coaſt of Cuba, his ſhips fell foul of one another, and were ſo much ſhattered by the ſhock, that with the utmoſt difficulty they reached Jamaica, on June 24, where he was obliged to run them aground, to prevent them from ſinking. The meaſure of his calamities ſeemed now to be full. He was caſt aſhore upon an iſland at a conſiderable diſtance from the only ſettlement of the Spaniards in America. His ſhips were ruined beyond the poſſibility of being repaired. To convey an account of his ſituation to Hiſpaniola, appeared impracticable; and without this it was vain to expect relief. His genius, fertile in reſources, and moſt vigorous in thoſe perilous extremities when feeble minds abandon themſelves to deſpair, diſcovered the only expedient which afforded any proſpect of deliverance. He had recourſe to the hoſpitable kindneſs of the natives, who conſidering the Spaniards as beings of a ſuperior nature, were eager, on every occaſion, to miniſter to their wants. From them he obtained two of their canoes, each formed out of the trunk of a ſingle tree hollowed with fire, and ſo miſ-ſhapen and aukward as hardly to merit the name of boats.

In theſe, which were fit only for creeping along the coaſt, or croſſing from one ſide of a bay to another, Mendez, a Spaniard, and Fieſchi, a Genoeſe, two gentlemen particularly attached to Columbus, gallantly offered to ſet out for Hiſpaniola, upon a voyage of above thirty leagues. This they accompliſhed in ten days, after ſurmounting incredible dangers, and enduring ſuch fatigue, that ſeveral of the Indians who accompanied them ſunk under it, and died. The attention paid to them by the governor of Hiſpaniola was neither ſuch as their courage merited, nor the diſtreſs of the perſons from whom they came required. Ovando, from a mean jealouſy of Columbus was afraid of allowing him to ſet foot in the iſland under his government. This ungenerous paſſion hardened his heart againſt every tender ſentiment, which reflection upon the ſervices and misfortunes of that great man, or compaſſion for his own fellow-citizens involved in the ſame calamities, muſt have excited. Mendez and Fieſchi ſpent eight months in ſoliciting relief for their commander and aſſociates, without any proſpect of obtaining it.

During this period, various paſſions agitated the mind of Columbus, and his companions in adverſity. At firſt the expectation of ſpeedy deliverance, from the ſucceſs of Mendez and Fieſchi's voyage, cheered the ſpirits of the moſt deſponding. After ſome time the more timorous began to ſuſpect that they had miſcarried in their daring attempt. At length, even the moſt ſanguine concluded that they had periſhed. The ray of hope which had broke in upon them, made their condition appear now more diſmal. Deſpair, heightened by diſappointment, ſettled in every breaſt. Their laſt reſource had failed, and nothing remained but the proſpect of ending their miſerable days among naked ſavages, far from their country and their friends. The ſeamen, in a tranſport of rage, roſe in open mutiny, threatened the life of Columbus, whom they reproached as the author of all their calamities, ſeized ten canoes, which he had purchaſed from the Indians, and deſpiſing his remonſtrances and entreaties, made off with them to a diſtant part of the iſland. At the ſame time the natives murmured at the long reſidence of the Spaniards in their country. As their induſtry was not greater than that of their neighbours in Hiſpaniola, like them they found the burden of ſupporting ſo many ſtrangers to be altogether intolerable. They began to bring in proviſions with reluctance, they furniſhed them with a ſparing hand, and threatened to withdraw thoſe ſupplies altogether. Such a reſolution muſt have been quickly fatal to the Spaniards. Their ſafety depended upon the good-will of the Indians; and unleſs they could revive the admiration and reverence with which that ſimple people had at firſt beheld them, deſtruction was unavoidable

avoidable. Though the licentious proceedings of the mutineers had, in a great meaſure effaced thoſe impreſſions which had been ſo favourable to the Spaniards, the ingenuity of Columbus ſuggeſted a happy artifice, that not only reſtored but heightened the high opinion which the Indians had originally entertained of them. By his ſkill in aſtronomy he knew that there was ſhortly to be a total eclipſe of the moon. He aſſembled all the principal perſons of the diſtrict around him on the day before it happened, and, after reproaching them for their ficklenes in withdrawing their affection and aſſiſtance from men whom they had lately revered, he told them, that the Spaniards were ſervants of the Great Spirit who dwells in heaven, who made and governs the world; that he, offended at their refuſing to ſupport men who were the objects of his peculiar favour, was preparing to puniſh this crime with exemplary ſeverity, and that very night the moon ſhould withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a ſign of the divine wrath, and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall upon them. To this marvellous prediction ſome of them liſtened with the careleſs indifference peculiar to the people of America; others, with the credulous aſtoniſhment natural to barbarians. But when the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red colour, all were ſtruck with terror. They ran with conſternation to their houſes, and returning inſtantly to Columbus loaded with proviſions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the Great Spirit to avert the deſtruction with which they were threatened. Columbus, ſeeming to be moved by their entreaties, promiſed to comply with their deſire. The eclipſe went off, the moon recovered its ſplendour, and from that day the Spaniards were not only furniſhed profuſely with proviſions, but the natives, with ſuperſtitious attention, avoided every thing that could give them offence.

During thoſe tranſactions, the mutineers had made repeated attempts to paſs over to Hiſpaniola in the canoes which they had ſeized. But, from their own miſconduct, or the violence of the winds and currents, their efforts were all unſucceſsful. Enraged at this diſappointment, they marched towards that part of the iſland where Columbus remained, threatening him with new inſults and danger. While they were advancing, an event happened, more cruel and afflicting than any calamity which he dreaded from them. The governor of Hiſpaniola, whoſe mind was ſtill filled with ſome dark ſuſpicions of Columbus, ſent a ſmall bark to Jamaica, not to deliver his diſtreſſed countrymen, but to ſpy out their condition. Leſt the ſympathy of thoſe whom he employed ſhould afford them relief, contrary to his intention, he gave the command of this veſſel to Eſcobar, an inveterate enemy of Columbus, who

adhering to his inſtructions with malignant accuracy, caſt anchor at ſome diſtance from the iſland, approached the ſhore in a ſmall boat, obſerved the wretched plight of the Spaniards, delivered a letter of empty compliments to the admiral, received his anſwer, and departed. When the Spaniards firſt deſcried the veſſel ſtanding towards the iſland, every heart exulted, as if the long expected hour of their deliverance had at length arrived; but when it diſappeared ſo ſuddenly, they ſunk into the deepeſt dejection, and all their hopes died away. Columbus alone, though he felt moſt ſenſibly this wanton inſult which Ovando added to his paſt neglect, retained ſuch compoſure of mind, as to be able to cheer his followers. He aſſured them, that Mendez and Fieſchi had reached Hiſpaniola in ſafety; that they would ſpeedily procure ſhips to carry them off; but as Eſcobar's veſſel could not take them all on board, he had refuſed to go with her, becauſe he was determined never to abandon the faithful companions of his diſtreſs. Soothed with the expectation of ſpeedy deliverance, and delighted with his apparent generoſity in attending more to their preſervation than to his own ſafety, their ſpirits revived, and he regained their confidence.

Without this confidence, he could not have reſiſted the mutineers, who were now at hand. All his endeavours to reclaim thoſe deſperate men had no effect but to increaſe their frenzy. Their demands became every day more extravagant, and their intentions more violent and bloody. The common ſafety rendered it neceſſary to oppoſe them with open force. Columbus who had been long afflicted with the gout, could not take the field. On the twentieth of May his brother, the Adelantado, marched againſt them. They quickly met. The mutineers rejected with ſcorn terms of accommodation, which were once more offered them, and ruſhed on boldly to the attack. They fell not upon an enemy unprepared to receive them. In the firſt ſhock, ſeveral of their moſt daring leaders were ſlain. The Adelatando, whoſe ſtrength was equal to his courage, cloſed with their captain, wounded, diſarmed, and took him priſoner. At ſight of this, the reſt fled with a daſtardly fear, ſuitable to their former inſolence. Soon after, they ſubmitted in a body to Columbus, and bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths to obey all his commands. Hardly was tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed, when the ſhips appeared, whoſe arrival Columbus had promiſed with great addreſs, though he could foreſee it with little certainty. With tranſports of joy, the Spaniards quitted an iſland in which the unfeeling jealouſy of Ovando had ſuffered them to languiſh above a year, expoſed to miſery in all its various forms.

When

When they arrived at St. Domingo, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, the governor, with the mean artifice of a vulgar mind, that labours to atone for inſolence by ſervility, fawned on the man whom he envied, and had attempted to ruin. He received Columbus with the moſt ſtudied reſpect, lodged him in his own houſe, and diſtinguiſhed him with every mark of honour. But amidſt theſe overacted demonſtrations of regard, he could not conceal the hatred and malignity latent in his heart. He ſet at liberty the captain of the mutineers, whom Columbus had brought over in chains, to be tried for his crimes, and threatened ſuch as had adhered to the admiral with proceeding to a judicial enquiry into their conduct. Columbus ſubmitted in ſilence to what he could not redreſs; but diſcovered an extreme impatience to quit a country which was under the juriſdiction of a man who had treated him, on every occaſion, with inhumanity and injuſtice. His preparations were ſoon finiſhed, and he ſet ſail for Spain with two ſhips, on September the twelfth, 1504. Diſaſters ſimilar to thoſe which had accompanied him through life continued to to purſue him to the end of his career. One of his veſſels being diſabled, was ſoon forced back to St. Domingo; the other, ſhattered by violent ſtorms, ſailed ſeven hundred leagues with jury-maſts, and reached with difficulty the port of St. Lucar in the month of December.

There he received the account of an event the moſt fatal that could have befallen him, and which completed his misfortunes. This was the death, on the ninth of November, 1504, of his patroneſs queen Iſabella, in whoſe juſtice, humanity, and favour, he confided as his laſt reſource. None now remained to redreſs his wrongs, or to reward him for his ſervices and ſufferings, but Ferdinand, who had ſo long oppoſed and ſo often injured him. To ſolicit a prince thus prejudiced againſt him, was an occupation no leſs irkſome than hopeleſs. In this, however, was Columbus doomed to employ the cloſe of his days. As ſoon as his health was in ſome degree re-eſtabliſhed, he repaired to court; and though he was received there with civility barely decent, he plied Ferdinand with petition after petition, demanding the puniſhment of his oppreſſors, and the reſtitution of all the privileges beſtowed upon him by the capitulation of one thouſand four hundred and ninety-two. Ferdinand amuſed him with fair words and unmeaning promiſes. Inſtead of granting his claims, he propoſed expedients in order to elude them, and ſpun out the affair with ſuch apparent art, as plainly diſcovered his intention that it ſhould never be terminated. The declining health of Columbus flattered Ferdinand with the hopes of being ſoon delivered from an importunate ſuitor, and encouraged him to perſevere in this illiberal plan. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Diſguſted

with the ingratitude of a monarch whom he had ſerved with ſuch fidelity and ſucceſs, exhauſted with the fatigues and hardſhips which he had endured, and broken with the infirmities which theſe brought upon him, Columbus ended his life at Valladolid on the twentieth of May, one thouſand five hundred and ſix, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with a compoſure of mind ſuitable to the magnanimity which diſtinguiſhed his character, and with ſentiments of piety becoming that ſupreme reſpect for religion, which he manifeſted in every occurrence of his life.

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Having thus given an Account of the firſt Diſcovery of America, we ſhall now proceed to lay before the Reader, a GENERAL DESCRIPTION of that Country, its *Soil, Climate, Productions, Original Inhabitants, &c. &c.*

GENERAL

GENERAL

DESCRIPTION OF AMERICA.

BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

THIS vaſt country extends from the 80th degree of north, to the 56th degree of ſouth latitude; and, where its breadth is known, from the 35th to the 136th degree weſt longitude from London; ſtretching between 8000 and 9000 miles in length, and in its greateſt breadth 3690. It ſees both hemiſpheres, has two ſummers and a double winter, and enjoys all the variety of climates which the earth affords. It is waſhed by the two great oceans. To the eaſtward it has the Atlantic, which divides it from Europe and Africa; to the weſt it has the Pacific or Great South Sea, by which it is ſeparated from Aſia. By theſe ſeas it may, and does, carry on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the world.

NORTH AND SOUTH CONTINENT. America is not of equal breadth throughout its whole extent; but is divided into two great continents, called *North* and *South America*, by an iſthmus 1500 miles long, and which at Darien, about Lat. 9° N. is only 60 miles over. This iſthmus forms, with the northern and ſouthern continents, a vaſt gulph, in which lie a great number of iſlands, called the *Weſt Indies*, in contradiſtinction to the eaſtern parts of Aſia, which are called the *Eaſt Indies*.

CLIMATE. Between the New World and the Old, there are ſeveral very ſtriking differences; but the moſt remarkable is the general predominance of cold throughout the whole extent of America. Though we cannot, in any country, determine the preciſe degree of heat merely by the diſtance of the equator, becauſe the elevation above the ſea, the nature of the ſoil, &c. affect the climate; yet, in the ancient continent, the heat is much more in proportion to the vicinity to the equator than in any part of America. Here the rigour of the frigid zone extends over half that which ſhould be temperate by its poſition. Even in thoſe latitudes

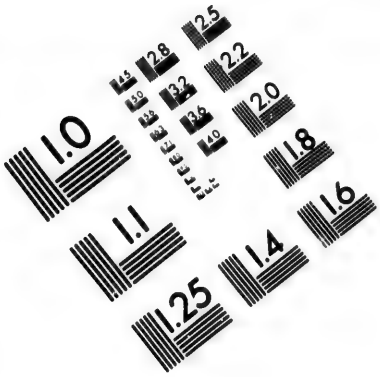
latitudes where the winter is ſcarcely felt on the Old continent, it reigns with great ſeverity in America, though during a ſhort period. Nor does this cold, prevalent in the New World, confine itſelf to the temperate zones; but extends its influence to the torrid zone, alſo, conſiderably mitigating the exceſs of its heat. Along the eaſtern coaſt, the climate, though more ſimilar to that of the torrid zone in other parts of the earth, is nevertheleſs conſiderably milder than in thoſe countries of Aſia and Africa which lie in the ſame latitude. From the ſouthern tropic to the extremity of the American continent, the cold is ſaid to be much greater than in parallel northern latitudes even of America itſelf.

For this ſo remarkable difference between the climate of the New continent and the Old, various cauſes have been aſſigned by different authors. The following is the opinion of the learned Dr. Robertſon on this ſubject. "Though the utmoſt extent of America towards the north be not yet diſcovered, we know that it advances nearer to the pole than either Europe or Aſia. The latter have large ſeas to the north, which are open during part of the year; and, even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is leſs intenſely cold than that which blows over land in the ſame latitudes. But, in America, the land ſtretches from the river St. Laurence towards the pole, and ſpreads out immenſely to the weſt. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with ſnow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind paſſing over ſuch an extent of high and frozen land, becomes ſo impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenneſs, which it retains in its progreſs through warmer climates; and is not entirely mitigated until it reach the gulph of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America, a north-weſterly wind and exceſſive cold are ſynonymous terms. Even in the moſt ſultry weather, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a tranſition from heat to cold no leſs violent than ſudden. To this powerful cauſe we may aſcribe the extraordinary dominion of cold, and its violent in-roads into the ſouthern provinces in that part of the globe.

"Other cauſes, no leſs remarkable, diminiſh the active power of heat in thoſe parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows in an invariable direction from eaſt to weſt. As this wind holds its courſe acroſs the ancient continent, it arrives at the countries which ſtretch along the weſtern ſhore of Africa, inflamed with all the fiery particles which it hath collected from the ſultry plains of Aſia, and the burning ſands in the African deſarts. The coaſt of Africa is accordingly the region of the earth which feels

the moſt fervent heat, and is expoſed to the unmitigated ardour of the torrid zone. But this ſame wind, which brings ſuch an acceſſion of warmth to the countries lying between the river of Senegal and Cafraria, traverſes the Atlantic ocean before it reaches the American ſhore. It is cooled in its paſſage over this vaſt body of water; and is felt as a refreſhing gale along the coaſts of Braſil and Guiana, rendering thoſe countries, though amongſt the warmeſt in America, temperate, when compared with thoſe which lie oppoſite to them in Africa. As this wind advances in its courſe acroſs America, it meets with immenſe plains covered with impenetrable foreſts; or occupied by large rivers, marſhes, and ſtagnating waters, where it can recover no conſiderable degree of heat. At length it arrives at the Andes, which run from north to ſouth through the whole continent. In paſſing over their elevated and frozen ſummits, it is ſo thoroughly cooled, that the greater part of the countries beyond them hardly feel the ardour to which they ſeem expoſed by their ſituation. In the other provinces of America, from Terra Firma weſtward to the Mexican empire, the heat of the climate is tempered, in ſome places, by the elevation of the land above the ſea; in others, by their extraordinary humidity; and in all, by the enormous mountains ſcattered over this tract. The iſlands of America in the torrid zone are either ſmall or mountainous, and are fanned alternately by refreſhing ſea and land breezes.

"The cauſes of the extraordinary cold towards the ſouthern limits of America, and in the ſeas beyond it, cannot be aſcertained in a manner equally ſatisfying. It was long ſuppoſed, that a vaſt continent, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Terra Auſtralis Incognita*, lay between the ſouthern extremity of America and the antarctic pole. The ſame principles which account for the extraordinary degree of cold in the northern regions of America, were employed in order to explain that which is felt at Cape Horn and the adjacent countries. The immenſe extent of the ſouthern continent, and the rivers which it poured into the ocean, were mentioned and admitted by philoſophers as cauſes ſufficient to occaſion the unuſual ſenſation of cold, and the ſtill more uncommon appearances of frozen ſeas in that region of the globe. But the imaginary continent to which ſuch influence was aſcribed having been ſearched for in vain, and the ſpace which it was ſuppoſed to occupy having been found to be an open ſea, new conjectures muſt be formed with reſpect to the cauſes of a temperature of climate, ſo extremely different from that which we experience in countries removed at the ſame diſtance from the oppoſite pole.



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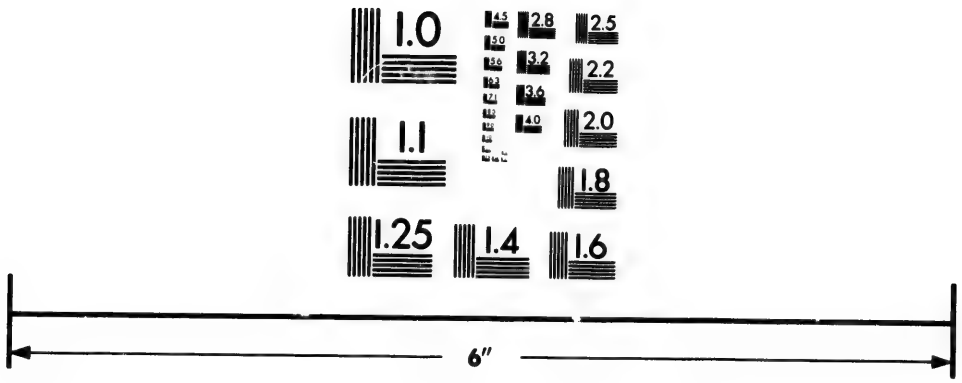

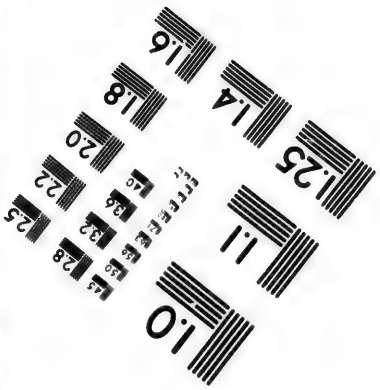

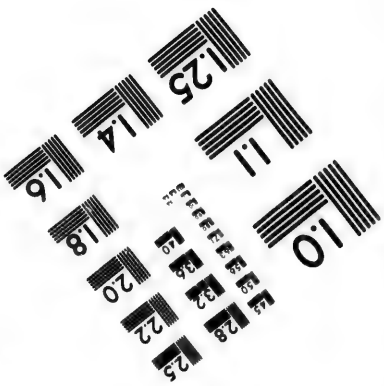

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"The moſt obvious and probable cauſe of this ſuperior degree of cold towards the ſouthern extremity of America, ſeems to be the form of the continent there. Its breadth gradually decreaſes as it ſtretches from St. Antonio ſouthwards, and from the bay of St. Julian to the ſtraits of Magellan its dimenſions are much contracted. On the eaſt and weſt ſides, it is waſhed by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. From its ſouthern point, it is probable that an open ſea ſtretches to the antarctic pole. In whichever of theſe directions the wind blows, it is cooled before it approaches the Magellanic regions, by paſſing over a vaſt body of water; nor is the land there of ſuch extent, that it can recover any conſiderable degree of heat in its progreſs over it. Theſe circumſtances concur in rendering the temperature of the air in this diſtrict of America more ſimilar to that of an inſular, than to that of a continental climate; and hinder it from acquiring the ſame degree of ſummer-heat with places in Europe and Aſia, in a correſponding northern latitude. The north wind is the only one that reaches this part of America, after blowing over a great continent. But, from an attentive ſurvey of its poſition, this will be found to have a tendency rather to diminiſh than augment the degree of heat. The ſouthern extremity of America is properly the termination of the immenſe ridge of the Andes, which ſtretches nearly in a direct line from north to ſouth, through the whole extent of the continent. The moſt ſultry regions in South America, Guiana, Braſil, Paraguay, and Tucuman, lie many degrees to the eaſt of the Magellanic regions. The level country of Peru, which enjoys the tropical heats, is ſituated conſiderably to the weſt of them. The north wind, then, though it blows over land, does not bring to the ſouthern extremity of America an increaſe of heat collected in its paſſage over torrid regions; but, before it arrives there, it muſt have ſwept along the ſummit of the Andes, and come impregnated with the cold of that frozen region."

Another particularity in the climate of America, is its exceſſive moiſture in general. In ſome places, indeed, on the weſtern coaſt, rain is not known; but, in all other parts, the moiſtneſs of the climate is as remarkable as the cold.—The foreſts wherewith it is every where covered, no doubt, partly occaſion the moiſture of its climate; but the moſt prevalent cauſe is the vaſt quantity of water in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, with which America is environed on all ſides. Hence thoſe places where the continent is narroweſt are deluged with almoſt perpetual rains, accompanied with violent thunder and lightning, by which ſome of them, particularly Porto Bello, are rendered in a manner uninhabitable.

This

This extreme moiſture of the American climate is productive of much larger rivers there than in any other part of the world. The Danube, the Nile, the Indus, or the Ganges, are not comparable to the Miſſiſſippi, the river St. Laurence, or that of the Amazons; nor are ſuch large lakes to be found any where as thoſe which North America affords. To the ſame cauſe we are alſo partly to aſcribe the exceſſive luxuriance of all kinds of vegetables in almoſt all parts of this country. In the ſouthern provinces, where the moiſture of the climate is aided by the warmth of the ſun, the woods are almoſt impervious, and the ſurface of the ground is hid from the eye, under a thick covering of ſhrubs, herbs, and weeds.—In the northern provinces, the foreſts are not encumbered with the ſame luxuriance of vegetation; nevertheleſs, they afford trees much larger of their kind than what are to be found any where elſe.

From the coldneſs and the moiſture of America, an extreme malignity of climate has been inferred, and aſſerted by M. de Paw, in his *Recherches Philoſophiques*. Hence, according to his hypotheſis, the ſmallneſs and irregularity of the nobler animals, and the ſize and enormous multiplication of reptiles and inſects.

But the ſuppoſed ſmallneſs and leſs ferocity of the American animals, the Abbé Clavigero obſerves, inſtead of the malignity, demonſtrates the mildneſs and bounty of the clime, if we give credit to Buffon, at whoſe fountain M. de Paw has drank, and of whoſe teſtimony he has availed himſelf againſt Don Pernetty. Buffon, who in many places of his Natural Hiſtory produces the ſmallneſs of the American animals as a certain argument of the malignity of the climate of America, in treating afterwards of ſavage animals, in Tom. II. ſpeaks thus: "As all things, even the moſt free creatures, are ſubject to natural laws, and animals as well as men are ſubjected to the influence of climate and ſoil, it appears that the ſame cauſes which have civilized and poliſhed the human ſpecies in our climates, may have likewiſe produced ſimilar effects upon other ſpecies. The wolf, which is perhaps the fierceſt of all the quadrupeds of the temperate zone, is however incomparably leſs terrible than the tyger, the lion, and the panther, of the torrid zone; and the white bear and hyena of the frigid zone. In America, where the air and the earth are more mild than thoſe of Africa, the tyger, the lion, and the panther, are not terrible but in the name. They have degenerated, if fierceneſs, joined to cruelty, made their nature; or, to ſpeak more properly, they have only ſuffered the influence of the climate: under a milder ſky, their nature alſo has become more mild. From climes which are immoderate in their temperature, are obtained drugs, perfumes, poiſons,

and all thoſe plants whoſe qualities are ſtrong. The temperate earth, on the contrary, produces only things which are temperate; the mildeſt herbs, the moſt wholeſome pulſe, the ſweeteſt fruits, the moſt quiet animals, and the moſt humane men, are the natives of this happy clime. As the earth makes the plants, the earth and plants make animals; the earth, the plants, and the animals, make man. The phyſical qualities of man, and the animals which feed on other animals, depend, though more remotely, on the ſame cauſes which influence their diſpoſitions and cuſtoms. This is the greateſt proof and demonſtration, that in temperate climes every thing becomes temperate, and that in intemperate climes every thing is exceſſive; and that ſize and form, which appear fixed and determinate qualities, depend, notwithſtanding, like the relative qualities, on the influence of climate. The ſize of our quadrupeds cannot be compared with that of an elephant, the rhinoceros, or ſea-horſe. The largeſt of our birds are but ſmall, if compared with the oſtrich, the condore, and *caſoare.*" So far M. Buffon, whoſe text we have copied, becauſe it is contrary to what M. de Paw writes againſt the climate of America, and to Buffon himſelf in many other places.

If the large and fierce animals are natives of intemperate climes, and ſmall and tranquil animals of temperate climes, as M. Buffon has here eſtabliſhed; if mildneſs of climate influences the diſpoſition and cuſtoms of animals, M. de Paw does not well deduce the malignity of the climate of America from the ſmaller ſize and leſs fierceneſs of its animals; he ought rather to have deduced the gentleneſs and ſweetneſs of its climate from this antecedent. If, on the contrary, the ſmaller ſize and leſs fierceneſs of the American animals, with reſpect to thoſe of the old continent, are a proof of their degeneracy, ariſing from the malignity of the clime, as M. de Paw would have it, we ought in like manner to argue the malignity of the climate of Europe from the ſmaller ſize and leſs fierceneſs of its animals, compared with thoſe of Africa. If a philoſopher of the country of Guinea ſhould undertake a work in imitation of M. de Paw, with this title, *Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Europeens*, he might avail himſelf of the ſame argument which M. de Paw uſes, to demonſtrate the malignity of the climate of Europe, and the advantages of that of Africa. The climate of Europe, he would ſay, is very unfavourable to the production of quadrupeds, which are found incomparably ſmaller, and more cowardly than ours. What are the horſe and the ox, the largeſt of its animals, compared with our elephants, our rhinoceroſes, our ſea-horſes, and our camels? What are its lizards, either in ſize or intrepidity, compared with our crocodiles? Its wolves, its bears, the moſt dreadful of its wild beaſts, when beſide our lions or tygers? Its eagle, its vultures,

vultures, and cranes, if compared with our oſtriches, appear only like hens.

As to the enormous ſize and prodigious multiplication of the inſects and other little noxious animals, "The ſurface of the earth (ſays M. de Paw, infected by putrefaction, was over-run with lizards, ſerpents, reptiles, and inſects monſtrous for ſize, and the activity of their poiſon, which they drew from the copious juices of this uncultivated ſoil, that was corrupted and abandoned to itſelf, where the nutritive juice became ſharp, like the milk in the breaſt of animals which do not exerciſe the virtue of propagation. Caterpillars, crabs, butterflies, beetles, ſpiders, frogs, and toads, were for the moſt part of an enormous corpulence in their ſpecies, and multiplied beyond what can be imagined. Panama is infeſted with ſerpents, Carthagena with clouds of enormous bats, Portobello with toads, Surinam with *kakerlacas*, or *cucarachas*, Guadaloupe, and the other colonies of the iſlands, with beetles, Quito with niguas or chegoes, and Lima with lice and bugs. The ancient kings of Mexico, and the emperors of Peru, found no other means of ridding their ſubjects of thoſe inſects which fed upon them, than the impoſition of an annual tribute of a certain quantity of lice. Ferdinand Cortes found bags full of them in the palace of Montezuma." But this argument, exaggerated as it is, proves nothing againſt the climate of America, in general, much leſs againſt that of Mexico. There being ſome lands in America, in which, on account of their heat, humidity, or want of inhabitants, large inſects are found, and exceſſively multiplied, will prove at moſt, that in ſome places the ſurface of the earth is infected, as he ſays, with putrefaction; but not that the ſoil of Mexico, or that of all America, is ſtinking, uncultivated, vitiated, and abandoned to itſelf. If ſuch a deduction were juſt, M. de Paw might alſo ſay, that the ſoil of the old continent is barren, and ſtinks; as in many countries of it there are prodigious multitudes of monſtrous inſects, noxious reptiles, and vile animals, as in the Philippine iſles, in many of thoſe of the Indian Archipelago, in ſeveral countries of the ſouth of Aſia, in many of Africa, and even in ſome of Europe. The Philippine iſles are infeſted with enormous ants and monſtrous butterflies, Japan with ſcorpions, ſouth of Aſia and Africa with ſerpents, Egypt with aſps, Guinea and Ethiopia with armies of ants, Holland with field-rats, Ukrania with toads, as M. de Paw himſelf affirms. In Italy, the Campagna di Roma (although peopled for ſo many ages), with vipers; Calabria with tarantulas; the ſhores of the Adriatic ſea, with clouds of gnats; and even in France, the population of which is ſo great and ſo ancient, whoſe lands are ſo well cultivated, and whoſe climate is ſo celebrated by the French, there appeared, a few

years

years ago, according to M. Buffon, a new ſpecies of field-mice, larger than the common kind, called by him *Surmulots*, which have multiplied exceedingly, to the great damage of the fields. M. Bazin, in his Compendium of the Hiſtory of Inſects, numbers 77 ſpecies of bugs, which are all found in Paris and its neighbourhood. That large capital, as Mr. Bomare ſays, ſwarms with thoſe diſguſtful inſects. It is true, that there are places in America, where the multitude of inſects, and filthy vermin, make life irkſome; but we do not know that they have arrived to ſuch exceſs of multiplication as to depopulate any place, at leaſt there cannot be ſo many examples produced of this cauſe of depopulation in the new as in the old continent, which are atteſted by Theophraſtus, Varro, Pliny, and other authors. The frogs depopulated one place in Gaul, and the locuſts another in Africa. One of the Cyclades was depopulated by mice; Amiclas, near to Taracina, by ſerpents; another place, near to Ethiopia, by ſcorpions and poiſonous ants; and another by ſcolopendras; and not ſo diſtant from our own times, the Mauritius was going to have been abandoned on account of the extraordinary multiplication or rats, as we can remember to have read in a French author.

With reſpect to the ſize of the inſects, reptiles, and ſuch animals, M. de Paw makes uſe of the teſtimony of Mr. Dumont, who, in his Memoirs on Louiſiana, ſays, that the frogs are ſo large there that they weigh 37 French pounds, and their horrid croaking imitates the bellowing of cows. But M. de Paw himſelf ſays (in his anſwer to Don Pernetty, cap. 17.) that all thoſe who have written about Louiſiana from Henepin, Le Clerc, and Cav. Tonti, to Dumont, have contradicted each other, ſometimes on one and ſometimes on another ſubject. In fact, neither in the old or the new continent are there frogs of 37 pounds in weight; but there are in Aſia and Africa, ſerpents, butterflies, ants, and other animals of ſuch monſtrous ſize, that they exceed all thoſe which have been diſcovered in the new world. We know very well, that ſome American hiſtorian ſays, that a certain gigantic ſpecies of ſerpents is to be found in the woods, which attract men with their breath, and ſwallow them up; but we know alſo, that ſeveral hiſtorians, both ancient and modern, report the ſame thing of the ſerpents of Aſia, and even ſomething more. Magaſthenes, cited by Pliny, ſaid, that there were ſerpents found in Aſia, ſo large, that they ſwallowed entire ſtags and bulls. Metrodorus cited by the ſame author, affirms, that in Aſia there were ſerpents which, by their breath, attracted birds, however high they were or quick their flight. Among the moderns, Gemelli, in Vol. V. of his Tour of the World, when he treats of the animals of the Philippine iſles, ſpeaks thus: "There are ſerpents in theſe iſlands of immode-

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rate ſize; there is one called *Ibitin*, very long, which ſuſpending itſelf by the tail from the trunk of a tree, waits till ſtags, bears, and alſo men paſs by, in order to attract them with its breadth, and devour them at once entirely:" from whence it is evident, that this very ancient fable has been common to both continents.

Further, it may be aſked, In what country of America could M. de Paw find ants to equal thoſe of the Philippine iſlands, called *fulum*, reſpecting which Hernandez affirms, that they were ſix fingers broad in length and one in breadth? Who has ever ſeen in America butterflies ſo large as thoſe of Bourbon, Ternate, the Philippine iſles, and all the Indian archipelago? The largeſt bat of America (native to hot ſhady countries), which is that called by Buffon *vampiro*, is, according to him, of the ſize of a pigeon. *La rougette*, one of the ſpecies of Aſia, is as large as a raven; and the *rouſette*, another ſpecies of Aſia, is as big as a large hen. Its wings, when extended, meaſure from tip to tip three Pariſian feet, and according to Gemelli, who meaſured it in the Philippine iſles, ſix palms. M. Buffon acknowledges the exceſs in ſize of the Aſiatic bat over the American ſpecies, but denies it as to number. Gemelli ſays, that thoſe of the iſland of Luzon were ſo numerous that they darkened the air, and that the noiſe which they made with their teeth, in eating the fruits of the woods, was heard at the diſtance of two miles. M. de Paw ſays, in talking of ſerpents, "it cannot be affirmed that the New World has ſhown any ſerpents larger than thoſe which Mr. Adanſon ſaw in the deſerts of Africa." The greateſt ſerpent found in Mexico, after a diligent ſearch made by Hernandez, was 18 feet long: but this is not to be compared with that of the Moluccas, which Bomare ſays is 33 feet in length; nor with the *anocanjada* of Ceylon, which the ſame author ſays is more than 33 feet long; nor with others of Aſia and Africa, mentioned by the ſame author. Laſtly, the argument drawn from the multitude and ſize of the American inſects is fully as weighty as the argument drawn from the ſmallneſs and ſcarcity of quadrupeds, and both detect the ſame ignorance, or rather the ſame voluntary and ſtudied forgetfulneſs, of the things of the old continent.

With reſpect to what M. de Paw has ſaid of the tribute of lice in Mexico, in that as well as in many other things he diſcovers his ridiculous credulity. It is true that Cortes found bags of lice in the magazines of the palace of king Axajacatl. It is alſo true, that Montezuma impoſed ſuch a tribute, not on all his ſubjects, however, but only on thoſe who were beggars; not on account of the extraordinary multitude of thoſe inſects, as M. de Paw affirms, but becauſe Montezuma, who

could not ſuffer idleneſs in his ſubjects, reſolved that that miſerable ſet of people, who could not labour, ſhould at leaſt be occupied in louſing themſelves. This was the true reaſon of ſuch an extravagant tribute, as Torquemada, Betancourt, and other hiſtorians relate; and nobody ever before thought of that which M. de Paw affirms, merely becauſe it ſuited his prepoſterous ſyſtem. Thoſe diſguſting inſects poſſibly abound as much in the hair and cloaths of American beggars, as of any poor and uncleanly low people in the world: but there is not a doubt, that if any ſovereign of Europe was to exact ſuch a tribute from the poor in his dominions, not only bags, but great veſſels might be filled with them.

ABORIGENES. At the time America was diſcovered, it was found inhabited by a race of men no leſs different from thoſe in the other parts of the world, than the climate and natural productions of this continent are different from thoſe of Europe, Aſia, or Africa. One great peculiarity in the native Americans is their colour, and the identity of it throughout the whole extent of the continent. In Europe and Aſia, the people who inhabit the northern countries are of a fairer complexion than thoſe who dwell more to the ſouthward. In the torrid zone, both in Africa and Aſia, the natives are entirely black, or the next thing to it. This, however, muſt be underſtood with ſome limitation. The people of Lapland, who inhabit the moſt northerly part of Europe, are by no means ſo fair as the inhabitants of Britain; nor are the Tartars ſo fair as the inhabitants of Europe who lie under the ſame parallels of latitude. Nevertheleſs, a Laplander is fair when compared with an Abyſſinian, and a Tartar if compared with a native of the Molucca iſlands.—In America, this diſtinction of colour was not to be found. In the torrid zone there were no negroes, and in the temperate and frigid zones there were no white people. All of them were of a kind of red copper colour, which Mr. Forſter obſerved, in the Peſſerays of Terra del Fuego, to have ſomething of a gloſs reſembling that metal. It doth not appear, however, that this matter hath ever been inquired into with ſufficient accuracy. The inhabitants of the inland parts of South America, where the continent is wideſt, and conſequently the influence of the ſun the moſt powerful, have never been compared with thoſe of Canada, or more northerly parts, at leaſt by any perſon of credit. Yet this ought to have been done, and that in many inſtances too, before it could be aſſerted ſo poſitively as moſt authors do, that there is not the leaſt difference of complexion among the natives of America. Indeed, ſo many ſyſtems have been formed concerning them, that it is very difficult to obtain a true knowledge of the moſt ſimple facts. If we may believe the Abbé Raynal, the Californians are

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ſwarthier than the Mexicans; and ſo poſitive is he in this opinion, that he gives a reaſon for it. "This difference of colour," ſays he, "proves, that the civilized life of ſociety ſubverts, or totally changes, the order and laws of nature, ſince we find, under the temperate zone, a ſavage people that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone." On the other hand, Dr. Robertſon claſſes all the inhabitants of Spaniſh America together with regard to colour, whether they are civilized or uncivilized; and when he ſpeaks of California, takes no notice of any peculiarity in their colour more than others. The general appearance of the indigenous Americans in various diſtricts is thus deſcribed by the Chevalier Pinto: "They are all of a copper colour, with ſome diverſity of ſhade, not in proportion to their diſtance from the equator, but according to the degree of elevation of the territory in which they reſide. Thoſe who live in a high country are fairer than thoſe in the marſhy low lands on the coaſt. Their face is round; farther removed, perhaps, than that of any people from an oval ſhape. Their forehead is ſmall; the extremity of their ears far from the face; their lips thick; their noſe flat; their eyes black, or of a cheſnut colour, ſmall, but capable of diſcerning objects at a great diſtance. Their hair is always thick and ſleek, and without any tendency to curl. At the firſt aſpect, a South American appears to be mild and innocent; but, on a more attentive view, one diſcovers in his countenance ſomething wild, diſtruſtful and ſullen."

The following account of the native Americans is given by Don Antonio Ulloa, in a work intitled *Memoires philoſophiques, hiſtoriques, et phyſiques, concernant la decouverte de l' Amerique*, lately publiſhed.

The American Indians are naturally of a colour bordering upon red. Their frequent expoſure to the ſun and wind changes it to their ordinary duſky hue. The temperature of the air appears to have little or no influence in this reſpect. There is no perceptible difference in complexion between the inhabitants of the high and thoſe of the low parts of Peru; yet the climates are of an extreme difference. Nay, the Indians who live as far as 40 degrees and upwards ſouth or north of the equator, are not to be diſtinguiſhed, in point of colour, from thoſe immediately under it.

There is alſo a general conformation of features and perſon, which, more or leſs, characteriſeth them all. Their chief diſtinctions in theſe reſpects are a ſmall forehead, partly covered with hair to the eye-brows, little eyes, the noſe thin, pointed, and bent towards the upper lip; a broad face, large ears, black, thick, and lank hair; the legs well formed, the feet ſmall, the body thick and muſcular; little or no beard on the

face, and that little never extending beyond a ſmall part of the chin and upper lip. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed that this general deſcription cannot apply, in all its parts, to every individual; but all of them partake ſo much of it, that they may eaſily be diſtinguiſhed even from the mulattoes, who come neareſt to them in point of colour.

The reſemblance among all the American tribes is not leſs remarkable in reſpect to their genius, character, manners, and particular cuſtoms. The moſt diſtant tribes are, in theſe reſpects, as ſimilar as though they formed but one nation.

All the Indian nations have a peculiar pleaſure in painting their bodies of a red colour, with a certain ſpecies of earth. The mine of Guancavelica was formerly of no other uſe than to ſupply them with this material for dyeing their bodies; and the cinnabar extracted from it was applied entirely to this purpoſe. The tribes in Louiſiana and Canada have the ſame paſſion; hence minium is the commodity moſt in demand there.

It may ſeem ſingular that theſe nations, whoſe natural colour is red, ſhould affect the ſame colour as an artificial ornament. But it may be obſerved, that they do nothing in this reſpect but what correſponds to the practice of Europeans, who alſo ſtudy to heighten and diſplay to advantage the natural red and white of their complexions. The Indians of Peru have now indeed abandoned the cuſtom of painting their bodies: but it was common among them before they were conquered by the Spaniards; and it ſtill remains the cuſtom of all thoſe tribes who have preſerved their liberty. The northern nations of America, beſides the red colour which is predominant, employ alſo black, white, blue, and green, in painting their bodies.

The adjuſtment of theſe colours is a matter of as great conſideration with the Indians of Louiſiana and the vaſt regions extending to the north, as the ornaments of dreſs among the moſt poliſhed nations. The buſineſs itſelf they call *Mactacher*, and they do not fail to apply all their talents and aſſiduity to accompliſh it in the moſt finiſhed manner. No lady of the greateſt faſhion ever conſulted her mirror with more anxiety, than the Indians do while painting their bodies. The colours are applied with the utmoſt accuracy and addreſs. Upon the eye-lids, preciſely at the root of the eye-laſhes, they draw two lines as fine as the ſmalleſt thread; the ſame upon the lips, the openings of the noſtrils, the eye-brows, and the ears; of which laſt they even follow all the inflexions and inſinuoſities. As to the reſt of the face, they diſtribute various figures, in all which the red predominates, and the other colours are aſſorted ſo as to throw it out to the beſt advantage. The neck alſo re-

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ceives its proper ornaments: a thick coat of vermilion commonly diſtinguiſhes the cheeks. Five or ſix hours are requiſite for accompliſhing all this with the nicety which they affect. As their firſt attempts do not always ſucceed to their wiſh, they efface them, and begin a-new upo a better plan. No coquette is more faſtidious in her choice of ornament, none more vain when the important adjuſtment is finiſhed. Their delight and ſelf-ſatisfaction are then ſo great, that the mirror is hardly ever laid down. An Indian *Maſtahed* to his mind is the vaineſt of all the human ſpecies. The other parts of the body are left in their natural ſtate, and, excepting what is called a *cachecul*, they go entirely naked.

Such of them as have made themſelves eminent for bravery, or other qualifications, are diſtinguiſhed by figures painted on their bodies. They introduce the colours by making punctures on their ſkins, and the extent of ſurface which this ornament covers is proportioned to the exploits they have performed. Some paint only their arms, others both their arms and legs; others again their thighs, while thoſe who have attained the ſummit of warlike renown, have their bodies painted from the waiſt upwards. This is the heraldry of the Indians; the devices of which are probably more exactly adjuſted to the merits of the perſons who bear them than thoſe of more civilized countries.

Beſides theſe ornaments, the warriors alſo carry plumes of feathers on their heads, their arms, and ancles. Theſe likewiſe are tokens of valour, and none but ſuch as have been thus diſtinguiſhed may wear them.

The propenſity to indolence is equal among all the tribes of Indians, civilized or ſavage. The only employment of thoſe who have preſerved their independence is hunting and fiſhing. In ſome diſtricts the women exerciſe a little agriculture in raiſing Indian corn and pompions, of which they form a ſpecies of aliment, by bruiſing them together: they alſo prepare the ordinary beverage in uſe among them, taking care, at the ſame time, of the children, of whom the fathers take no charge.

The female Indians of all the conquered regions of South America practice what is called the *ureu* (a word which among them ſignifies *elevation*). It conſiſts in throwing forward the hair from the crown of the head upon the brow, and cutting it round from the ears to above the eye; ſo that the forehead and eye-brows are entirely covered. The ſame cuſtom takes place in the Northern countries. The female inhabitants of both regions tie the reſt of their hair behind, ſo exactly on the ſame faſhion, that it might be ſuppoſed the effect of mutual imitation. This however being impoſſible, from the vaſt diſtance that ſeparates them, is thought to countenance the ſuppoſition of the whole of America being originally planted with one race of people.

This cuſtom does not take place among the males. Thoſe of the higher parts of Peru wear long and flowing hair, which they reckon a great ornament. In the lower parts of the ſame country they cut it ſhort, on account of the heat of the climate; a circumſtance in which they imitate the Spaniards. The inhabitants of Louiſiana pluck out their hair by the root, from the crown of the head forwards, in order to obtain a large forehead, otherwiſe denied them by nature. The reſt of their hair they cut as ſhort as poſſible, to prevent their enemies from ſeizing them by it in battle, and alſo to prevent them from eaſily getting their ſcalp, ſhould they fall into their hands as priſoners.

The whole race of American Indians is diſtinguiſhed by thickneſs of ſkin and hardneſs of fibres; circumſtances which probably contribute to that inſenſibility to bodily pain for which they are remarkable. An inſtance of this inſenſibility occurred in an Indian who was under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to be cut for the ſtone. This operation, in ordinary caſes, ſeldom laſts above four or five minutes. Unfavourable circumſtances in his caſe prolonged it to the uncommon period of 27 minutes. Yet all this time the patient gave no tokens of the extreme pain commonly attending this operation: he complained only as a perſon does who feels ſome ſlight uneaſineſs. At laſt the ſtone was extracted. Two days after, he expreſſed a deſire for food, and on the eighth day from the operation he quitted his bed, free from pain, although the wound was not yet thoroughly cloſed. The ſame want of ſenſibility is obſerved in caſes of fractures, wounds, and other accidents of a ſimilar nature. In all theſe caſes their cure is eaſily effected, and they ſeem to ſuffer leſs preſent pain than any other race of men. The ſkulls that have been taken up in their ancient burying-grounds are of a greater thickneſs than that bone is commonly found, being from ſix to ſeven lines from the outer to the inner ſuperficies. The ſame is remarked as to the thickneſs of their ſkins.

It is natural to infer from hence, that their comparative inſenſibility to pain is owing to a coarſer and ſtronger organization than that of other nations. The eaſe with which they endure the ſeverities of climate is another proof of this. The inhabitants of the higher parts of Peru live amidſt perpetual froſt and ſnow. Although their cloathing is very ſlight, they ſupport this inclement temperature without the leaſt inconvenience. Habit, it is to be confeſſed, may contribute a good deal to this, but much alſo is to be aſcribed to the compact texture of their ſkins, which defend them from the impreſſion of cold through their pores.

The northern Indians reſemble them in this reſpect. The utmoſt rigours of the winter ſeaſon do not prevent them from following the chace

chace almoſt naked. It is true, they wear a kind of woolen cloak, or ſometimes the ſkin of a wild beaſt, upon their ſhoulders; but beſides that it covers only a ſmall part of their body, it would appear that they uſe it rather for ornament than warmth. In fact, they wear it indiſcriminately, in the ſeverities of winter and in the fultrieſt heats of ſummer, when neither Europeans nor Negroes can ſuffer any but the ſlighteſt cloathing. They even frequently throw aſide this cloak when they go a-hunting, that it may not embarraſs them in traverſing their foreſts, where they ſay the thorns and undergrowth would take hold of it; while, on the contrary, they ſlide ſmoothly over the ſurface of their naked bodies. At all times they go with their heads uncovered, without ſuffering the leaſt inconvenience, either from the cold, or from thoſe *coups de ſoleil*, which in Louiſiana are ſo often fatal to the inhabitants of other climates.

Dress. The Indians of South America diſtinguiſh themſelves by modern dreſſes, in which they affect various taſtes. Thoſe of the high country, and of the valleys in Peru, dreſs partly in the Spaniſh faſhion. Inſtead of hats they wear bonnets of coarſe double cloth, the weight of which neither ſeems to incommode them when they go to warmer climates, nor does the accidental want of them ſeem to be felt in ſituations where the moſt piercing cold reigns. Their legs and feet are always bare, if we except a ſort of ſandals made of the ſkins of oxen. The inhabitants of South America, compared with thoſe of North America, are deſcribed as generally more feeble in their frame; leſs vigorous in the efforts of their mind; of gentler diſpoſitions, more addicted to pleaſure, and ſunk in indolence.—This, however, is not univerſally the caſe. Many of their nations are as intrepid and enterpriſing as any others on the whole continent. Among the tribes on the banks of Oroonoko, if a warrior aſpires to the poſt of captain, his probation begins with a long faſt, more rigid than any ever obſerved by the moſt abſtemious hermit. At the cloſe of this the chiefs aſſemble; and each gives him three laſhes with a large whip, applied ſo vigorouſly, that his body is almoſt flayed. If he betrays the leaſt ſymptom of impatience, or even of ſenſibility, he is diſgraced for ever, and rejected as unworthy of the honour. After ſome interval, his conſtancy is proved by a more excruciating trial. He is laid in his hammock with his hands bound faſt; and an innumerable multitude of venomous ants, whoſe bite occaſions a violent pain and inflammation, are thrown upon him. The judges of his merit ſtand around the hammock; and whilſt theſe cruel inſects faſten upon the moſt ſenſible parts of his body, a ſigh, a groan, or an involuntary motion expreſſive of what he ſuffers, would exclude him from the dignity of

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which he is ambitious. Even after this evidence, his fortitude is not deemed to be ſufficiently aſcertained, till he has ſtood another teſt more ſevere, if poſſible, than the former. He is again ſuſpended in his hammock, and covered with the leaves of the palmetto. A fire of ſtinking herbs is kindled underneath, ſo as he may feel its heat, and be involved in ſmoke. Though ſcorched and almoſt ſuffocated, he muſt continue to endure this with the ſame patient inſenſibility. Many periſh in this eſſay of their firmneſs and courage; but ſuch as go through it with applauſe, receive the enſigns of their new dignity with much ſolemnity, and are ever after regarded as leaders of approved reſolution, whoſe behaviour, in the moſt trying ſituations, will do honour to their country. In North America, the previous trial of a warrior is neither ſo formal nor ſo ſevere: Though, even there, before a youth is permitted to bear arms, his patience and fortitude are proved by blows, by fire, and by inſults, more intolerable to a haughty ſpirit than either.

Manners and Customs. Of the manners and cuſtoms of the North Americans more particularly, the following is the moſt conſiſtent account that can be collected from the beſt informed and moſt impartial writers.

When the Europeans firſt arrived in America, they found the Indians quite naked, except thoſe parts which even the moſt uncultivated people uſually conceal. Since that time, however, they generally uſe a coarſe blanket, which they buy of the neighbouring planters.

Their huts or cabins are made of ſtakes of wood driven into the ground, and covered with branches of trees or reeds. They lie on the floor either on mats or the ſkins of wild beaſts. Their diſhes are of timber; but their ſpoons are made of the ſkulls of wild oxen, and their knives of flint. A kettle and a large plate conſtitute almoſt all the whole utenſils of the family. Their diet conſiſts chiefly in what they procure by hunting; and ſagamite, or pottage, is likewiſe one of their moſt common kinds of food. The moſt honourable furniture amongſt them is the ſcalps of their enemies; with thoſe they ornament their huts, which are eſteemed in proportion to the number of this ſort of ſpoils.

The character of the Indians is altogether founded upon their circumſtances and way of life. A people who are conſtantly employed in procuring the means of a precarious ſubſiſtence, who live by hunting the wild animals, and who are generally engaged in war with their neighbours, cannot be ſuppoſed to enjoy much gaiety of temper, or a high flow of ſpirits. The Indians therefore are in general grave even to ſadneſs; they have nothing of that giddy vivacity peculiar to ſome nations of Europe, and they deſpiſe it. Their behaviour to thoſe about them is

regular, modeſt, and reſpectful. Ignorant of the arts of amuſement, of which that of ſaying trifles agreeably is one of the moſt conſiderable, they never ſpeak but when they have ſomething important to obſerve; and all their actions, words, and even looks, are attended with ſome meaning. This is extremely natural to men who are almoſt continually engaged in purſuits which to them are of the higheſt importance. Their ſubſiſtence depends entirely on what they procure with their hands; and their lives, their honour, and every thing dear to them, may be loſt by the ſmalleſt inattention to the deſigns of their enemies. As they have no particular object to attach them to one place rather than another, they fly wherever they expect to find the neceſſaries of life in greateſt abundance. Cities, which are the effects of agriculture and arts, they have none. The different tribes or nations are for the ſame reaſon extremely ſmall, when compared with civilized ſocieties, in which induſtry, arts, agriculture, and commerce, have united a vaſt number of individuals, whom a complicated luxury renders uſeful to one another. Theſe ſmall tribes live at an immenſe diſtance; they are ſeparated by a deſert frontier, and hid in the boſom of impenetrable and almoſt boundleſs foreſts.

Government. There is eſtabliſhed in each ſociety a certain ſpecies of government, which over the whole continent of America prevails with exceeding little variation; becauſe over the whole of this continent the manners and way of life are nearly ſimilar and uniform. Without arts, riches, or luxury, the great inſtruments of ſubjection in poliſhed ſocieties, an American has no method by which he can render himſelf conſiderable among his companions, but by ſuperiority in perſonal qualities of body or mind. But as Nature has not been very laviſh in her perſonal diſtinctions, where all enjoy the ſame education, all are pretty much equal, and will deſire to remain ſo. Liberty, therefore, is the prevailing paſſion of the Americans; and their government under the influence of this ſentiment, is better ſecured than by the wiſeſt political regulations. They are very far, however, from deſpiſing all ſort of authority; they are attentive to the voice of wiſdom, which experience has conferred on the aged, and they inliſt under the banners of the chief in whoſe valour and military addreſs they have learned to repoſe their confidence. In every ſociety, therefore, there is to be conſidered the power of the chief and of the elders; and according as the government inclines more to the one or to the other, it may be regarded as monarchical, or as a ſpecies of ariſtocracy. Among thoſe tribes which are moſt engaged in war, the power of the chief is naturally predominant; becauſe the idea of having a military leader was the firſt ſource of his ſuperiority, and the

the continual exigencies of the ſtate requiring ſuch a leader, will continue to ſupport, and even to enhance it. His power, however, is rather perſuaſive than coercive; he is reverenced as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no priſons, no officers of juſtice, and one act of ill-judged violence would pull him from the throne. The elders, in the other form of government, which may be conſidered as an ariſtocracy, have no more power. In ſome tribes, indeed, there are a kind of hereditary nobility, whoſe influence being conſtantly augmented by time, is more conſiderable. But this ſource of power, which depends chiefly on the imagination, by which we annex to the merit of our contemporaries that of their forefathers, is too refined to be very common among the natives of America. In moſt countries, therefore, age alone is ſufficient for acquiring reſpect, influence, and authority. It is age which teaches experience, and experience is the only ſource of knowledge among a barbarous people. Among thoſe perſons buſineſs is conducted with the utmoſt ſimplicity, and which may recal to thoſe who are acquainted with antiquity a picture of the moſt early ages. The heads of families meet together in a houſe or cabin appointed for the purpoſe. Here the buſineſs is diſcuſſed; and here thoſe of the nation, diſtinguiſhed for their eloquence or wiſdom, have an opportunity of diſplaying thoſe talents. Their orators, like thoſe of Homer, expreſs themſelves in a bold figurative ſtyle, ſtronger than refined, or rather ſoftened, nations can well bear, and with geſtures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expreſſive. When the buſineſs is over, and they happen to be well provided with food, they appoint a feaſt upon the occaſion, of which almoſt the whole nation partakes. The feaſt is accompanied with a ſong, in which the real or fabulous exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have dances too, though, like thoſe of the Greeks and Romans, chiefly of the military kind; and their muſic and dancing accompany every feaſt.

To aſſiſt their memory, they have belts of ſmall ſhells, or beads, of different colours, each repreſenting a particular object, which is marked by their colour and arrangement. At the concluſion of every ſubject on which they diſcourſe, when they treat with a foreign ſtate, they deliver one of thoſe belts; for if this ceremony ſhould be omitted, all that they have ſaid paſſes for nothing. Thoſe belts are carefully depoſited in each town, as the public records of the nation; and to them they occaſionally have recourſe, when any public conteſt happens with a neighbouring tribe. Of late, as the materials of which thoſe belts are made have become ſcarce, they often give ſome ſkin in place of the wampum (the name of the beads), and receive in return preſents of a more valuable

table kind from our commiſſioners; for they never conſider a treaty as of any weight, unleſs every article in it be ratified by ſuch a gratification.

It often happens, that thoſe different tribes or nations, ſcattered as they are at an immenſe diſtance from one another, meet in their excurſions after prey. If their ſubſiſts no animoſity between them, which ſeldom is the caſe, they behave in the moſt friendly and courteous manner; but if they happen to be in a ſtate of war, or if there has been no previous intercourſe between them, all who are not friends are deemed enemies, and they fight with the moſt ſavage fury.

War, if we except hunting, is the only employment of the men; as to every other concern, and even the little agriculture they enjoy, it is left to the women. Their moſt common motive for entering into war, when it does not ariſe from an accidental rencounter or interference, is either to revenge themſelves for the death of ſome loſt friends, or to acquire priſoners, who may aſſiſt them in their hunting, and whom they adopt into their ſociety. Theſe wars are either undertaken by ſome private adventurers, or at the inſtance of the whole community. In the latter caſe, all the young men who are diſpoſed to go out to battle (for no one is compelled contrary to his inclination), give a bit of wood to the chief, as a token of their deſign to accompany him; for every thing among thoſe people is tranſacted with a great deal of ceremony and many forms. The chief who is to conduct them faſts ſeveral days, during which he converſes with no one, and is particularly careful to obſerve his dreams; which the preſumption natural to ſavages generally renders as favourable as he could deſire. A variety of other ſuperſtitions and ceremonies are obſerved. One of the moſt hideous is ſetting the war-kettle on the fire, as an emblem that they are going out to devour their enemies; which among ſome nations muſt formerly have been the caſe, ſince they ſtill continue to expreſs it in clear terms, and uſe an emblem ſignificant of the ancient uſage. Then they diſpatch a porcelane, or large ſhell, to their allies, inviting them t me along, and drink the blood of their enemies. They think that thoſe in their alliance muſt not only adopt their enmities, but have their reſentment wound up to the ſame pitch with themſelves. And indeed no people carry their friendſhip or their reſentment ſo far as they do; and this is what ſhould be expected from their peculiar circumſtances: that principle in human nature which is the ſpring of the ſocial affections, acts with ſo much the greater force the more it is reſtrained. The Americans, who live in ſmall ſocieties, who ſee few objects and few perſons, become wonderfully attached to thoſe objects and perſons, and cannot

be deprived of them without feeling themſelves miſerable. Their ideas are too confined to enable them to entertain juſt ſentiments of humanity, or univerſal benevolence. But this very circumſtance, while it makes them cruel and ſavage to an incredible degree towards thoſe with whom they are at war, adds a new force to their particular friendſhips, and to the common tie which unites the members of the ſame tribe, or of thoſe different tribes which are in alliance with one another. Without attending to this reflection, ſome facts we are going to relate would excite our wonder without informing our reaſon, and we ſhould be bewildered in a number of particulars, ſeemingly oppoſite to one another, without being ſenſible of the general cauſe from which they proceed.

Having finiſhed all the ceremonies previous to the war, and the day appointed for their ſetting out on the expedition being arrived, they take leave of their friends, and exchange their clothes, or whatever moveables they have, in token of mutual friendſhip; after which they proceed from the town, their wives and female relations walking before, and attending them to ſome diſtance. The warriors march all dreſſed in their fineſt apparel and moſt ſhowy ornaments, without any order. The chief walks ſlowly before them, ſinging the war-ſong, while the reſt obſerve the moſt profound ſilence. When they come up to their women, they deliver them all their finery, and putting on their worſt clothes, proceed on their expedition.

Every nation has its peculiar enſign or ſtandard, which is generally ſome beaſt, bird, or fiſh. Thoſe among the Five Nations are the bear, otter, wolf, tortoiſe, and eagle; and by theſe names the tribes are uſually diſtinguiſhed. They have the figures of thoſe animals pricked and painted on ſeveral parts of their bodies; and when they march through the woods, they commonly, at every encampment, cut the repreſentation of their enſign on trees, eſpecially after a ſucceſsful campaign: marking at the ſame time the number of ſcalps or priſoners they have taken. Their military dreſs is extremely ſingular. They cut off or pull out all their hair, except a ſpot about the breadth of two Engliſh crown-pieces, near the top of their heads, and entirely deſtroy their eye-brows. The lock left upon their heads is divided into ſeveral parcels, each of which is ſtiffened and adorned with wampum, beads, and feathers of various kinds, the whole being twiſted into a form much reſembling the modern pompoon. Their heads are painted red down to the eye-brows, and ſprinkled over with white down. The griſtles of their ears are ſplit almoſt quite round, and diſtended with wires or ſplinters ſo as to meet and tie together on the nape of the neck. Theſe are alſo hung with ornaments, and generally bear the repreſentation of ſome bird or beaſt.

Their

Their noſes are likewiſe bored and hung with trinkets of beads, and their faces painted with various colours ſo as to make an awful appearance. Their breaſts are adorned with a gorget or medal, of braſs, copper, or ſome other metal; and that dreadful weapon the ſcalping-knife hangs by a ſtring from their neck.

The great qualities in an Indian war are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a ſurpriſe; and indeed in theſe they are ſuperior to all nations in the world. Accuſtomed to continual wandering in the foreſts, having their perceptions ſharpened by keen neceſſity, and living in every reſpect according to nature, their external ſenſes have a degree of acuteneſs which at firſt view appears incredible. They can trace out their enemies at an immenſe diſtance by the ſmoke of their fires, which they ſmell, and by the tracks of their feet on the ground, imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can count and diſtinguiſh with the utmoſt facility. They can even diſtinguiſh the different nations with whom they are acquainted, and can determine the preciſe time when they paſſed, where an European could not, with all his glaſſes, diſtinguiſh footſteps at all. Theſe circumſtances, however, are of ſmall importance, becauſe their enemies are no leſs acquainted with them. When they go out, therefore, they take care to avoid making uſe of any thing by which they might run the danger of a diſcovery. They light no fire to warm themſelves or to prepare their victuals: they lie cloſe to the ground all the day, and travel only in the night; and marching along in files, he that cloſes the rear diligently covers with leaves the tracts of his own feet and of theirs who preceded him. When they halt to refreſh themſelves, ſcouts are ſent out to reconnoitre the country and beat up every place where they ſuſpect an enemy to lie concealed. In this manner they enter unawares the villages of their foes; and while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, maſſacre all the children, women, and helpleſs old men, or make priſoners of as many as they can manage, or have ſtrength enough to be uſeful to their nation. But when the enemy is appriſed of their deſign, and coming on in arms againſt them, they throw themſelves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves, which their faces are painted to reſemble. Then they allow a part to paſs unmoleſted, when all at once, with a tremendous ſhout, riſing up from their ambuſh, they pour a ſtorm of muſket-bullets on their foes. The party attacked returns the ſame cry. Every one ſhelters himſelf with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverſe party, as ſoon as they raiſe themſelves from the ground to give a ſecond fire. Thus does the battle continue until the one party is ſo much weakened as to be incapable of farther reſiſtance. But if the force on

ſide continues nearly equal, the fierce ſpirits of the ſavages, inflamed by the loſs of their friends, can no longer be reſtrained. They abandon their diſtant war, they ruſh upon one another with clubs and hatchets in their hands, magniſying their own courage, and inſulting their enemies with the bittereſt reproaches. A cruel combat enſues, death appears in a thouſand hideous forms, which would congeal the blood of civilized nations to behold, but which rouſe the fury of ſavages. They trample, they inſult over the dead bodies, tearing the ſcalp from the head, wallowing in their blood like wild beaſts, and ſometimes devouring their fleſh. The flame rages on till it meets with no reſiſtance; then the priſoners are ſecured, thoſe unhappy men, whoſe fate is a thouſand times more dreadful than theirs who have died in the field. The conquerors ſet up a hideous howling to lament the friends they have loſt. They approach in a melancholy and ſevere gloom to their own village; a meſſenger is ſent to announce their arrival, and the women, with frightful ſhrieks, come out to mourn their dead brothers or their huſbands. When they are arrived, the chief relates in a low voice to the elders, a circumſtantial account of every particular of the expedition. The orator proclaims aloud this account to the people; and as he mentions the names of thoſe who have fallen, the ſhrieks of the women are redoubled. The men too join in theſe cries, according as each is moſt connected with the deceaſed by blood or friendſhip. The laſt ceremony is the proclamation of the victory; each individual then forgets his private misfortunes, and joins in the triumph of the nation; all tears are wiped from their eyes, and by an unaccountable tranſition, they paſs in a moment from the bitterneſs of ſorrow to an extravagance of joy. But the treatment of the priſoners, whoſe fate all this time remains undecided, is what chiefly characteriſes the ſavages.

We have already mentioned the ſtrength of their affections or reſentments. United as they are in ſmall ſocieties, connected within themſelves by the firmeſt ties, their friendly affections, which glow with the moſt intenſe warmth within the walls of their own village, ſeldom extend beyond them. They feel nothing for the enemies of their nation; and their reſentment is eaſily extended from the individual who has injured them to all others of the ſame tribe. The priſoners, who have themſelves the ſame feelings, know the intentions of their conquerors, and are prepared for them. The perſon who has taken the captive attends him to the cottage, where, according to the diſtribution made by the elders, he is to be delivered to ſupply the loſs of a citizen. If thoſe who receive him have their family weakened by war or other accidents, they adopt the captive into the family, of which he becomes a member.

But

But if they have no occaſion for him, or their reſentment for the loſs of their friends be too high to endure the ſight of any connected with thoſe who were concerned in it, they ſentence him to death. All thoſe who have met with the ſame ſevere ſentence being collected, the whole nation is aſſembled at the execution, as for ſome great ſolemnity. A ſcaffold is erected, and the priſoners are tied to the ſtake, where they commence their death-ſong, and prepare for the enſuing ſcene of cruelty with the moſt undaunted courage. Their enemies, on the other ſide, are determined to put it to the proof, by the moſt refined and exquiſite tortures. They begin at the extremity of his body, and gradually approach the more vital parts. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the fleſh with his teeth; a third thruſts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bowl of a pipe made red-hot, which he ſmokes like tobacco; then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two ſtones; they cut circles about his joints, and gaſhes in the fleſhy parts of his limbs, which they ſear immediately with red-hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching them alternately; they pull off this fleſh, thus mangled and roaſted, bit by bit, devouring it with greedineſs, and ſmearing their faces with the blood in an enthuſiaſm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the fleſh, they twiſt the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and ſnapping them, whilſt others are employed in pulling and extending their limbs in every way that can increaſe the torment. This continues often five or ſix hours; and ſometimes, ſuch is the ſtrength of the ſavage, days together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, and to think what new torments they ſhall inflict, and to refreſh the ſtrength of the ſufferer, who, wearied out with ſuch a variety of unheard-of torments, often falls into ſo profound a ſleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awake him, and renew his ſufferings. He is again faſtened to the ſtake, and again they renew their cruelty; they ſtick him all over with ſmall matches of wood that eaſily takes fire, but burns ſlowly; they continually run ſharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thruſt out his eyes; and laſtly, after having burned his fleſh from the bones with ſlow fires; after having ſo mangled the body that it is all but one wound; after having mutilated his face in ſuch a manner as to carry nothing human in it; after having peeled the ſkin from the head, and poured a heap of red-hot coals or boiling water on the naked ſkull—they once more unbind the wretch; who, blind, and ſtaggering with pain and weakneſs, aſſaulted and pelted upon every ſide with clubs and ſtones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every ſtep, runs

hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compaſſion, or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this barbarous employment is ſucceeded by a feaſt as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into ſomething worſe than furies, even outdo the men in this ſcene of horror; while the principal perſons of the country ſit round the ſtake, ſmoaking and looking on without the leaſt emotion. What is moſt extraordinary, the ſufferer himſelf, in the little intervals of his torments, ſmokes too, appears unconcerned, and converſes with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution, there ſeems a conteſt which ſhall exceed, they in inflicting the moſt horrid pains, or he in enduring them with a firmneſs and conſtancy almoſt above human: not a groan, not a ſigh, not a diſtortion of countenance eſcapes him; he poſſeſſes his mind entirely in the midſt of his torments; he recounts his own exploits; he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and, though his reproaches exaſperate them to a perfect madneſs of rage and fury, he continues his inſults even of their ignorance of the art of tormenting, pointing out himſelf more exquiſite methods, and more ſenſible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for an Indian to behave otherwiſe as it would be for any European to ſuffer as an Indian. Such is the wonderful power of an early inſtitution, and a ferocious thirſt of glory. "I am brave and intrepid (exclaims the ſavage in the face of his tormentors); I do not fear death, nor any kind of tortures; thoſe who fear them are cowards; they are leſs than women; life is nothing to thoſe that have courage: May my enemies be confounded with deſpair and rage! Oh! that I could devour them, and drink their blood to the laſt drop."

But neither the intrepidity on one ſide, nor the inflexibility on the other, are among themſelves matter of aſtoniſhment: for vengeance, and fortitude in the midſt of torment, are duties which they conſider as ſacred; they are the effects of their earlieſt education, and depend upon principles inſtilled into them from their infancy. On all other occaſions they are humane and compaſſionate. Nothing can exceed the warmth of their affection towards their friends, who conſiſt of all thoſe who live in the ſame village, or are in alliance with it: among theſe all things are common; and this, though it may in part ariſe from their not poſſeſſing very diſtinct notions of ſeparate property, is chiefly to be attributed to the ſtrength of their attachment; becauſe in every thing elſe, with their

lives

lives as well as their fortunes, they are ready to ſerve their friends. Their houſes, their proviſions, even their young women, are not enough to oblige a gueſt. Has any one of theſe ſucceeded ill in his hunting? Has his harveſt failed? or is his horſe burned? He feels no other effect of his misfortunes, than that it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his fellow-citizens. On the other hand, to the enemies of his country, or to thoſe who have privately offended, the American is implacable. He conceals his ſentiments, he appears reconciled, until by ſome treachery or ſurpriſe he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. No length of time is ſufficient to allay his reſentment; no diſtance of place great enough to protect the object; he croſſes the ſteepeſt mountains, he pierces the moſt impracticable foreſts, and traverſes the moſt hideous bogs and defarts for ſeveral hundreds of miles; bearing the inclemency of the ſeaſons, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirſt, with patience and cheerfulneſs, in hopes of ſurpriſing his enemy, on whom he exerciſes the moſt ſhocking barbarities, even to the eating of his fleſh. To ſuch extremes do the Indians puſh their friendſhip or their enmity; and ſuch indeed, in general, is the character of all ſtrong and uncultivated minds.

But what we have ſaid reſpecting the Indians would be a faint picture, did we omit obſerving the force of their friendſhip, which principally appears by the treatment of their dead. When any one of the ſociety is cut off, he is lamented by the whole: on this occaſion a thouſand ceremonies are practiſed, denoting the moſt lively ſorrow. No buſineſs is tranſacted, however preſſing, till all the pious ceremonies due to the dead are performed. The body is waſhed, anointed, and painted. Then the women lament the loſs with hideous howlings, intermixed with ſongs which celebrate the great actions of the deceaſed and his anceſtors. The men mourn in a leſs extravagant manner. The whole village is preſent at the interment, and the corpſe is habited in their moſt ſumptuous ornaments. Cloſe to the body of the defunct are placed his bows and arrows, with whatever he valued moſt in his life, and a quantity of proviſion for his ſubſiſtence on the journey which he is ſuppoſed to take. This ſolemnity, like every other, is attended with feaſting. The funeral being ended, the relations of the deceaſed confine themſelves to their huts for a conſiderable time to indulge their grief. After an interval of ſome weeks they viſit the grave, repeat their ſorrow, new clothe the remains of the body, and act over again all the ſolemnities of the funeral.

Among the various tokens of their regard for their deceaſed friends, the moſt remarkable is what they call the *feaſt of the dead*, or the *feaſt*

of

of ſouls. The day for this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence; and the neighbouring nations are invited to partake of the entertainment. At this time, all who have died ſince the preceding feaſt of the kind are taken out of their graves. Even thoſe who have been interred at the greateſt diſtance from the villages are diligently ſought for, and conducted to this rendezvous of the dead, which exhibits a ſcene of horror beyond the power of deſcription. When the feaſt is concluded, the bodies are dreſſed in the fineſt ſkins which can be procured, and after being expoſed for ſome time in this pomp, are again committed to the earth with great ſolemnity, which is ſucceeded by funeral games.

Their taſte for war, which forms the chief ingredient in their character, gives a ſtrong bias to their religion. Areſkoui, or the god of battle, is revered as the great god of the Indians. Him they invoke before they go into the field; and according as his diſpoſition is more or leſs favourable to them, they conclude they will be more or leſs ſucceſsful. Some nations worſhip the ſun and moon; among others there are a number of traditions, relative to the creation of the world and the hiſtory of the gods: traditions which reſemble the Grecian fables, but which are ſtill more abſurd and inconſiſtent. But religion is not the prevailing character of the Indians; and except when they have ſome immediate occaſion for the aſſiſtance of their gods, they pay them no ſort of worſhip. Like all rude nations, however, they are ſtrongly addicted to ſuperſtition. They believe in the exiſtence of a number of good and bad genii or ſpirits, who interfere in the affairs of mortals, and produce all our happineſs or miſery. It is from the evil genii, in particular, that our diſeaſes proceed; and it is to the good genii we are indebted for a cure. The miniſters of the genii are the jugglers, who are alſo the only phyſicians among the ſavages. Theſe jugglers are ſuppoſed to be inſpired by the good genii, moſt commonly in their dreams, with the knowledge of future events; they are called in to the aſſiſtance of the ſick, and are ſuppoſed to be informed by the genii whether they will get over the diſeaſe, and in what way they muſt be treated. But theſe ſpirits are extremely ſimple in their ſyſtem of phyſic, and, in almoſt every diſeaſe, direct the juggler to the ſame remedy. The patient is incloſed in a narrow cabin, in the midſt of which is a ſtone red-hot; on this they throw water, until he is well ſoaked with the warm vapour and his own ſweat. Then they hurry him from this bagnio, and plunge him ſuddenly into the next river. This coarſe method, which coſts many their lives, often performs very extraordinary cures. The jugglers have likewiſe

wiſe the uſe of ſome ſpecifics of wonderful efficacy; and all the ſavages are dexterous in curing wounds by the application of herbs. But the power of theſe remedies is always attributed to the magical ceremonies with which they are adminiſtered.

Though the women generally bear the laborious part of domeſtic economy, their condition is far from being ſo ſlaviſh as it appears. On the contrary, the greateſt reſpect is paid by the men to the female ſex. The women even hold their councils, and have their ſhare in all deliberations which concern the ſtate. Polygamy is practiſed by ſome nations, but is not general. In moſt, they content themſelves with one wife; but a divorce is admitted in caſe of adultery. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies; the principal of which is, the bride's preſenting the bridegroom with a plate of their corn. The women, though before incontinent, are remarkable for chaſtity after marriage.

Liberty, in its full extent, being the darling paſſion of the Indians, their education is directed in ſuch a manner as to cheriſh this diſpoſition to the utmoſt. Hence children are never upon any account chaſtiſed with blows, and they are ſeldom even reprimanded. Reaſon, they ſay, will guide their children when they come to the uſe of it, and before that time their faults cannot be very great: but blows might damp their free and martial ſpirit, by the habit of a ſlaviſh motive to action. When grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence, or ſubordination; even ſtrong perſuaſion is induſtriouſly with-held by thoſe who have influence among them.—No man is held in great eſteem, unleſs he has increaſed the ſtrength of his country with a captive, or adorned his hut with a ſcalp of one of his enemies.

Controverſies among the Indians are few, and quickly decided. When any criminal matter is ſo flagrant as to become a national concern, it is brought under the juriſdiction of the great council; but in ordinary caſes, the crime is either revenged or compromiſed by the parties concerned. If a murder be committed, the family which has loſt a relation prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer; and when this happens, the kindred of the laſt perſon ſlain look upon themſelves to be as much injured, and to have the ſame right to vengeance as the other party. In general, however, the offender abſents himſelf; the friends ſend compliments of condolence to thoſe of the perſon that has been murdered. The head of the family at length appears with a number of preſents, the delivery of which he accompanies with a formal ſpeech. The whole ends, as uſual, in mutual feaſtings, ſongs, and dances. If the murder is committed by one of the

ſame family or cabin, that cabin has the full right of judgment within itſelf, either to puniſh the guilty with death, or to pardon him, or to oblige him to give ſome recompence to the wife or children of the ſlain. Inſtances of ſuch a crime, however, very ſeldom happen; for their attachment to thoſe of the ſame family is remarkably ſtrong, and is ſaid to produce ſuch friendſhips as may vie with the moſt celebrated in fabulous antiquity.

Such, in general, are the manners and cuſtoms of the Indian nations; but every tribe has ſomething peculiar to itſelf. Among the Hurons and Natchez, the dignity of the chief is hereditary, and the right of ſucceſſion in the female line. When this happens to be extinct, the moſt reſpectable matron of the tribe makes choice of whom ſhe pleaſes to ſucceed.

The Cherokees are governed by ſeveral ſachems or chiefs, elected by the different villages; as are alſo the Creeks and Chactaws. The two latter puniſh adultery in a woman by cutting off her hair, which they will not ſuffer to grow till the corn is ripe the next ſeaſon; but the Illinois, for the ſame crime, cut off the womens noſes and ears.

The Indians on the lakes are formed into a ſort of empire; and the emperor is elected from the eldeſt tribe, which is that of the Ottowawaws. He has the greateſt authority of any chief that has appeared on the continent ſince our acquaintance with it. A few years ago, the perſon who held this rank formed a deſign of uniting all the Indian nations under his ſovereignty; but he miſcarried in the attempt.

In general, the American Indians live to a great age, although it is not poſſible to know from themſelves the exact number of their years. It was aſked of an Indian, who appeared to be extremely old, what age he was of? I am above twenty, was his reply. Upon putting the queſtion in a different form, by reminding him of certain circumſtances in former times, My machu, ſaid he, ſpoke to me when I was young of the Incas; and he had ſeen theſe princes. According to this reply, there muſt have elapſed, from the date of his machu's (his grandfather's) remembrance to that time, a period of at leaſt 232 years. The man who made this reply appeared to be 120 years of age: for, beſides the whiteneſs of his hair and beard, his body was almoſt bent to the ground; without, however, ſhowing any other marks of debility or ſuffering. This happened in 1764. This longevity, attended in general with uninterrupted health, is probably the conſequence in part of their vacancy from all ſerious thought and employment, joined alſo with the robuſt texture and conformation of their bodily organs. If the Indians did not deſtroy one another in their almoſt perpetual wars, and if their

habits

habits of intoxication were not ſo univerſal and incurable, they would be, of all the races of men who inhabit the globe, the moſt likely to prolong, not only the bounds, but the enjoyments, of animal life to their utmoſt duration.

Let us now attend to other pictures which have been given of the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World. The vices and defects of the American Indians have by ſeveral writers been moſt unaccountably aggravated, and every virtue and good quality denied them. Their cruelties have been already deſcribed and accounted for. The following anecdote of an Algonquin woman we find adduced as a remarkable proof of their innate thirſt of blood. That nation being at war with the Iroquois, ſhe happened to be made priſoner, and was carried to one of the villages belonging to them. Here ſhe was ſtripped naked, and her hands and feet bound with ropes in one of their cabins. In this condition ſhe remained ten days, the ſavages ſleeping round her every night. The eleventh night, while they were aſleep, ſhe found means to diſengage one of her hands, with which ſhe immediately freed herſelf from the ropes, and went to the door. Though ſhe had now an opportunity of eſcaping unperceived, her revengeful temper could not let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of killing one of her enemies. The attempt was manifeſtly at the hazard of her own life; yet, ſnatching up a hatchet, ſhe killed the ſavage that lay next her; and, ſpringing out of the cabin, concealed herſelf in a hollow tree which ſhe had obſerved the day before. The groans of the dying perſon ſoon alarmed the other ſavages, and the young ones immediately ſet out in purſuit of her.—Perceiving from her tree, that they all directed their courſe one way, and that no ſavage was near her, ſhe left her ſanctuary, and, flying by an oppoſite direction, ran into a foreſt without being perceived. The ſecond day after this happened, her footſteps were diſcovered, and they purſued her with ſuch expedition, that the third day ſhe diſcovered her enemies at her heels. Upon this ſhe threw herſelf into a pond of water; and, diving among ſome weeds and bulruſhes, ſhe could juſt breathe above water without being perceived. Her purſuers, after making the moſt diligent ſearch, were forced to return.—For 35 days this woman held on her courſe through woods and deſarts, without any other ſuſtenance than roots and wild berries. When ſhe came to the river St. Lawrence, ſhe made with her own hands a kind of a wicker raft, on which ſhe croſſed it. As ſhe went by the French fort Trois Rivieres, without well knowing where ſhe was, ſhe perceived a canoe full of ſavages; and, fearing they might be Iroquois, ran again into the woods, where ſhe remained till ſunſet.—Continuing her courſe, ſoon after ſhe ſaw Trois Rivieres; and was then

diſcovered by a party whom ſhe knew to be Hurons, a nation in alliance with the Algonquins. She then ſquatted down behind a buſh, calling out to them that ſhe was not in a condition to be ſeen, becauſe ſhe was naked. They immediately threw her a blanket, and then conducted her to the fort, where ſhe recounted her ſtory.

Perſonal courage has been denied them. In proof of their puſillanimity, the following incidents are quoted from Charlevoix by Lord Kames, in his ſketches of the Hiſtory of Man. "The fort de Vercheres in Canada, belonging to the French, was, in the year 1690, attacked by ſome Iroquois. They approached ſilently, preparing to ſcale the paliſade, when ſome muſket ſhot made them retire. Advancing a ſecond time, they were again repulſed, wondering that they could diſcover none but a woman, who was ſeen every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as reſolute as if ſupported by a numerous garriſon. The hopes of ſtorming a place without men to defend it occaſioned reiterated attacks. After two days ſiege, they retired, fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the ſame nation appeared before the fort ſo unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to ſhut the gate. With the young woman there was not a ſoul but one raw ſoldier. She ſhowed herſelf with her aſſiſtant, ſometimes in one place and ſometimes in another; changing her dreſs frequently, in order to give ſome appearance of a garriſon; and always fired opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without ſucceſs."

There is no inſtance, it is ſaid, either of a ſingle Indian facing an individual of any other nation in fair and open combat, or of their jointly venturing to try the fate of battle with an equal number of any foes. Even with the greateſt ſuperiority of numbers, they dare not meet an open attack. Yet, notwithſtanding this want of courage, they are ſtill formidable; nay, it has been known, that a ſmall party of them has routed a much ſuperior body of regular troops: but this can only happen when they have ſurpriſed them in the faſtneſſes of their foreſts, where the covert of the wood may conceal them until they take their aim with their utmoſt certainty. After one ſuch diſcharge they immediately retreat, without leaving the ſmalleſt trace of their route. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that an onſet of this kind muſt produce confuſion even among the ſteadieſt troops, when they can neither know the number of their enemies, nor perceive the place where they lie in ambuſh.

Perfidy combined with cruelty has been alſo made a part of their character. Don Ulloa relates, That the Indians of the country called *Natches*, in Louiſiana, laid a plot of maſſacring in one night every individual

vidual belonging to the French colony eſtabliſhed there. This plot they actually executed, notwithſtanding the ſeeming good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between them and theſe European neighbours. Such was the ſecrecy which they obſerved, that no perſon had the leaſt ſuſpicion of their deſign until the blow was ſtruck. One Frenchman alone eſcaped, by favour of the darkneſs, to relate the diſaſter of his countrymen. The compaſſion of a female Indian contributed alſo in ſome meaſure to his exemption from the general maſſacre. The tribe of Natches had invited the Indians of other countries, even to a conſiderable diſtance, to join in the ſame conſpiracy. The day, or rather the night, was fixed, on which they were to make an united attack on the French coloniſts. It was intimated by ſending a parcel of rods, more or leſs numerous according to the local diſtance of each tribe, with an injunction to abſtract one rod daily; the day on which the laſt fell to be taken away being that fixed for the execution of their plan. The women were partners of the bloody ſecret. The parcels of rods being thus diſtributed, that belonging to the tribe of Natches happened to remain in the cuſtody of a female. This woman, either moved by her own feelings of compaſſion, or by the commiſeration expreſſed by her female acquaintances in the view of the propoſed ſcene of bloodſhed, abſtracted one day three or four of the rods, and thus anticipated the term of her tribe's proceeding to the execution of the general conſpiracy. The conſequence of this was, that the Natches were the only actors in this carnage; their diſtant aſſociates having ſtill ſeveral rods remaining at the time when the former made the attack. An opportunity was thereby given to the coloniſts in thoſe quarters to take meaſures for their defence, and for preventing a more extenſive execution of the deſign.

It was by conſpiracies ſimilar to this that the Indians of the province of Macas, in the kingdom of Quito, deſtroyed the opulent city of Logrogno, the colony of Guambaya, and its capital Sevilla del Oro; and that ſo completely, that it is no longer known in what place theſe ſettlements exiſted, or where that abundance of gold was found from which the laſt-mentioned city took the addition to its name. Like ravages have been committed upon l'Imperiale in Chili, the colonies of the Miſſions of Chuncas, thoſe of Darien in Terra Firma, and many other places, which have afforded ſcenes of this barbarous ferocity. Theſe conſpiracies are always carried on in the ſame manner. The ſecret is inviolably kept, the actors aſſemble at the preciſe hour appointed, and every individual is animated with the ſame ſanguinary purpoſes. The males that fall into their hands are put to death with every ſhocking circumſtance that can be ſuggeſted by a cool and determined cruelty.

The females are carried off, and preſerved as monuments of their victory, to be employed as their occaſions require.

Nor can this odious cruelty and treachery, it is ſaid, be juſtly aſcribed to their ſubjection to a foreign yoke, ſeeing the ſame character, belongs equally to all the original inhabitants of this vaſt continent, even thoſe who have preſerved their independence moſt completely. Certain it is, continues he, that theſe people, with the moſt limited capacities for every thing elſe, diſplay an aſtoniſhing degree of penetration and ſubtlety with reſpect to every object that involves treachery, bloodſhed, and rapine. As to theſe, they ſeem to have been all educated at one ſchool; and a ſecret, referring to any ſuch plan, no conſideration on earth can extort from them.

Their underſtandings alſo have been repreſented as not leſs contemptible than their manners are groſs and brutal. Many nations are neither capable of forming an arrangement for futurity; nor did their ſolicitude or foreſight extend ſo far. They ſet no value upon thoſe things of which they were not in ſome immediate want. In the evening, when a Carib is going to reſt, no conſideration will tempt him to ſell his hammock; but in the morning he will part with it for the ſlighteſt trifle. At the cloſe of winter, a North American, mindful of what he has ſuffered from the cold, ſets himſelf with vigour to prepare materials for erecting a comfortable hut to protect him againſt the inclemency of the ſucceeding ſeaſon: but as ſoon as the weather becomes mild, he abandons his work, and never thinks of it more till the return of the cold compels him to reſume it.—In ſhort, to be free from labour ſeems to be the utmoſt wiſh of an American. They will continue whole days ſtretched in their hammocks, or ſeated on the earth, without changing their poſture, raiſing their eyes, or uttering a ſingle word. They cannot compute the ſucceſſion of days nor of weeks. The different aſpects of the moon alone engage their attention as a meaſure of time. Of the year they have no other conception than what is ſuggeſted to them by the alternate heat of ſummer and cold of winter; nor have they the leaſt idea of applying to this period the obvious computation of the months which it contains. When it is aſked of any old man in Peru, even the moſt civilized, what age he is of? the only anſwer he can give is the number of caciques he has ſeen. It often happens, too, that they only recollect the moſt diſtant of theſe princes in whoſe time certain circumcumſtances had happened peculiarly memorable, while of thoſe that lived in a more recent period they have loſt all remembrance.

The ſame groſs ſtupidity is alledged to be obſervable in thoſe Indians who have retained their original liberty. They are never known to fix

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the dates of any events in their minds, or to trace the ſucceſſion of circumſtances that have ariſen from ſuch events. Their imagination takes in only the preſent, and in that only what intimately concerns themſelves. Nor can diſcipline or inſtruction overcome this natural defect of apprehenſion. In fact, the ſubjected Indians in Peru, who have a continual intercourſe with the Spaniards, who are furniſhed with curates perpetually occupied in giving them leſſons of religion and morality, and who mix with all ranks of the civilized ſociety eſtabliſhed among them, are almoſt as ſtupid and barbarous as their countrymen who have had no ſuch advantages. The Peruvians, while they lived under the government of their Incas, preſerved the records of certain remarkable events. They had alſo a kind of regular government, deſcribed by the hiſtorians of the conqueſt of Peru. This government originated entirely from the attention and abilities of their princes, and from the regulations enacted by them for directing the conduct of their ſubjects. This ancient degree of civilization among them gives ground to preſume, that their legiſlators ſprung from ſome race more enlightened than the other tribes of Indians; a race of which no individual ſeems to remain in the preſent times.

Vanity and conceit are ſaid to be blended with their ignorance and treachery. Notwithſtanding all they ſuffer from Europeans, they ſtill, it is ſaid, conſider themſelves as a race of men far ſuperior to their conquerors. This proud belief, ariſing from their perverted ideas of excellence, is univerſal over the whole known continent of America. They do not think it poſſible that any people can be ſo intelligent as themſelves. When they are detected in any of their plots, it is their common obſervation, that the Spaniards, or *Variacochas*, want to be as knowing as they are. Thoſe of Louiſiana, and the countries adjacent, are equally vain of their ſuperior underſtanding, confounding that quality with the cunning which they themſelves conſtantly practiſe. The whole object of their tranſactions is to over-reach thoſe with whom they deal. Yet though faithleſs themſelves, they never forgive the breach of promiſe on the part of others. While the Europeans ſeek their amity by preſents, they give themſelves no concern to ſecure a reciprocal friendſhip. Hence, probably, ariſes their idea, that they muſt be a ſuperior race of men, in ability and intelligence, to thoſe who are at ſuch pains to court their alliance and avert their enmity.

Their natural eloquence has alſo been decried. The free tribes of ſavages who enter into conventions with the Europeans, it is obſerved, are accuſtomed to make long, pompous, and, according to their own notions, ſublime harangues, but without any method or connection. The whole

whole is a collection of disjointed metaphors and comparisons. The light, heat, and course of the sun, form the principal topic of their discourse; and these unintelligible reasonings are always accompanied with violent and ridiculous gestures. Numberless repetitions prolong the oration, which, if not interrupted, would last whole days: At the same time, they meditate very accurately beforehand, in order to avoid mentioning any thing but what they are desirous to obtain. This pompous faculty of making speeches is also one of the grounds on which they conceive themselves to be superior to the nations of Europe: They imagine it is their eloquence that procures them the favours they ask. The subjected Indians converse precisely in the same style. Prolix and tedious, they never know when to stop; so that, excepting by the difference in language, it would be impossible, in this respect, to distinguish a civilized Peruvian from an inhabitant of the most savage districts to the northward.

But such partial and detached views as the above, were they even free from misrepresentation, are not the just ground upon which to form an estimate of their character, Their qualities, good and bad (for they certainly possess both), their way of life, the state of society among them, with all the circumstances of their condition, ought to be considered in connection, and in regard to their mutual influence. Such a view has been given in the preceding part of this article: from which, it is hoped, their real character may be easily deduced.

Many of the disagreeable traits exhibited in the anecdotes just quoted, are indeed extracted from Don Ulloa: an author of credit and reputation; but a Spaniard, and evidently biassed in some degree by a desire to palliate the enormities of his countrymen in that quarter of the globe. And with regard to the worst and least equivocal parts of the American character, cruelty and revenge, it may be fairly questioned, whether the instances of these, either in respect of their cause or their atrocity, be at all comparable to those exhibited in European history, and staining the annals of Chtistendom:—to those, for instance, of the Spaniards themselves, at their first discovery of America; to those indicated by the engines found on board their mighty Armada; to those which, in cold blood, were perpetrated by the Dutch at Amboyna; to the dragoonings of the French; to their religious massacres; or even to the *tender mercies* of the Inquisition!

Still farther, however, are the descriptions given by *Buffon* and *de Paw* of the natives of this whole continent, in which the most mortifying degeneracy of the human race, as well as of all the inferior animals, is asserted to be conspicuous. Against those philosophers, or rather theorists,

theoriſts, the Americans have found an able advocate in the Abbé *Clavigero*; an hiſtorian whoſe ſituation and long reſidence in America afforded him the beſt means of information, and who, though himſelf a ſubject of Spain, appears ſuperior to prejudice, and diſdains in his deſcription the gloſſes of policy.

Concerning the ſtature of the Americans, M. de Paw ſays, in general, that although it is not equal to the ſtature of the Caſtilians, there is but little difference between them. But the Abbé Clavigero evinces, that the Indians who inhabit thoſe countries lying between 9 and 40 degrees of north latitude, which are the limits of the diſcoveries of the Spaniards, are more than five Pariſian feet in height, and that thoſe that do not reach that ſtature are as few in number amongſt the Indians as they are amongſt the Spaniards. It is beſides certain, that many of thoſe nations, as the *Apaches*, the *Hiaquefe*, the *Pimeſe*, and *Cochimies*, are at leaſt as tall as the talleſt Europeans; and that, in all the vaſt extent of the New World, no race of people has been found, except the Eſquimaux, ſo diminutive in ſtature as the Laplanders, the Samojeds, and Tartars, in the north of the Old Continent. In this reſpect, therefore, the inhabitants of the two continents are upon an equality.

Of the ſhape and character of the Mexican Indians, the Abbé gives a moſt advantageous deſcription; which he aſſerts no one who reads it in America will contradict, unleſs he views them with the eye of a prejudiced mind. It is true, that Ulloa ſays, in ſpeaking of the Indians of Quito, he had obſerved, "that imperfect people abounded among them; that they were either irregularly diminutive, or monſtrous in ſome other reſpect; that they became either inſenſible, dumb, or blind, or wanted ſome limb of their body." Having therefore made ſome inquiry reſpecting this ſingularity of the Quitans, the Abbé found, that ſuch defects were neither cauſed by bad humours, nor by the climate, but by the miſtaken and blind humanity of their parents, who, in order to free their children from the hardſhips and toils to which the healthy Indians are ſubjected by the Spaniards, fix ſome deformity or weakneſs upon them that they may become uſeleſs: a circumſtance of miſery which does not happen in other countries of America, nor in thoſe places of the ſame kingdom of Quito, where the Indians are under no ſuch oppreſſion. M. de Paw, and in agreement with him Dr. Robertſon, ſays, that no deformed perſons are to be found among the ſavages of America; becauſe, like the ancient Lacedemonians, they put to death thoſe children which are born hunch-backed, blind, or defective in any limb; but that in thoſe countries where they are formed into ſocieties, and the vigilance of their rulers prevent the murder of ſuch infants, the number of

their deformed individuals is greater than it is in any other country of Europe. This would make an exceeding good ſolution of the difficulty if it were true: but if, poſſibly, there has been in America a tribe of ſavages who have imitated the barbarous example of the celebrated Lacedemonians, it is certain that thoſe authors have no grounds to impute ſuch inhumanity to the reſt of the Americans; for that it has not been the practice, at leaſt with the far greater part of thoſe nations, is to be demonſtrated from the atteſtations of the authors the beſt acquainted with their cuſtoms.

No argument againſt the New World can be drawn from the colour of the Americans: for their colour is leſs diſtant from the white of the Europeans than it is from the black of the Africans, and a great part of the Aſiatics. The hair of the Mexicans, and of the greater part of the Indians, is, as we have already ſaid, coarſe and thick; on their face they appear to have little, and in general none on their arms and legs: but it is an error to ſay, as M. de Paw does, that they are entirely deſtitute of hair in all the other parts of the body. This is one of the many paſſages of the Philoſophical Reſearches, at which the Mexicans, and all the other nations, muſt ſmile to find an European philoſopher ſo eager to diveſt them of the dreſs they had from nature. Don Ulloa, indeed, in the deſcription which he gives of the Indians of Quito, ſays, that hair neither grows upon the men nor upon the women when they arrive at puberty, as it does on the reſt of mankind; but whatever ſingularity may attend the Quitans, or occaſion this circumſtance, there is no doubt, that among the Americans in general, the period of puberty is accompanied with the ſame ſymptoms as it is among other nations of the world. In fact, with the North Americans, it is diſgraceful to be hairy on the body. They ſay it likens them to hogs. They therefore pluck the hair as faſt as it appears. But the traders who marry their women, and prevail on them to diſcontinue this practice, ſay, that nature is the ſame with them as with the whites. As to the beards of the men, had Buffon or de Paw known the pains and trouble it coſts them to pluck out by the roots the hair that grows on their faces, they would have ſeen that nature had not been deficient in that reſpect. Every nation has its cuſtoms. "I have ſeen an Indian beau, with a looking-glaſs in his hand (ſays Mr. Jefferſon), examining his face for hours together, and plucking out by the roots every hair he could diſcover, with a kind of tweezer made of a piece of fine braſs wire, that had been twiſted round a ſtick, and which he uſed with great dexterity."

The very aſpect of an Angolan, Mandigan, or Congan, would have ſhocked M. de Paw, and made him recal that cenſure which he paſſes

on the colour, the make, and the hair of the Americans. What can be imagined more contrary to the idea we have of beauty, and the perfection of the human frame, than a man whose body emits a rank smell, whose skin is as black as ink, whose head and face are covered with black wool instead of hair, whose eyes are yellow and bloody, whose lips are thick and blackish, and whose nose is flat? Such are the inhabitants of a very large portion of Africa, and of many islands of Asia. What men can be more imperfect than those who measure no more than four feet in stature, whose faces are long and flat, the nose compressed, the irides yellowish black, the eye-lids turned back towards the temples, the cheeks extraordinarily elevated, their mouths monstrously large, their lips thick and prominent, and the lower part of their visages extremely narrow? Such, according to Count de Buffon, are the Laplanders, the Zemblans, the Borandines, the Samojeds, and Tartars in the East. What objects more deformed than men whose faces are too long and wrinkled even in their youth, their noses thick and compressed, their eyes small and sunk, their cheeks very much raised, their upper jaw low, their teeth long and disunited, eye-brows so thick that they shade their eyes; the eye-lids thick, some bristles on their faces instead of beard, large thighs and small legs? Such is the picture Count de Buffon gives of the Tartars; that is, of those people who, as he says, inhabit a tract of land in Asia 1200 leagues long and upwards, and more than 750 broad. Amongst these the Calmucks are the most remarkable for their deformity; which is so great, that, according to Tavernier, they are the most brutal men of all the universe. Their faces are so broad that there is a space of five or six inches between their eyes, according as Count de Buffon himself affirms. In Calicut, in Ceylon, and other countries of India, there is, say Pyrard and other writers on those regions, a race of men who have one or both of their legs as thick as the body of a man; and that this deformity among them is almost hereditary. The Hottentots, beside other gross imperfections, have that monstrous irregularity attending them, of a callous appendage extending from the os pubis downwards, according to the testimony of the historians of the Cape of Good Hope. Strays, Gemelli, and other travellers affirm, that in the kingdom of Lambry, in the islands of Formosa, and of Mindoro, men have been found with tails. Bomare say, that a thing of this kind in men is nothing else than an elongation of the os coccygis; but what is a tail in quadrupeds but the elongation of that bone, though divided into distinct articulations? However it may be, it is certain, that that elongation renders those Asiatics fully as irregular as if it was a real tail.

If we were, in like manner, to go through the nations of Aſia and Africa, we ſhould hardly find any extenſive country where the colour of men is not darker, where there are not ſtronger irregularities obſerved, and groſſer defects to be found in them, than M. de Paw finds fault with in the Americans. The colour of the latter is a good deal clearer than that of almoſt all the Africans and the inhabitants of ſouthern Aſia. Even their alledged ſcantineſs of beard is common to the inhabitants of the Philippine Iſlands, and of all the Indian Archipelago, to the famous Chineſe, Japaneſe, Tartars, and many other nations of the Old Continent. The imperfections of the Americans, however great they may be repreſented to be, are certainly not comparable with the defects of that immenſe people, whoſe character we have ſketched, and others whom we omit.

M. de Paw repreſents the Americans to be a feeble and diſeaſed ſet of nations; and, in order to demonſtrate the weakneſs and diſorder of their phyſical conſtitution, adduces ſeveral proofs equally ridiculous and ill founded, and which it will not be expected we ſhould enumerate. He alleges, among other particulars, that they were overcome in wreſtling by all the Europeans, and that they ſunk under a moderate burden; that by a computation made, 200,000 Americans were found to have periſhed in one year from carrying of baggage. With reſpect to the firſt point, the Abbé Clavigero obſerves, it would be neceſſary that the experiment of wreſtling was made between many individuals of each continent, and that the victory ſhould be atteſted by the Americans as well as the Europeans. It is not, however, meant to inſiſt, that the Americans are ſtronger than the Europeans. They may be leſs ſtrong, without the human ſpecies having degenerated in them. The Swiſs are ſtronger than the Italians; and ſtill we do not believe the Italians are degenerated, nor do we tax the climate of Italy. The inſtance of 200,000 Americans having died in one year, under the weight of baggage, were it true, would not convince us ſo much of the weakneſs of the Americans, as of the inhumanity of the Europeans. In the ſame manner that thoſe 200,000 Americans periſhed, 200,000 Pruſſians would alſo have periſhed, had they been obliged to make a journey of between 300 and 400 miles, with 100 pounds of burden upon their backs; if they had collars of iron about their necks, and were obliged to carry that load over rocks and mountains; if thoſe who became exhauſted with fatigue, or wounded their feet ſo as to impede their progreſs, had their heads cut off that they might not retard the pace of the reſt; and if they were not allowed but a ſmall morſel of bread to enable them to ſupport ſo ſevere a toil. Las Caſas, from whom M. de Paw got the account of the 200,000 Americans who

who died under the fatigue of carrying baggage, relates alſo all the above mentioned circumſtances. If the author therefore is to be credited in the laſt, he is alſo to be credited in the firſt. But a philoſopher who vaunts the phyſical and moral qualities of Europeans over thoſe of the Americans, would have done better, we think, to have ſuppreſſed facts ſo opprobrious to the Europeans themſelves.

Nothing in fact demonſtrates ſo clearly the robuſtneſs of the Americans as thoſe various and laſting fatigues in which they are continually engaged. M. de Paw ſays, that when the New World was diſcovered, nothing was to be ſeen but thick woods; that at preſent there are ſome lands cultivated, not by the Americans, however, but by the Africans and Europeans; and that the ſoil in cultivation is to the ſoil which is uncultivated as 2000 to 2,000,000. Theſe three aſſertions the Abbe demonſtrates to be preciſely as many errors. Since the conqueſt, the Americans alone have been the people who have ſupported all the fatigues of agriculture in all the vaſt countries of the continent of South America, and in the greater part of thoſe of South America ſubject to the crown of Spain. No European is ever to be ſeen employed in the labours of the field. The Moors who, in compariſon of the Americans, are very few in number in the kingdom of New Spain, are charged with the culture of the ſugar cane and tobacco, and the making of ſugar; but the ſoil deſtined for the cultivation of thoſe plants is not with reſpect to all the cultivated land of that country in the proportion of one to two thouſand. The Americans are the people who labour on the ſoil. They are the tillers, the ſowers, the weeders, and the reapers of the wheat, of the maize, of the rice, of the beans, and other kinds of grain and pulſe, of the cacao, of the vanilla, of the cotton, of the indigo, and all other plants uſeful to the ſuſtenance, the clothing, and commerce of thoſe provinces; and without them ſo little can be done, that in the year 1762, the harveſt of wheat was abandoned in many places on account of a ſickneſs which prevailed and prevented the Indians from reaping it. But this is not all; the Americans are they who cut and tranſport all the neceſſary timber from the woods; who cut, tranſport, and work the ſtones; who make lime, plaſter, and tiles; who conſtruct all the buildings of that kingdom, except a few places where none of them inhabit; who open and repair all the roads, who make the canals and ſluices, and clean the cities. They work in many mines of gold, of ſilver, of copper, &c. they are the ſhepherds, herdſmen, weavers, potters, baſket-makers, bakers, couriers, day-labourers, &c.; in a word, they are the perſons who bear all the burden of public labours. Theſe, ſays our juſtly indignant author, are the employments of the weak, daſtardly, and

and uſeleſs Americans; while the vigorous M. de Paw, and other indefatigable Europeans, are occupied in writing invectives againſt them.

Theſe labours, in which the Indians are continually employed, certainly atteſt their healthineſs and ſtrength; for if they are able to undergo ſuch fatigues, they cannot be diſeaſed, nor have an exhauſted ſtream of blood in their veins, as M. de Paw inſinuates. In order to make it believed that their conſtitutions are vitiated, he copies whatever he finds written by hiſtorians of America, whether true or falſe, reſpecting the diſeaſes which reign in ſome particular countries of that great continent. It is not to be denied, that in ſome countries in the wide compaſs of America, men are expoſed more than elſewhere to the diſtempers which are occaſioned by the intemperature of the air, or the pernicious quality of the aliments; but it is certain, according to the aſſertion of many reſpectable authors acquainted with the New World, that the American countries are, for the moſt part, healthy; and if the Americans were diſpoſed to retaliate on M. de Paw, and other European authors who write as he does, they would have abundant ſubject of materials to throw diſcredit on the clime of the Old Continent, and the conſtitution of its inhabitants in the endemic diſtempers which prevail there.

Laſtly, The ſuppoſed feebleneſs and unſound bodily habit of the Americans do not correſpond with the length of their lives. Among thoſe Americans whoſe great fatigues and exceſſive toils do not anticipate their death, there are not a few who reach the age of 80, 90, and 100 or more years, as formerly mentioned; and what is more, without there being obſerved in them that decay which time commonly produces in the hair, in the teeth, in the ſkin, and in the muſcles of the human body. This phenomenon, ſo much admired by the Spaniards who reſide in Mexico, cannot be aſcribed to any other cauſe than the vigour of their conſtitutions, the temperance of their diet, and the ſalubrity of their clime. Hiſtorians, and other perſons who have ſojourned there for many years, report the ſame thing of other countries of the New World.

As to the mental qualities of the Americans, M. de Paw has not been able to diſcover any other characters than a memory ſo feeble, that to day they do not remember what they did yeſterday; a capacity ſo blunt, that they are incapable of thinking, or putting their ideas in order; a diſpoſition ſo cold, that they feel no excitement of love; a daſtardly ſpirit, and a genius that is torpid and indolent. Many other Europeans, indeed, and what is ſtill more wonderful, many of thoſe children or deſcendants of Europeans who are born in America, think as M. de Paw does; ſome from ignorance, ſome from want of reflection, and others from hereditary

ditary prejudice and prepoſſeſſion. But all this and more would not be ſufficient to invalidate the teſtimonies of other Europeans, whoſe authority have a great deal more weight, both becauſe they were men of great judgment, learning, and knowledge of theſe countries, and becauſe they gave their teſtimony in favour of ſtrangers againſt their own countrymen. In particular, Acoſta, whoſe natural and moral hiſtory even de Paw commends as *an excellent work*, employs the whole ſixth book in demonſtrating the good ſenſe of the Americans by an explanation of their ancient government, their laws, their hiſtories in paintings and knots, calendars, &c. M. de Paw thinks the Americans are beſtial; Acoſta, on the other hand, reputes thoſe perſons weak and preſumptuous who think them ſo. M. de Paw ſays, that the moſt acute Americans were inferior in induſtry and ſagacity to the rudeſt nations of the Old Continent; Acoſta extols the civil government of the Mexicans above many republics of Europe. M. de Paw finds, in the moral and political conduct of the Americans, nothing but barbarity, extravagance, and brutality; and Acoſta finds there, laws that are admirable and worthy of being preſerved for ever.

M. de Paw denies them courage, and alleges the conqueſt of Mexico as a proof of their cowardice. "Cortes (he ſays), conquered the empire of Mexico with 450 vagabonds and 15 horſes, badly armed; his miſerable artillery conſiſted of ſix falconets, which would not at the preſent day be capable of exciting the fears of a fortreſs defended by invalids. During his abſence the capital was held in awe by the half of his troops. What men! what events!—It is confirmed by the depoſitions of all hiſtorians, that the Spaniards entered the firſt time into Mexico without making one ſingle diſcharge of their artillery. If the title of hero is applicable to him who has the diſgrace to occaſion the death of a great number of rational animals, Ferdinand Cortes might pretend to it; otherwiſe I do not ſee what true glory he has acquired by the overthrow of a tottering monarchy, which might have been deſtroyed in the ſame manner by any other aſſaſſin of our continent." Theſe paſſages indicate either M. de Paw's ignorance of the hiſtory of the conqueſt of Mexico, or a wilful ſuppreſſion of what would openly contradict his ſyſtem; ſince all who have read that hiſtory know well, that the conqueſt of Mexico was not made with 450 men, but with more than 200,000. Cortes himſelf, to whom it was of more importance than to M. de Paw to make his bravery conſpicuous, and his conqueſt appear glorious, confeſſes the exceſſive number of the allies who were under his command at the ſiege of the capital, and combated with more fury againſt the Mexicans than the Spaniards themſelves. According to the account which Cortes

Cortes gave to the emperor Charles V. the ſiege of Mexico began with 87 horſes, 848 Spaniſh infantry, armed with guns, croſs-bows, ſwords, and lances, and upwards of 75,000 allies, of Tlaſcala, Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Chalco, equipped with various ſorts of arms; with three large pieces of cannon of iron, 15 ſmall of copper, and 13 brigantines. In the courſe of the ſiege were aſſembled the numerous nations of the Otomies, the Cohuixcas, and Matlazincas, and the troops of the populous cities of the lakes; ſo that the army of the beſiegers not only exceeded 200,000, but amounted to 4,000,000, according to the letter from Cortes; and beſides theſe, 3000 boats and canoes came to their aſſiſtance. Did it betray cowardice to have ſuſtained, for full 74 days, the ſiege of an open city, engaging daily with an army ſo large, and in part provided with arms ſo ſuperior, and at the ſame time having to withſtand the ravages of famine? Can they merit the charge of cowardice, who, after having loſt ſeven of the eight parts of their city, and about 50,000 citizens, part cut off by the ſword, part by famine and ſickneſs, continued to defend themſelves until they were furiouſly aſſaulted in the laſt hold which was left them?

According to M. de Paw, "the Americans at firſt were not believed to be men, but rather ſatyrs, or large apes, which might be murdered without remorſe or reproach. At laſt, in order to add inſult to the oppreſſion of thoſe times, a pope made an original bull, in which he declared, that being deſirous of founding biſhoprics in the richeſt countries of America, it pleaſed him and the Holy Spirit, to acknowledge the Americans to be true men: in ſo far, that without this deciſion of an Italian, the inhabitants of the New World would have appeared, even at this day, to the eyes of the faithful, a race of equivocal men. There is no example of ſuch a deciſion ſince this globe has been inhabited by men and apes." Upon this paſſage the Abbé animadverts, as being a ſingular inſtance of calumny and miſrepreſentation; and gives the following hiſtory of the deciſion alluded to.

"Some of the firſt Europeans who eſtabliſhed themſelves in America, not leſs powerful than avaricious, deſirous of enriching themſelves to the detriment of the Americans, kept them continually employed, and made uſe of them as ſlaves; and in order to avoid the reproaches which were made them by the biſhops and miſſionaries who inculcated humanity, and the giving liberty to thoſe people to get themſelves inſtructed in religion, that they might do their duties towards the church and their families, alleged, that the Indians were by nature ſlaves and incapable of being inſtructed; and many other falſehoods of which the Chronicler Herrera makes mention againſt them. Thoſe zealous eccleſiaſtics being unable,

unable, either by their authority or preaching to free thoſe unhappy converts from the tyranny of ſuch miſers, had recourſe to the Catholic kings, and at laſt obtained from their juſtice and clemency, thoſe laws as favourable to the Americans as honourable to the court of Spain, that compoſe the Indian code, which were chiefly due to the indefatigable zeal of the biſhop de las Caſas. On another ſide, Garces biſhop of Tlaſcala, knowing that thoſe Spaniards bore, notwithſtanding their perverſity, a great reſpect to the deciſions of the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, made application in the year 1586 to pope Paul III. by that famous letter of which we have made mention; repreſenting to him the evils which the Indians ſuffered from the wicked Chriſtians, and praying him to interpoſe his authority in their behalf. The pope, moved by ſuch heavy remonſtrances, diſpatched the next year the original bull, which was not made, as is manifeſt, to declare the Americans true men; for ſuch a piece of weakneſs was very diſtant from that or any other pope: but ſolely to ſupport the natural rights of the Americans againſt the attempts of their oppreſſors, and to condemn the injuſtice and inhumanity of thoſe, who, under the pretence of ſuppoſing thoſe people idolatrous, or incapable of being inſtructed, took from them their property and their liberty, and treated them as ſlaves and beaſts.

If at firſt the Americans were eſteemed ſatyrs, nobody can better prove it than Chriſtopher Columbus their diſcoverer. Let us hear, therefore, how that celebrated admiral ſpeaks, in his account to the Catholic kings Ferdinand and Iſabella, of the firſt ſatyrs he ſaw in the iſland of Haiti, or Hiſpaniola. "I ſwear," he ſays, "to your majeſties, that there is not a better people in the world than theſe, more affectionate, affable, or mild. They love their neighbours as themſelves: their language is the ſweeteſt, the ſofteſt, and the moſt cheerful; for they always ſpeak ſmiling: and although they go naked, let your majeſties believe me, their cuſtoms are very becoming; and their king, who is ſerved with great majeſty, has ſuch engaging manners, that it gives great pleaſure to ſee him, and alſo to conſider the great retentive faculty of that people, and their deſire of knowledge, which incites them to aſk the cauſes and the effects of things."

"We have had intimate commerce with the Americans (continues the Abbe); have lived for ſome years in a ſeminary deſtined for their inſtruction; ſaw the erection and progreſs of the royal college of Gaudaloupe, founded in Mexico, by a Mexican Jeſuit, for the education of Indian children; had afterwards ſome Indians amongſt our pupils; had particular knowledge of many American rectors, many nobles, and numerous

merous artiſts; attentively obſerved their character, their genius, their diſpoſition, and manner of thinking; and have examined beſides, with the utmoſt diligence, their ancient hiſtory, their religion, their government, their laws, and their cuſtoms. After ſuch long experience and ſtudy of them, from which we imagine ourſelves enabled to decide without danger of erring, we declare to M. de Paw, and to all Europe, that the mental qualities of the Americans are not in the leaſt inferior to thoſe of the Europeans; that they are capable of all, even the moſt abſtract ſciences; and that if equal care was taken of their education, if they were brought up from childhood in ſeminaries under good maſters, were protected and ſtimulated by rewards, we ſhould ſee riſe among the Americans, philoſophers, mathematicians, and divines, who would rival the firſt in Europe."

But although we ſhould ſuppoſe, that, in the torrid climates of the New World, as well as in thoſe of the Old, eſpecially under the additional depreſſion of ſlavery, there was an inferiority of the mental powers, the Chileſe and the North Americans have diſcovered higher rudiments of human excellence and ingenuity than have ever been known among tribes in a ſimilar ſtate of ſociety in any part of the world.

M. de Paw affirms, that the Americans were unacquainted with the uſe of money, and quotes the following well-known paſſage from Monteſquieu: "Imagine to yourſelf, that, by ſome accident, you are placed in an unknown country; if you find money there, do not doubt that you are arrived among a poliſhed people." But if by money we are to underſtand a piece of metal with the ſtamp of the prince or the public, the want of it in a nation is no token of barbarity. The Athenians employed oxen for money, as the Romans did ſheep. The Romans had no coined money till the time of Servius Tullius, nor the Perſians until the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpes. But if by money is underſtood a ſign repreſenting the value of merchandiſe, the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, employed money in their commerce. The cacao, of which they made conſtant uſe in the market to purchaſe whatever they wanted, was employed for this purpoſe, as ſalt is in Abyſſinia.

It has been affirmed, that ſtone-bridges were unknown in America when it was firſt diſcovered; and that the natives did not know how to form arches. But theſe aſſertions are erroneous. The remains of the ancient palaces of Tezcuco, and ſtill more their vapour-baths, ſhow the ancient uſe of arches and vaults among the Mexicans. But the ignorance of this art would have been no proof of barbarity. Neither the Egyptians nor Babylonians underſtood the conſtruction of arches.

M. de

M. de Paw affirms, that the palace of Montezuma was nothing elſe than a hut. But it is certain, from the affirmation of all the hiſtorians of Mexico, that the army under Cortes, conſiſting of 6,400 men, were all lodged in the palace; and there remained ſtill ſufficient room for Montezuma and his attendants.

The advances which the Mexicans had made in the ſtudy of aſtronomy is perhaps the moſt ſurpriſing proof of their attention and ſagacity; for it appears from Abbe Clavigero's hiſtory, that they not only counted 365 days to the year, but alſo knew of the exceſs of about ſix hours in the ſolar over the civil year, and remedied the difference by means of intercalary days.

Of American morality, the following exhortation of a Mexican to his ſon may ſerve as a ſpecimen. "My ſon who art come into the light from the womb of thy mother like a chicken from the egg, and like it are preparing to fly through the world, we know not how long Heaven will grant to us the enjoyment of that precious gem which we poſſeſs in thee; but however ſhort the period, endeavour to live exactly, praying God continually to aſſiſt thee. He created thee; thou art his property. He is thy father, and loves thee ſtill more than I do: repoſe in him thy thoughts, and day and night direct thy ſighs to him. Reverence and ſalute thy elders, and hold no one in contempt. To the poor and diſtreſſed be not dumb, but rather uſe words of comfort. Honour all perſons, particularly thy parents to whom thou oweſt obedience, reſpect, and ſervice. Guard againſt imitating the example of thoſe wicked ſons, who, like brutes who are deprived of reaſon, neither reverence their parents, liſten to their inſtruction, nor ſubmit to their correction; becauſe whoever follows their ſteps will have an unhappy end, will die a in deſperate or ſudden manner, or will be killed and devoured by wild beaſts.

"Mock not, my ſon, the aged or the imperfect. Scorn not him whom ye ſee fall into ſome folly or tranſgreſſion, nor make him reproaches: but reſtrain thyſelf, and beware leſt thou fall into the ſame error which offends thee in another. Go not where thou art not called, nor interfere in that which does not concern thee. Endeavour to manifeſt thy good breeding in all thy words and actions. In converſation, do not lay thy hands upon another, nor ſpeak too much, nor interrupt or diſturb another's diſcourſe. When any one diſcourſes with thee, hear him attentively, and hold thyſelf in an eaſy attitude, neither playing with thy feet, nor putting thy mantle to thy mouth, nor ſpitting too often, nor looking about you here and there, nor riſing up frequently, if thou art ſitting; for ſuch actions are indications of levity and low-breeding."—He proceeds to mention ſeveral particular vices which are

to be avoided, and concludes,—" Steal not, nor give thyſelf to gaming; otherwiſe thou wilt be a diſgrace to thy parents, whom thou oughteſt rather to honour for the education they have given thee. If thou wilt be virtuous, thy example will put the wicked to ſhame. No more, my ſon; enough has been ſaid in diſcharge of the duties of a father. With theſe counſels I wiſh to fortify thy mind. Refuſe them not, nor act in contradiction to them; for on them thy life and all thy happineſs depend."

ANIMALS. As ranging on the ſame ſide with the Abbé Clavigero, the ingenious Mr. Jefferſon deſerves particular attention. This gentleman, in his notes on the State of Virginia, &c. has taken occaſion to combat the opinions of Buffon; and ſeems to have fully refuted them both by argument and facts. The French philoſopher aſſerts, " That living nature is leſs active, leſs energetic, in the New World than in the Old." He affirms, 1. That the animals common to both continents are ſmaller in America. 2. That thoſe peculiar to the New are on an inferior ſcale. 3. That thoſe which have been domeſticated in both have degenerated in America. And 4. That it exhibits fewer ſpecies of living creatures. The cauſe of this he aſcribes to the diminution of heat in America, and to the prevalence of humidity from the extenſion of its lakes and waters over a prodigious ſurface. In other words, he affirms, that *heat* is friendly and *moiſture* adverſe to the production and developement of the large quadrupeds.

The hypotheſis, that moiſture is unfriendly to animal growth, Mr. Jefferſon ſhows to be contradicted by obſervation and experience. It is by the aſſiſtance of heat and moiſture that vegetables are elaborated from the elements. Accordingly we find, that the more humid climates produce plants in greater profuſion than the dry. Vegetables are immediately or remotely the food of every animal; and, from the uniform operation of Nature's laws we diſcern, that, in proportion to the quantity of food, animals are not only multiplied in their numbers, but improved in their ſize. Of this laſt opinion is the Count de Buffon himſelf, in another part of his work: " En general, il paroit que les pays un peu *froids* conviennent mieux à nos bœufs que les pays chauds, et qu'ils ſont d'autant plus gros et plus grands que le climat eſt plus *humide* et plus abondans en paturages. Les bœufs de Danemarck, de la Podolie, de l'Ukraine, et de la Tartarie qu'habitent les Calmouques, ſont les plus grands te tous." Here, then, a race of animals, and one of the largeſt too, has been increaſed in its dimenſions by cold and moiſture, in direct oppoſition to the hypotheſis, which ſuppoſes that theſe two circumſtances diminiſh animal bulk, and that it is their contraries, heat and dryneſs,

which enlarge it. But to try the queſtion on more general ground, let us take two portions of the earth, Europe and America for inſtance, ſufficiently extenſive to give operation to general cauſes; let us conſider the circumſtances peculiar to each, and obſerve their effect on animal nature. America, running through the torrid as well as temperate zone, has more heat, collectively taken, than Europe. But Europe, according to our hypotheſis, is the drieſt. They are equally adapted then to animal productions; each being endowed with one of thoſe cauſes which befriend animal growth, and with one which oppoſes it. Let us, then, take a comparative view of the quadrupeds of Europe and America, preſenting them to the eye in three different tables; in one of which ſhall be enumerated thoſe found in both countries; in a ſecond, thoſe found in one only; in a third, thoſe which have been domeſticated in both. To facilitate the compariſon, let thoſe of each table be arranged in gradation, according to their ſizes, from the greateſt to the ſmalleſt, ſo far as their ſizes can be conjectured. The weights of the large animals ſhall be expreſſed in the Engliſh avoirdupoiſe pound and its decimals; thoſe of the ſmaller in the ounce and its decimals. Thoſe which are marked thus *, are actual weights of particular ſubjects, deemed amongſt the largeſt of their ſpecies. Thoſe marked thus †, are furniſhed by judicious perſons, well acquainted with the ſpecies, and ſaying, from conjecture only, what the largeſt individual they had ſeen would probably have weighed. The other weights are taken from Meſſrs. Buffon and D'Aubenton, and are of ſuch ſubjects as came caſually to their hands for diſſection.

" Comparative View of the Quadrupeds of Europe and of America.

TABLE I. *Aboriginals of both.*	Europe.	America.
	lb.	lb.
Mammoth		
Buffalo. Biſon		*1800
White bear. Ours blanc		
Caribou. Renne		
Bear. Ours	153.7	*410
Elk. Elan. Original, palmated		
Red deer. Cerf	288.8	*273
Fallow deer. Daim	167.8	
Wolf. Loup	69.8	
Roe. Chevreuil	56.7	
Glutton. Glouton. Carcajou		
Wild cat. Chat ſauvage		†30
Lynx. Loup cervier	25.	
Beaver. Caſtor	18.5	*45
Badger. Blaireau	13.6	
Red fox. Renard	13.5	

Grey

Table I. continued.

	Europe.	America.
	lb.	lb.
Grey fox. Iſatis		
Otter. Loutre - - - - - - - -	8.9	†12
Monax. Marmotte - - - - - - -	6.5	
Viſon. Fouine - - - - - - - -	2.8	
Hedgehog. Heriſſon - - - - - -	2.2	
Martin. Marte - - - - - - - -	1.9	†6
	oz.	
Water rat. Rat d'eau - - - - - -	7.5	
Weſel. Belette - - - - - - - -	2.2	oz.
Flying ſquirrel. Polatouche - - -	2.2	†4
Shrew mouſe. Maufaraigne - - -	1.	

TABLE II. *Aboriginals of one only.*

EUROPE.		AMERICA.	
	lb.		lb.
Sanglier. Wild boar -	280.	Tapir - - - - - - -	534.
Mouflonn. Wild ſheep -	56.	Elk, round horned - -	†450.
Bonquetin. Wild goat		Puma	
Lievre. Hare - - - - -	7.6	Jaguar - - - - - - -	218.
Lapin. Rabbit - - - -	3.4	Cabiai - - - - - - -	109.
Putois. Polecat - - - -	3.3	Tamanoir - - - - - -	109.
Genette - - - - - - -	3.1	Tamandua - - - - - -	65.4
Deſman. Muſkrat	oz.	Cougar of N. America -	75.
Ecureuil. Squirrel - - -	12.	Cougar of S. America - -	59.4
Hermine. Ermin - - -	8.2	Ocelot	
Rat. Rat - - - - - -	7.5	Pecari - - - - - - -	46.3
Loirs - - - - - - - -	3.1	Jaguaret - - - - - -	43.6
Lerot. Dormouſe - - -	1.8	Alco	
Toupe. Mole - - - - -	1.2	Lama	
Hamſter - - - - - - - -	.9	Paco	
Ziſel		Paca - - - - - - -	32.7
Leming		Serval	
Souris. Mouſe - - - - -	.6	Sloth. Unau - - - -	27¼
		Saricovienne	
		Kincajou	
		Tatou Kabaſſou - - -	21.8
		Urſon. Urchin	
		Raccoon. Raton - - -	16.5
		Coati	
		Coendou - - - - - -	16.3
		Sloth. Aï - - - - - -	13.
		Sapajou Ouarini	
		Sapajou Coaita - - - -	9.8
		Tatou Encubert	
		Tatou Apar	
		Tatou Cachica - - - -	7.
		Little Coendou - - - -	6.5
		Opoſſum. Sarigue	
		Tapeti	
		Margay	

Crabier

Table II. continued.

EUROPE.	AMERICA.	
	Crabier	
	Agouti	4.2
	Sapajou Saï	3.5
	Tatou Cirquinçon	
	Tatou Tatouate	3.3
	Mouffette Squaſh	
	Mouffette Cinche	
	Mouffette Conepate. Scunk	
	Mouffette. Zorilla	
	Whabus. Hare. Rabbit	
	Aperea	
	Akouchi	
	Ondatra. Muſkrat	
	Pilori	
	Great grey ſquirrel	†2.7
	Fox ſquirrel of Virginia	†2.625
	Surikate	2.
	Mink	†2.
	Sapajou. Sajou	1.8
	Indian pig. Cochon d'Inde	1.6
	Sapajou. Saïmiri	1.5
	Phalanger	
	Coquallin	
	Leſſer grey ſquirrel	†1.5
	Black ſquirrel	†1.5
	Red Squirrel	10. oz.
	Sagoin Saki	
	Sagoin Pinche	
	Sagoin Tamarin	oz.
	Sagoin Ouiſtiti	4.4
	Sagoin Marakine	
	Sagoin Mico	
	Cayopolin	
	Fourmillier	
	Marmoſe	
	Sarigue of Cayenne	
	Tucan	
	Red mole	oz.
	Ground ſquirrel	4.

TABLE III. *Domeſticated in both.*

	Europe.	America.
	lb.	lb.
Cow	763.	*2500
Horſe		*1366
Aſs		
Hog		*1200
Sheep		*125
Goat		*80
Dog	67.6	
Cat	7.	

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" The reſult of this view is, that of 26 quadrupeds common to both countries, ſeven are ſaid to be larger in America, ſeven of equal ſize, and 12 not ſufficiently examined. So that the firſt table impeaches the firſt member of the aſſertion, that of the Animals common to both countries the American are ſmalleſt, " Et cela ſans aucune exception." It ſhows it not juſt, in all the latitude in which its author has advanced it, and probably not to ſuch a degree as to found a diſtinction between the two countries.

" Proceeding to the ſecond table, which arranges the animals found in one of the two countries only, M. de Buffon obſerves, that the taphir, the elephant of America, is but of the ſize of a ſmall cow. To preſerve our compariſon, Mr. Jefferſon ſtates the wild boar, the elephant of Europe, as little more than half that ſize. He has made an elk with round or cylindrical horns, an animal of America, and peculiar to it; becauſe he has ſeen many of them himſelf, and more of their horns; and becauſe, from the beſt information, it is certain that in Virginia this kind of elk has abounded much, and ſtill exiſts in ſmaller numbers. He makes the American hare or rabbit peculiar, believing it to be different from both the European animals of thoſe denominations, and calling it therefore by its Algonouin name Whabus, to keep it diſtinct from theſe. Kalm is of the ſame opinion. The ſquirrels are denominated from a knowledge derived from daily ſight of them, becauſe with that the European appellations and deſcriptions ſeem irreconcileable. Theſe are the only inſtances in which Mr. Jefferſon departs from the authority of M. de Buffon in the conſtruction of this table; whom he takes for his ground-work, becauſe he thinks him the beſt informed of any naturaliſt who has ever written. The reſult is, that there are 18 quadrupeds peculiar to Europe; more than four times as many, to wit 74, peculiar to America; that the firſt of theſe 74, the tapir, the largeſt of the animals peculiar to America, weighs more than the whole column of Europeans; and conſequently this ſecond table diſproves the ſecond member of the aſſertion, that the animals peculiar to the New World are on a ſmaller ſcale, ſo far as that aſſertion relied on European animals for ſupport: and it is in full oppoſition to the theory which makes the animal volume to depend on the circumſtances of heat and moiſture.

" The third table comprehends thoſe quadrupeds only which are domeſtic in both countries. That ſome of theſe, in ſome parts of America, have become leſs than their original ſtock, is doubtleſs true; and the reaſon is very obvious. In a thinly people country, the ſpontaneous productions of the foreſts and waſte fields are ſufficient to ſupport indifferently the domeſtic animals of the farmer, with a very little aid from him

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in the ſevereſt and ſcarceſt ſeaſon. He therefore finds it more convenient to receive them from the hand of Nature in that indifferent ſtate, than to keep up their ſize by a care and nouriſhment which would coſt him much labour. If, on this low fare, theſe animals dwindle, it is no more than they do in thoſe parts of Europe where the poverty of the ſoil, or poverty of the owner, reduces them to the ſame ſcanty ſubſiſtence. It is the uniform effect of one and the ſame cauſe, whether acting on this or that ſide of the globe. It would be erring, therefore, againſt that rule of philoſophy, which teaches us to aſcribe like effects to like cauſes, ſhould we impute this diminution of ſize in America to any imbecillity or want of uniformity in the operations of nature. It may be affirmed with truth, that in thoſe countries, and with thoſe individuals of America, where neceſſity or curioſity has produced equal attention as in Europe to the nouriſhment of animals, the horſes, cattle, ſheep, and hogs of the one continent are as large as thoſe of the other. There are particular inſtances, well atteſted, where individuals of America have imported good breeders from England, and have improved their ſize by care in the courſe of ſome years. And the weights actually known and ſtated in the third table, will ſuffice to ſhow, that we may conclude, on probable grounds, that, with equal food and care, the climate of America will preſerve the races of domeſtic animals as large as the European ſtock from which they are derived; and conſequently that the third member of Monſ. de Buffon's aſſertion, that the domeſtic animals are ſubject to degeneration from the climate of America, is as probably wrong as the firſt and ſecond were certainly ſo.

That the laſt part of it is erroneous, which affirms, that the ſpecies of American quadrupeds are comparatively few, is evident from the tables taken altogether; to which may be added the proof adduced by the Abbe Clavigero. According to Buffon's lateſt calculation, in his *Epoches de la Nature*, there are 300 ſpecies of quadrupeds; and America, though it does not make more than a third part of the globe, contains, according to Clavigero, almoſt one half of the different ſpecies of its animals.

Of the human inhabitants of America, to whom the ſame hypotheſis of degeneracy is extended, M. Buffon gives the following deſcription: "Though the American ſavage be nearly of the ſame ſtature with men in poliſhed ſocieties; yet this is not a ſufficient exception to the general contraction of animated Nature throughout the whole continent. In the ſavage, the organs of generation are ſmall and feeble. He has no hair, no beard, no ardour for the female. Though nimbler than the European, becauſe more accuſtomed to running, his ſtrength is not ſo great.

His ſenſations are leſs acute: and yet he is more timid and cowardly. He has no vivacity, no activity of mind. The activity of his body is not ſo much an exerciſe of ſpontaneous motion, as a neceſſary action produced by want. Deſtroy his appetite for victuals and drink, and you will at once annihilate the active principle of all his movements: He remains in ſtupid repoſe, on his limbs or couch, for whole days. It is eaſy to diſcover the cauſe of the ſcattered life of ſavages, and of their eſtrangement from ſociety. They have been refuſed the moſt precious ſpark of Nature's fire: They have no ardour for women, and, of courſe, no love to mankind. Unacquainted with the moſt lively and moſt tender of all attachments, their other ſenſations of this nature are cold and languid. Their love to parents and children are extremely weak. The bonds of the moſt intimate of all ſocieties, that of the ſame family, are feeble; and one family has no attachment to another. Hence no union, no republic, no ſocial ſtate, can take place among them. The phyſical cauſe of love gives riſe to the morality of their manners. Their heart is frozen, their ſociety cold, and their empire cruel. They regard their females as ſervants deſtined to labour, or as beaſts of burden, whom they load unmercifully with the produce of their hunting, and oblige, without pity or gratitude, to perform labours which often exceed their ſtrength. They have few children, and pay little attention to them. Every thing muſt be referred to the firſt cauſe: They are indifferent, becauſe they are weak; and this indifference to the ſex is the original ſtain which diſgraces Nature, prevents her from expanding, and, by deſtroying the germs of life, cuts the root of ſociety. Hence man makes no exception to what has been advanced. Nature by denying him the faculty of love, has abuſed and contracted him more than any other animal."

A humilating picture indeed! but than which, Mr. Jefferſon aſſures us, never was one more unlike the original. M. Buffon grants, that their ſtature is the ſame as that of the men of Europe; and he might have admitted, that the Iroquois were larger, and the Lenopi or Delawares taller, than people in Europe generally are: But he ſays their organs of generation are ſmaller and weaker than thoſe of Europeans; which is not a fact. And as to their want of beard, this error has been already noticed.

"They have no ardour for their female."—It is true, that they do not indulge thoſe exceſſes, nor diſcover that fondneſs, which are cuſtomary in Europe; but this is not owing to a defect in nature, but to manners. Their ſoul is wholly bent upon war. This is what procures them glory among the men, and makes them the admiration of the women,

women. To this they are educated from their earlieſt youth. When they purſue game with ardour, when they bear the fatigues of the chace, when they ſuſtain and ſuffer patiently hunger and cold, it is not ſo much for the ſake of the game they purſue, as to convince their parents and the council of the nation, that they are fit to be inrolled in the number of the warriors. The ſongs of the women, the dance of the warriors, the ſage counſel of the chiefs, the tales of the old, the triumphal entry of the warriors returning with ſucceſs from battle, and the reſpect paid to thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves in battle, and in ſubduing their enemies, in ſhort, every thing they ſee or hear, tends to inſpire them with an ardent deſire for military fame. If a young man were to diſcover a fondneſs for women before he has been to war, he would become the contempt of the men, and the ſcorn and ridicule of the women: or were he to indulge himſelf with a captive taken in war, and much more were he to offer violence in order to gratify his luſt, he would incur indelible diſgrace. The ſeeming frigidity of the men, therefore, is the effect of manners, and not a defect of nature. They are neither more defective in ardour, nor more impotent with the female, than are the whites reduced to the ſame diet and exerciſe.

"They raiſe few children."—They indeed raiſe fewer children than we do; the cauſes of which are to be found, not in a difference of nature, but of circumſtance. The women very frequently attending the men in their parties of war and of hunting, child-bearing becomes extremely inconvenient to them. It is ſaid, therefore, that they have learned the practice of procuring abortion by the uſe of ſome vegetable; and that it even extends to prevent conception for a conſiderable time after. During theſe parties they are expoſed to numerous hazards, to exceſſive exertions, to the greateſt extremities of hunger. Even at their homes, the nation depends for food, through a certain part of every year, on the gleanings of the foreſt; that is, they experience a famine once in every year. With all animals, if the female be badly fed, or not fed at all, her young periſh; and if both male and female be reduced to like want, generation becomes leſs active, leſs productive. To the obſtacles, then, of want and hazard, which Nature has oppoſed to the multiplication of wild animals, for the purpoſe of reſtraining their numbers within certain bounds, thoſe of labour and voluntary abortion are added with the Indian. No wonder, then, if they multiply leſs than we do. Where food is regularly ſupplied, a ſingle farm will ſhow more of cattle than a whole country of foreſts can of buffaloes. The ſame Indian women, when married to white traders, who feed them and their children

plentifully and regularly, who exempt them from exceſſive drudgery, who keep them ſtationary and unexpoſed to accident, produce and raiſe as many children as the white women. Inſtances are known, under theſe circumſtances, of their rearing a dozen children.

Neither do they ſeem to be "deficient in natural affection." On the contrary, their ſenſibility is keen, even the warriors weeping moſt bitterly on the loſs of their children; though in general they endeavour to appear ſuperior to human events.

Their friendſhips are ſtrong, and faithful to the uttermoſt extremity. A remarkable inſtance of this appeared in the caſe of the late Col. Byrd, who was ſent to the Cherokee nation to tranſact ſome buſineſs with them. It happened that ſome of our diſorderly people had juſt killed one or two of that nation. It was therefore propoſed in the council of the Cherokees, that Col. Byrd ſhould be put to death, in revenge for the loſs of their countrymen. Among them was a chief, called *Silouee*, who, on ſome former occaſion, had contracted an acquaintance and friendſhip with Col. Byrd. He came to him every night in his tent, and told him not to be afraid, they ſhould not kill him. After many days deliberation, however, the determination was, contrary to Silouee's expectation, that Byrd ſhould be put to death, and ſome warriors were diſpatched as executioners. Silouee attended them; and when they entered the tent, he threw himſelf between them and Byrd, and ſaid to the warriors, "This man is my friend: before you get at him, you muſt kill me." On which they returned; and the council reſpected the principle ſo much as to recede from their determination.

That "they are timorous and cowardly," is a character with which there is little reaſon to charge them, when we recollect the manner in which the Iroquois met Monſ. ————, who marched into their country; in which the old men, who ſcorned to fly, or to ſurvive the capture of their town, braved death like the old Romans in the time of the Gauls, and in which they ſoon after revenged themſelves by ſacking and deſtroying Montreal. In ſhort, the Indian is brave, when an enterpriſe depends upon bravery; education with him making the point of honour conſiſt in the deſtruction of an enemy by ſtratagem, and in the preſervation of his own perſon free from injury: or perhaps this is nature, while it is education which teaches us to honour force rather than fineſſe. He will defend himſelf againſt an hoſt of enemies, always chooſing to be killed rather than to ſurrender, though it be to the whites, who he knows will treat him well. In other ſituations, alſo, he meets death with

with more deliberation, and endures tortures with a firmneſs unknown almoſt to religious enthuſiaſm among us.

Much leſs are they to be characteriſed as a people of no vivacity, and who are excited to action or motion only by the calls of hunger and thirſt. Their dances in which they ſo much delight, and which to a European would be the moſt ſevere exerciſe, fully contradict this; not to mention their fatiguing marches, and the toil they voluntarily and cheerfully undergo in their military expeditions. It is true, that when at home they do not employ themſelves in labour or the culture of the ſoil: but this, again, is the effect of cuſtoms and manners which have aſſigned that to the province of the women. But it is ſaid, "they are averſe to ſociety and a ſocial life." Can any thing be more inapplicable than this to a people who always live in towns or in clans? Or can they be ſaid to have no *republique*, who conduct all their affairs in national councils; who pride themſelves in their national character; who conſider an inſult or injury done to an individual by a ſtranger as done to the whole, and reſent it accordingly?

To form a juſt eſtimate of their genius and mental powers, Mr. Jefferſon obſerves, more facts are wanting, and great allowance is to be made for thoſe circumſtances of their ſituation which call for a diſplay of particular talents only. This done, we ſhall probably find that the Americans are formed, in mind as well as in body, on the ſame model with the *homo ſapiens Europæus*. The principles of their ſociety forbidding all compulſion, they are to be led to duty and to enterpriſe by perſonal influence and perſuaſion. Hence eloquence in council, bravery and addreſs in war, become the foundations of all conſequence with them. To theſe acquirements all their faculties are directed. Of their bravery and addreſs in war we have multiplied proofs, becauſe we have been the ſubjects on which they were exerciſed. Of their eminence in oratory we have fewer examples, becauſe it is diſplayed chiefly in their own councils. Some, however, we have of very ſuperior luſtre. We may challenge the whole orations of Demoſthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furniſhed more eminent, to produce a ſingle paſſage ſuperior to the ſpeech of Logan, a Mingo chief, to Lord Dunmore when governor of this ſtate. The ſtory is as follows; of which, and of the ſpeech, the authenticity is unqueſtionable. In the ſpring of the year 1774, a robbery and murder were committed on an inhabitant of the frontiers of Virginia by two Indians of the Shawanee tribe. The neighbouring whites, according to their cuſtom, undertook to puniſh this outrage in a ſummary way. Colonel Creſap, a man infamous for the many murders he had committed on thoſe much-injured people,

people, collected a party, and proceeded down the Kanhaway in queſt of vengeance. Unfortunately a canoe of women and children, with one man only, was ſeen coming from the oppoſite ſhore, unarmed, and unſuſpecting any hoſtile attack from the whites. Creſap and his party concealed themſelves on the bank of the river; and the moment the canoe reached the ſhore, ſingled out their objects, and at one fire killed every perſon in it. This happened to be the family of Logan, who had long been diſtinguiſhed as a friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly ſignalized himſelf in the war which enſued. In the autumn of the ſame year a deciſive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanees, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated, and ſued for peace. Logan, however, diſdained to be ſeen among the ſuppliants; but, leſt the ſincerity of a treaty ſhould be diſtruſted from which ſo diſtinguiſhed a chief abſented himſelf, he ſent by a meſſenger the following ſpeech, to be delivered to Lord Dunmore:—"I appeal to any white man to ſay if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he cloathed him not. During the courſe of the laſt long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they paſſed, and ſaid *Logan is the friend of white men.* I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Creſap, the laſt ſpring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not ſparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have ſought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to ſave his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one."

To the preceding anecdotes in favour of the American character, may be added the following by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. The Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors: when old, counſellors; for all their government is by the counſel or advice of the ſages. Hence they generally ſtudy oratory; the beſt ſpeaker having the moſt influence. The Indian women till the ground, dreſs the food, nurſe and bring up the children, and preſerve and hand down to poſterity the memory of public tranſactions. Theſe employments of men and women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they

have abundance of leiſure for improvement by converſation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they eſteem ſlaviſh and baſe; and the learning on which we value ourſelves, they regard as frivolous and uſeleſs.

Having frequent occaſions to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men ſit in the foremoſt ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmoſt. The buſineſs of the women is to take exact notice of what paſſes; imprint it in their memories, for they have no writing, and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preſerve tradition of the ſtipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would ſpeak riſes. The reſt obſerve a profound ſilence. When he has finiſhed, and ſits down, they leave him five or ſix minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted any thing he intended to ſay, or has any thing to add, he may riſe again and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common converſation, is reckoned highly indecent.

The politeneſs of theſe ſavages in converſation is, indeed, carried to exceſs; ſince it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is aſſerted in their preſence. By this means they indeed avoid diſputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impreſſion you make upon them. The miſſionaries who have attempted to convert them to Chriſtianity, all complain of this as one of the greateſt difficulties of their miſſion. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the goſpel explained to them, and give their uſual tokens of aſſent and approbation; but this by no means implies conviction; it is mere civility.

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they deſire to be private; this they eſteem great rudeneſs, and the effect of the want of inſtruction in the rules of civility and good manners. "We have", ſay they, "as much curioſity as you; and when you come into our towns, we wiſh for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpoſe we hide ourſelves behind buſhes where you are to paſs, and never intrude ourſelves into your company."

There manner of entering one another's villages has likewiſe its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling ſtrangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as ſoon as they arrive within hearing, they ſtop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men uſually come out to them and lead them in.

There

There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the *ſtrangers houſe*. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that ſtrangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one ſends them what he can ſpare of victuals, and ſkins to repoſe on. When the ſtrangers are refreſhed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, converſation begins, with enquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c. and it uſually ends with offers of ſervice; if the ſtrangers have occaſion for guides, or any neceſſaries for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The ſame hoſpitality, eſteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practiſed by private perſons; of which Conrad Weiſer, the interpreter, gave Dr. Franklin the following inſtance: He had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and ſpoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country to carry a meſſage from our governor to the council at Onondaga, he called at the habitation of Canaſſetego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, ſpread furs for him to ſit on, placed before him ſome boiled beans and veniſon, and mixed ſome rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreſhed, and had lit his pipe, Canaſſetego began to converſe with him: aſked how he had fared the many years ſince they had ſeen each other, whence he then came, what had occaſioned the journey, &c. Conrad anſwered all his queſtions; and when the diſcourſe began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, ſaid, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know "ſomething of their cuſtoms; I have been ſometimes at Albany, and "have obſerved, that once in ſeven days they ſhut up their ſhops, "and aſſemble all in the great houſe; tell me what it is for?—What do "they do there?" "They meet there," ſays Conrad, "to hear and "learn *good things*." "I do not doubt (ſays the Indian) that they tell "you ſo; they have told me the ſame: but I doubt the truth of what "they ſay, and I will tell you my reaſons. I went lately to Albany to "ſell my ſkins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You "know I generally uſed to deal with Hans Hanſon; but I was a little "inclined this time to try ſome other merchants. However I called "firſt upon Hans, and aſked him what he would give for beaver. He "ſaid he could not give more than 4s. a pound; but (ſays he) I cannot "talk on buſineſs now; this is the day when we meet together to learn "*good things*, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myſelf, "ſince I cannot do any buſineſs to-day, I may as well go to the meeting "too; and I went with him.—There ſtood up a man in black, and

"began

" began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not underſtand what " he ſaid; but perceiving that he looked much at me and at Hanſon, " I imagined he was angry at ſeeing me there: ſo I went out, ſat down " near the houſe, ſtruck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting " ſhould break up. I thought too, that the man had mentioned ſome- " thing of beaver, and I ſuſpected that it might be the ſubject of their " meeting. So when they came out, I accoſted my merchant.—Well " Hans (ſays I) I hope you have agreed to give more than 4s. a-pound?" " No (ſays he), I cannot give ſo much, I cannot give more than 3s. 6d." " I then ſpoke to ſeveral other dealers, but they all ſung the ſame ſong, " three and ſixpence, three and ſixpence. This made it clear to me that " my ſuſpicion was right; and that whatever they pretended of meeting " to learn *good things*, the real purpoſe was, to conſult how to cheat In- " dians in the price of beaver. Conſider but a little, Conrad, and you " muſt be of my opinion. If they met ſo often to learn *good things*, " they certainly would have learned ſome before this time. But they " are ſtill ignorant. You know our practice. If a white man, in tra- " velling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat " him as I treat you; we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is " cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may allay his thirſt and " hunger; and we ſpread ſoft furs for him to reſt and ſleep on: we de- " mand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's houſe at " Albany, and aſk for victuals and drink, they ſay, Where is your mo- " ney? And if I have none, they ſay, Get out, you Indian dog. You " ſee they have not yet learned thoſe little *good things* that we need no " meeting to be inſtructed in; becauſe our mothers taught them to us " when we were children; and therefore it is impoſſible their meetings " ſhould be, as they ſay, for any ſuch purpoſe, or have any ſuch " effect; they are only to contrive *the cheating of Indians in the price of* " *beaver*."

The next queſtion that occurs is, Whether the peculiarities of the Americans, or the diſparity between them and the inhabitants of Europe, afford ſufficient grounds for determining them, as ſome have done, to be a race of men radically different from all others?

In this queſtion, to avoid being tedious, we ſhall confine ourſelves to what has been advanced by Lord Kames; who is of opinion, that there are many different ſpecies of men, as well as of other animals; and gives an hypotheſis, whereby he pretends his opinion may be maintained in a conſiſtency with Revelation. " If (ſays he) the only rule afforded by nature to claſſing animals can be depended on, there are

different races of men as well as of dogs: a maſtiff differs not more from a ſpaniel, than a white man from a negro, or a Laplander from a Dane. And, if we have any faith in Providence, it ought to be ſo. Plants were created of different kinds, to fit them for different climates; and ſo were brute animals. Certain it is, that all men are not fitted equally for every climate. There is ſcarce a climate but what is natural to ſome men, where they proſper and flouriſh; and there is not a climate but where ſome men degenerate. Doth not then analogy lead us to conclude, that, as there are different climates on the face of this globe, ſo there are different races of men fitted for theſe different climates?

"M. Buffon, from the rule, That animals which can procreate together, and whoſe progeny can alſo procreate, are of one ſpecies; concludes, that all men are of one race or ſpecies; and endeavours to ſupport that favourite opinion, by aſcribing to the climate, to food, or other accidental cauſes, all the varieties that are found among men. But is he ſeriouſly of opinion, that any operation of climate, or of other accidental cauſe, can account for the copper colour and ſmooth chin univerſal among the Americans; the prominence of the pudenda univerſal among the Hottentot women; or the black nipple no leſs univerſal among the female Samoiedes?—It is in vain to aſcribe to the climate the low ſtature of the Eſquimaux, the ſmallneſs of their feet, or the overgrown ſize of their heads. It is equally in vain to aſcribe to climate the low ſtature of the Laplanders, or their ugly viſage. The black colour of negroes, their lips, flat noſe, criſped woolly hair, and rank ſmell, diſtinguiſh them from every other race of men. The Abyſſinians, on the contrary, are tall and well made, their complexion a brown olive, features well proportioned, eyes large and of a ſparking black, thin lips, a noſe rather high than flat. There is no ſuch difference of climate between Abyſſinia and Negro-land as to produce theſe ſtriking differences.

"Nor ſhall our author's ingenious hypotheſis concerning the extremities of heat and cold, purchaſe him impunity with reſpect to the ſallow complexion of the Samoiedes, Laplanders, and Greenlanders. The Finlanders, and northern Norwegians, live in a climate not leſs cold than that of the people mentioned; and yet are fair beyond other Europeans. I ſay more, there are many inſtances of races of people preſerving their original colour, in climates very different from their own; but not a ſingle inſtance of the contrary, as far as I can learn. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Pennſylvania, without any viſible change of colour; they continue jet black, as originally.

Thoſe

Thoſe who aſcribe all to the ſun, ought to conſider how little probable it is, that the colour it impreſſes on the parents ſhould be communicated to their infant children, who never ſaw the ſun: I ſhould be as ſoon induced to believe with a German naturaliſt, whoſe name has eſcaped me, that the negro colour is owing to an ancient cuſtom in Africa, of dyeing the ſkin black. Let a European, for years, expoſe himſelf to the ſun in a hot climate, till he be quite brown; his children will nevertheleſs have the ſame complexion with thoſe in Europe. From the action of the ſun, is it poſſible to explain, why a negro, like a European, is born with a ruddy ſkin, which turns jet black the eighth or ninth day?"

Our author next proceeds to draw ſome arguments for the exiſtence of different races of men, from the various tempers and diſpoſitions of different nations; which he reckons to be *ſpecific* differences, as well as thoſe of colour, ſtature, &c. and having ſummed up his evidence, he concludes thus: "Upon ſumming up the whole particulars mentioned above, would one heſitate a moment to adopt the following opinion, were there no counterbalancing evidence, viz. 'That God created many pairs of the human race, differing from each other, both externally and internally; that he fitted thoſe pairs for different climates, and placed each pair in its proper climate; that the peculiarities of the original [illegible] were preſerved entire in their deſcendants; who, having no aſſiſtance but their natural talents, were left to gather knowledge from experience; and, in particular, were left (each tribe) to form a language for itſelf; that ſigns were ſufficient for the original pairs, without any language but what nature ſuggeſts; and that a language was formed gradually as a tribe increaſed in numbers, and in different occupations, to make ſpeech neceſſary?" But this opinion, however plauſible, we are not permitted to adopt: being taught a different leſſon by Revelation, viz. That God created but a ſingle pair of the human ſpecies. Though we cannot doubt the authority of Moſes, yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it ſeems to contradict every one of the facts mentioned above. According to that account different races of men were not formed, nor were men formed originally for different climates. All men muſt have ſpoken the ſame language, viz. That of our firſt parents. And what of all ſeems the moſt contradictory to that account, is the ſavage ſtate: Adam, as Moſes informs us, was endued by his Maker with an eminent degree of knowledge; and he certainly was an excellent preceptor to his children and their progeny, among whom he lived many generations. Whence then the degeneracy of all men unto the ſavage ſtate? To account for that diſmal cataſtrophe, mankind muſt have ſuffered ſome terrible convulſion. That terrible convulſion is revealed to us in the hiſtory of the

tower of Babel, contained in the 11th chapter of Geneſis, which is, 'That, for many centuries after the deluge, the whole earth was of one language, and of one ſpeech; that they united to build a city on a plain in the land of Shinar, with a tower, whoſe top might reach unto heaven; that the Lord, beholding the people to be one, and to have all one language, and that nothing would be reſtrained from them which they imagined to do, confounded their language that they might not underſtand one another, and ſcattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth.' Here light breaks forth in the midſt of darkneſs. By confounding the language of men, and ſcattering them abroad upon the face of all the earth, they were rendered ſavages. And to harden them for their new habitations, it was neceſſary that they ſhould be divided into different kinds, fitted for different climates. Without an immediate change of conſtitution, the builders of Babel could not poſſibly have ſubſiſted in the burning region of Guinea, nor in the frozen region of Lapland; houſes not being prepared, nor any other convenience to protect them againſt a deſtructive climate."

We may firſt remark, on his Lordſhip's hypotheſis, that it is evidently incomplete; for, allowing the human race to have been divided into different ſpecies at the confuſion of languages, and that each ſpecies was adapted to a particular climate; by what means were they to get to the climates proper for them, or how were they to know that ſuch climates exiſted? How was an American, for inſtance, when languiſhing in an improper climate at Babel, to get to the land of the Amazons, or the banks of the Oroonoko, in his own country? or how was he to know theſe places were more proper for him than others?—If, indeed, we take the ſcripture phraſe, "The Lord *ſcattered them abroad* upon the face of all the earth," in a certain ſenſe, we may account for it. If we ſuppoſe that the different ſpecies were immediately carried off by a whirlwind, or other ſupernatural means, to their proper countries, the difficulty will vaniſh: but if this is his Lordſhip's interpretation, it is certainly a very ſingular one.

Before entering upon a conſideration of the particular arguments uſed by our author for proving the diverſity of ſpecies in the human race, it will be proper to lay down the following general principles, which may ſerve as axioms. (1.) When we aſſert a multiplicity of ſpecies in the human race; we bring in a ſupernatural cauſe to ſolve a natural phenomenon: for theſe ſpecies are ſuppoſed to be the immediate work of the Deity. (2.) No perſon has a right to call any thing the immediate effect of omnipotence, unleſs by expreſs revelation from the Deity, or from a certainty that no natural cauſe is ſufficient to produce the effect. The

reaſon

reaſon is plain. The Deity is inviſible, and ſo are many natural cauſes: when we ſee an effect therefore, of which the cauſe does not manifeſt itſelf, we cannot know whether the immediate cauſe is the Deity, or an inviſible natural power. An example of this we have in the phenomena of thunder and earthquakes, which were often aſcribed immediately to the Deity, but are now diſcovered to be the effects of electricity. (3.) No perſon can aſſert natural cauſes to be inſufficient to produce ſuch and ſuch effects, unleſs he perfectly knows all theſe cauſes and the limits of their power in all poſſible caſes; and this no man has ever known, or can know.

By keeping in view theſe principles, which we hope are ſelf-evident, we will eaſily ſee Lord Kames's arguments to conſiſt entirely in a *petitio principii*.—In ſubſtance they are all reduced to this ſingle ſentence: "Natural philoſophers have been hitherto unſucceſsful in their endeavours to account for the differences obſerved among mankind, therefore theſe differences cannot be accounted for from natural cauſes."

His Lordſhip, however, tells us in the paſſages already quoted, that "a maſtiff differs not more from a ſpaniel, than a Laplander from a "Dane;" that "it is vain to aſcribe to climate the low ſtature of the Laplanders, or their ugly viſage."—Yet, in a note on the word *Laplanders*, he ſubjoins, that, "by late accounts it appears, that the Laplanders are only degenerated Tartars; and that they and the Hungarians originally ſprung from the ſame breed of men, and from the ſame country."—The Hungarians are generally handſome and well made, like Danes, or like other people. The Laplanders, he tells us, differ as much from them as a maſtiff from a ſpaniel. Natural cauſes, therefore, according to Lord Kames himſelf, may cauſe two individuals of the ſame ſpecies of mankind to differ from each other as much as a maſtiff does from a ſpaniel.

While we are treating this ſubject of colour, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that a very remarkable difference of colour may accidently happen to individuals of the ſame ſpecies. In the iſthmus of Darien, a ſingular race of men have been diſcovered.—They are of low ſtature, of a feeble make, and incapable of enduring fatigue. Their colour is a dead milk white; not reſembling that of fair people among Europeans, but without any bluſh or ſanguine complexion. Their ſkin is covered with a fine hairy down of a chalky white; the hair of their heads, their eye-brows, and eye-laſhes, are of the ſame hue. Their eyes are of a ſingular form, and ſo weak, that they can hardly bear the light of the ſun; but they ſee clearly by moon-light, and are moſt active and gay in the night. Among the negroes of Africa, as well as the natives of the Indian

Indian iſlands, a ſmall number of theſe people are produced. They are called *Albinos* by the Portugueſe, and *Kackerlakes* by the Dutch.

This race of men is not indeed permanent; but it is ſufficient to ſhow, that mere *colour* is by no means the characteriſtic of a certain ſpecies of mankind. The difference of colour in theſe individuals is undoubtedly owing to a natural cauſe. To conſtitute, then, a race of men of this colour, it would only be neceſſary that this cauſe, which at preſent is merely accidental, ſhould become permanent, and we cannot know but it may be ſo in ſome parts of the world.

If a difference in colour is no characteriſtic of a different ſpecies of mankind, much leſs can a difference in ſtature be thought ſo.—In the ſouthern parts of America, there are ſaid to be a race of men exceeding the common ſize in height and ſtrength. This account, however, is doubted of by ſome: but be that as it will, it is certain that the Eſquimaux are as much under the common ſize, as the Patagonians are ſaid to be above it. Nevertheleſs we are not to imagine, that either of theſe are ſpecific differences; ſeeing the Laplanders and Hungarians are both of the ſame ſpecies, and yet the former are generally almoſt a foot ſhorter than the latter; and if a difference of climate, or other accidental cauſes, can make the people of one country a foot ſhorter than the common ſize of mankind, undoubtedly accidental cauſes of a contrary nature may make thoſe of another country a foot taller than other men.

Though the ſun has undoubtedly a ſhare in the production of the ſwarthy colour of thoſe nations which are moſt expoſed to his influence; yet the manner of living to which people are accuſtomed, their victuals, their employment, &c. muſt contribute very much to a difference of complexion. There are ſome kinds of colouring roots, which, if mixed with the food of certain animals, will tinge even their bones of a yellow colour. It cannot be thought any great degree of credulity to infer from this, that if theſe roots were mixed with the food of a white man, they might, without a miracle, tinge his ſkin of a yellow colour. If a man and woman were both to uſe food of this kind for a length of time, till they became as it were *radically dyed*, it is impoſſible, without the intervention of Divine power, or of ſome extraordinary natural cauſe, but their children muſt be of the ſame colour; and was the ſame kind of food to be continued for ſeveral generations, it is more than probable that this colour might reſiſt the continued uſe of any kind of food whatever.

Of this indeed we have no examples, but we have an example of changes much more wonderful. It is allowed on all hands, that it is more eaſy to work a change upon the body of a man, or any other animal

animal, than upon his mind. A man that is naturally choleric may indeed learn to prevent the bad effects of his paſſion by reaſon, but the paſſion itſelf will remain as immutable as his colour. But to reaſon in a manner ſimilar to Lord Kames; though a man ſhould be naturally choleric, or ſubject to any other paſſion, why ſhould his children be ſo? —This way of reaſoning, however plauſible, is by no means concluſive, as will appear from the following paſſage in Mr. Forſter's Voyage.

June 9th. "The officers who could not yet reliſh their ſalt proviſions after the refreſhments of New Zealand, had ordered their black dog, mentioned p. 135, to be killed: this day, therefore, we dined for the firſt time on a leg of it roaſted; which taſted ſo exactly like mutton, that it was abſolutely undiſtinguiſhable. In our cold countries, where animal food is ſo much uſed, and where to be carnivorous perhaps lies in the nature of men, is indiſpenſably neceſſary to the preſervation of their health and ſtrength, it is ſtrange that there ſhould exiſt a Jewiſh averſion to dogs-fleſh, when hogs, the moſt uncleanly of all animals, are eaten without ſcruple. Nature ſeems expreſsly to have intended them for this uſe, by making their offſpring ſo very numerous, and their increaſe ſo quick and frequent. It may be objected, that the exalted degree of inſtinct which we obſerve in our dogs, inſpires us with great unwillingneſs to kill and eat them. But it is owing to the time we ſpend on the education of dogs, that they acquire thoſe eminent qualities which attach them ſo much to us. The natural qualities of our dogs may receive a wonderful improvement; but education muſt give its aſſiſtance, without which the human mind itſelf, though capable of an immenſe expanſion, remains in a very contracted ſtate. In New Zealand, and (according to former accounts of voyages) in the tropical iſles of the South Sea, the dogs are the moſt ſtupid, dull animals imaginable, and do not ſeem to have the leaſt advantage in point of ſagacity over our ſheep, which are commonly made the emblems of ſilline's. In the former country they are fed upon fiſh, in the latter on vegetables, and both theſe diets may have ſerved to alter their diſpoſition. Education may perhaps likewiſe graft new inſtincts: the New Zealand dogs are fed on the remains of their maſter's meals; they eat the bones of other dogs; and the puppies become true cannibals from their birth. We had a young New Zealand puppy on board, which had certainly had no opportunity of taſting any thing but the mother's milk before we purchaſed it: however, it eagerly devoured a portion of the fleſh and bones of the dog on which we dined to-day; while ſeveral others of the European breed taken on board at the Cape, turned from it without touching it.

"On the fourth of Auguſt, a young bitch, of the terrier breed, taken on

on board at the Cape of Good Hope, and covered by a ſpaniel, brought ten young ones, one of which was dead. The New Zealand dog mentioned above, which devoured the bones of the roaſted dog, now fell upon the dead puppy, and eat of it with a ravenous appetite. This is a proof how far education may go in producing and propagating new inſtincts in animals. European dogs are never fed on the meat of their own ſpecies, but rather ſeem to abhor it. The New Zealan l dogs, in all likelihood, are trained up from their earlieſt age to eat the remains of their maſter's meals: they are therefore uſed to feed upon fiſh, their own ſpecies, and perhaps human fleſh; and what was only owing to habit at firſt, may become inſtinct by length of time. This was remarkable in our cannibal dog; for he came on board ſo young, that he could not have been weaned long enough to have acquired a habit of devouring his own ſpecies, and much leſs of eating human fleſh; however, one of our ſeamen having cut his finger, held it out to the dog, who fell to greedily, licked it, and then began to bite it."

From this account it appears, that even the inſtincts of animals are not unchangeable by natural cauſes; and if theſe cauſes are powerful enough to change the diſpoſitions of ſucceeding generations, much more may we ſuppoſe them capable of making any poſſible alteration in the external appearance.

We are not here neceſſitated to confine ourſelves to obſervations made on brute animals. The Franks are an example of the production of one general character, formed by ſome natural cauſe from a mixture of many different nations.—They were a motley multitude, conſiſting of various German nations dwelling beyond the Rhine: who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of *Franks;* the word *frank* ſignifying in their language, as it ſtill does in ours, *free.* Among them the following nations were mentioned, viz. the Actuarii, Chamavi, Bructeri, Salii, Friſii, Chauſi, Amſwarii, and Catti. We cannot ſuppoſe one character to belong to ſo many different nations; yet it is certain, that the Franks were nationally characterized as treacherous; and ſo deeply ſeems this quality to have been rooted in their nature, that their deſcendants have not got quite free of it in 1500 years. It is in vain, then, to talk of different races of men, either from their colour, ſize, or prevailing diſpoſitions, ſeeing we have undeniable proofs that all theſe may be changed, in the moſt remarkable manner, by natural cauſes, without any miraculous interpoſition of the deity.

The first peopling of America. The next queſtion, then, which preſents itſelf is, From what part of the Old World America has moſt probably been peopled?

Diſcoveries

Diſcoveries long ago made inform us, that an intercourſe between the Old Continent and America might be carried on with facility from the north-weſt extremities of Europe and the north-eaſt boundaries of Aſia. In the ninth century the Norwegians diſcovered Greenland, and planted a colony there. The communication with that country was renewed in the laſt century by Moravian miſſionaries, in order to propagate their doctrine in that bleak and uncultivated region. By them we are informed that the north-weſt coaſt of Greenland is ſeparated from America by a very narrow ſtrait; that at the bottom of the bay it is highly probable that they are united; that the Eſquimaux of America perfectly reſemble the Greenlanders in their aſpect, dreſs, and mode of living; and that a Moravian miſſionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having viſited the country of the Eſquimaux, found, to his aſtoniſhment, that they ſpoke the ſame language with the Greenlanders, and were in every reſpect the ſame people. The ſame ſpecies of animals, too, are found in the contiguous regions. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, frequent the foreſts of North America, as well as thoſe in the north of Europe.

Other diſcoveries have proved, that if the two continents of Aſia and America be ſeparated at all, it is only by a narrow ſtrait. From this part of the Old Continent, alſo, inhabitants may have paſſed into the New; and the reſemblance between the Indians of America and the eaſtern inhabitants of Aſia, would induce us to conjecture that they have a common origin. This is the opinion adopted by Dr. Robertſon in his Hiſtory of America, where we find it accompanied with the following narrative.

"While thoſe immenſe regions which ſtretched eaſtward from the river Oby to the ſea of Kamtſchatka were unknown, or imperfectly explored, the north-eaſt extremities of our hemiſphere were ſuppoſed to be ſo far diſtant from any part of the New World, that it was not eaſy to conceive how any communication ſhould have been carried on between them. But the Ruſſians, having ſubjected the weſtern part of Siberia to their empire, gradually extended their knowledge of that vaſt country, by advancing towards the eaſt into unknown provinces. Theſe were diſcovered by hunters in their excurſions after game, or by ſoldiers employed in levying the taxes; and the court of Moſcow eſtimated the importance of thoſe countries only by the ſmall addition which they made to its revenue. At length, Peter the Great aſcended the Ruſſian throne: His enlightened comprehenſive mind, intent upon every circumſtance that could aggrandize his empire, or render his reign illuſtrious, diſcerned conſequences of thoſe diſcoveries, which had eſcaped the ob-

ſervation of his ignorant predeceſſors. He perceived, that, in proportion as the regions of Aſia extended towards the eaſt, they muſt approach nearer to America; that the communication between the two continents, which had long been ſearched for in vain, would probably be found in this quarter; and that, by opening this intercourſe, ſome part of the wealth and commerce of the weſtern world might be made to flow into his dominions by a new channel. Such an object ſuited a genius that delighted in grand ſchemes. Peter drew up inſtructions with his own hand for proſecuting this deſign, and gave orders for carrying it into execution.

" His ſucceſſors adopted his ideas, and purſued his plan. The officers whom the Ruſſian court employed in this ſervice, had to ſtruggle with ſo many difficulties, that their progreſs was extremely ſlow. Encouraged by ſome faint traditions among the people of Siberia concerning a ſucceſsful voyage in the year 1648 round the north-eaſt promontory of Aſia, they attempted to follow the ſame courſe. Veſſels were fitted out, with this view, at different times, from the rivers Lena and Kolyma; but in a frozen ocean, which nature ſeems not to have deſtined for navigation, they were expoſed to many diſaſters, without being able to accompliſh their purpoſe. No veſſel fitted out by the Ruſſian court ever doubled this formidable cape; we are indebted for what is known of thoſe extreme regions of Aſia, to the diſcoveries made in excurſions by land. In all thoſe provinces, an opinion prevails, that countries of great extent and fertility lie at no conſiderable diſtance from their own coaſts. Theſe the Ruſſians imagined to be part of America; and ſeveral circumſtances concurred not only in confirming them in this belief, but in perſuading them that ſome portion of that continent could not be very remote. Trees of various kinds, unknown in thoſe naked regions of Aſia, are driven upon the coaſt by an eaſterly wind. By the ſame wind floating ice is brought thither in a few days; flights of birds arrive annually from the ſame quarter; and a tradition obtains among the inhabitants, of an intercourſe formerly carried on with ſome countries ſituated to the eaſt.

" After weighing all theſe particulars, and comparing the poſition of the countries in Aſia which they had diſcovered, with ſuch parts in the north-weſt of America as were already known; the Ruſſian court formed a plan, which would have hardly occurred to any nation leſs accuſtomed to engage in arduous undertakings and to contend with great difficulties. Orders were iſſued to build two veſſels at Ochotz, in the ſea of Kamtſchatka, to ſail on a voyage of diſcovery. Though that dreary uncultivated region furniſhed nothing that could be of uſe in conſtructing them but ſome larch-trees; though not only the iron, the cordage, the

ſails,

fails, and all the numerous articles requiſite for their equipment, but the proviſions for victualling them, were to be carried through the immenſe deſerts of Siberia, along rivers of difficult navigation, and roads almoſt impaſſable, the mandate of the ſovereign, and the perſeverance of the people, at laſt ſurmounted every obſtacle. Two veſſels were finiſhed; and, under the command of the captains Behring and Tſchirikow, ſailed from Kamtſchatka in queſt of the New World, in a quarter where it had never been approached. They ſhaped their courſe towards the eaſt; and though a ſtorm ſoon ſeparated the veſſels, which never rejoined, and many diſaſters befel them, the expectations from the voyage were not altogether fruſtrated. Each of the commanders diſcovered land, which to them appeared to be part of the American continent; and, according to their obſervations, it ſeems to be ſituated within a few degrees of the north-weſt coaſt of California. Each ſent ſome of his people aſhore: but in one place the inhabitants fled as the Ruſſians approached; in another, they carried off thoſe who landed, and deſtroyed their boats. The violence of the weather, and the diſtreſs of their crews, obliged both to quit this inhoſpitable coaſt. In their return they touched at ſeveral iſlands, which ſtretch in a chain from eaſt to weſt between the country which they had diſcovered and the coaſt of Aſia. They had ſome intercourſe with the natives, who ſeemed to them to reſemble the North Americans. They preſented to the Ruſſians the calumet, or pipe of peace, which is a ſymbol of friendſhip univerſal among the people of North America, and an uſage of arbitrary inſtitution peculiar to them."

The more recent and accurate diſcoveries of the illuſtrious navigator Cooke, and his ſucceſſor Clerke, have brought the matter ſtill nearer to certainty. The ſea, from the ſouth of Behring's Straits to the creſcent of iſles between Aſia and America, is very ſhallow. It deepens from theſe ſtraits (as the Britiſh ſeas do from thoſe of Dover) till ſoundings are loſt in the Pacific Ocean; but that does not take place but to the ſouth of the iſles. Between them and the ſtraits is an increaſe from 12 to 54 fathom, except only off St. Thaddeus Noſs, where there is a channel of greater depth. From the volcanic diſpoſition, it has been judged probable, not only that there was a ſeparation of the continents at the Straits of Behring, but that the whole ſpace from the iſles to that ſmall opening had once been occupied by land; and that the fury of the watery element, actuated by that of fire, had in moſt remote times, ſubverted and overwhelmed the tract, and left the iſlands monumental fragments.

Without adopting all the fancies of Buffon, there can be no doubt, as

the Abbé Clavigero obſerves, that our planet has been ſubject to great viciſſitudes ſince the deluge. Ancient and modern hiſtories confirm the truth which Ovid has ſung in the name of Pythagoras:

Video ego quod fuerat quondam ſolidiſſima tellus,
Eſſe fretum; vidi factas ex æquore terras.

At preſent they plough thoſe lands over which ſhips formerly ſailed, and now they ſail over lands which were formerly cultivated; earthquakes have ſwallowed ſome lands, and ſubterraneous fires have thrown up others: the rivers have formed new ſoil with their mud; the ſea retreating from the ſhores has lengthened the land in ſome places, and advancing in others has diminiſhed it; it has ſeparated ſome territories which were formerly united, and formed new ſtraits and gulphs. We have examples of all theſe revolutions in the paſt century. Sicily was united to the continent of Naples, as Eubea, now the Black Sea, to Bœtia. Diodorus, Strabo, and other ancient authors, ſay the ſame thing of Spain and Africa, and affirm, that by a violent eruption of the ocean upon the land between the mountains Abyla and Calpe, that communication was broken, and the Mediterranean Sea was formed. Among the people of Ceylon there is a tradition that a ſimilar irruption of the ſea ſeparated their iſland from the peninſula of India. The ſame thing is believed by thoſe of Malabar with reſpect to the iſles of Maldivia, and with the Malayans with reſpect to Sumatra. It is certain, ſays the Count de Buffon, that in Ceylon the earth has loſt 30 or 40 leagues, which the ſea has taken from it; on the contrary, Tongres, a place of the low countries, has gained 30 leagues of land from the ſea. The northern part of Egypt owes its exiſtence to inundations of the Nile. The earth which this river has brought from the inland countries of Africa, and depoſited in its inundations, has formed a ſoil of more than 25 cubits of depth. In like manner, adds the above author, the province of the Yellow River in China, and that of Louiſiana, have only been formed of the mud of rivers. Pliny, Seneca, Diodorus, and Strabo, report innumerable examples of ſimilar revolutions, which we omit, that our diſſertation may not become too prolix; as alſo many modern revolutions, which are related in the theory of the earth of the Count de Buffon and other authors. In South America, all thoſe who have obſerved with philoſophic eyes the peninſula of Yucatan, do not doubt that that country has once been the bed of the ſea; and, on the contrary, in the channel of Bahama many indications ſhew the iſland of Cuba to have been once united to the continent of Florida. In the ſtrait which ſeparates America from Aſia many iſlands are found, which probably

were the mountains belonging to that tract of land which we ſuppoſe to have been ſwallowed up by earthquakes; which is made more probable by the multitude of volcanoes which we know of in the peninſula of Kamtſchatka. It is imagined, however, that the ſinking of that land, and the ſeparation of the two continents has been occaſioned by thoſe great and extraordinary earthquakes mentioned in the hiſtories of the Americans, which formed an era almoſt as memorable as that of the deluge. The hiſtories of the Toltecas fix ſuch earthquakes in the year I Teepatl; but as we know not to what century that belonged, we can form no conjecture of the time that great calamity happened. If a great earthquake ſhould overwhelm the iſthmus of Suez, and there ſhould be at the ſame time as great a ſcarcity of hiſtorians as there were in the firſt ages after the deluge, it would be doubted, in 300 or 400 years after, whether Aſia had ever been united by that part to Africa; and many would firmly deny it.

Whether that great event, the ſeparation of the continents, took place before or after the population of America, is as impoſſible as it is of little moment for us to know; but we are indebted to the above-mentioned navigators for ſettling the long diſpute about the point from which it was effected. Their obſervations prove, that in one place the diſtance between continent and continent is only 39 miles, not (as the author of the *Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Americains* would have it) 800 leagues. This narrow ſtrait has alſo in the middle two iſlands, which would greatly facilitate the migration of the Aſiatics into the New World, ſuppoſing that it took place in canoes after the convulſion which rent the two continents aſunder. Beſides, it may be added, that theſe ſtraits are, even in the ſummer, often filled with ice; in winter, often frozen. In either caſe mankind might find an eaſy paſſage; in the laſt, the way was extremely ready for quadrupeds to croſs and ſtock the continent of America. But where, from the vaſt expanſe of the north-eaſtern world, to fix on the firſt tribes who contributed to people the New Continent, now inhabited almoſt from end to end, is a matter that baffles human reaſon. The learned may make bold and ingenious conjectures, but plain good ſenſe cannot always accede to them.

As mankind increaſed in numbers, they naturally protruded one another forward. Wars might be another cauſe of migrations. There appears no reaſon why the Aſiatic north might not be an *officina virorum*, as well as the European. The overteeming country, to the eaſt of the Riphœan mountains, muſt find it neceſſary to diſcharge its inhabitants: the firſt great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more tumid and more powerful than itſelf: ſucceſſive and new impulſes continually

tinually arriving, ſhort reſt was given to that which ſpread over a more eaſtern tract; diſturbed again and again, it covered freſh regions; at length, reaching the fartheſt limits of the Old World, found a new one, with ample ſpace to occupy unmoleſted for ages; till Columbus curſed them by a diſcovery, which brought again new ſins and new deaths to both worlds.

"The inhabitants of the New World (Mr. Pennant obſerves), do not conſiſt of the offspring of a ſingle nation; different people, at ſeveral periods, arrived there; and it is impoſſible to ſay, that any one is now to be found on the original ſpot of its colonization. It is impoſſible, with the lights which we have ſo recently received, to admit that America could receive its inhabitants (at leaſt the bulk of them) from any other place than eaſtern Aſia. A few proofs may be added, taken from cuſtoms or dreſſes common to the inhabitants of both worlds: ſome have been long extinct in the Old, others remain in both in full force.

"The cuſtom of ſcalping was a barbariſm in uſe with the Scythians, who carried about them at all times this ſavage mark of triumph: they cut a circle round the neck, and ſtripped off the ſkin, as they would that of an ox. A little image found among the Calmucs, of a Tartarian deity, mounted on a horſe, and ſitting on a human ſkin, with ſcalps pendent from the breaſt, fully illuſtrates the cuſtom of the Scythian progenitors, as deſcribed by the Greek hiſtorian. This uſage, as the Europeans know by horrid experience, is continued to this day in America. The ferocity of the Scythians to their priſoners extended to the remoteſt part of Aſia. The Kamtſchatkans, even at the time of their diſcovery by the Ruſſians, put their priſoners to death by the moſt lingering and excruciating inventions; a practice in full force to this very day among the aboriginal Americans. A race of the Scythians were ſtiled *Anthropophagi*, from their feeding on human fleſh. The people of Nootka Sound ſtill make a repaſt on their fellow creatures: but what is more wonderful, the ſavage allies of the Britiſh army have been known to throw the mangled limbs of the French priſoners into the horrible cauldron, and devour them with the ſame reliſh as thoſe of a quadruped.

"The Scythians were ſaid, for a certain time, annually to transform themſelves into wolves, and again to reſume the human ſhape. The new diſcovered Americans about Nootka Sound, at this time diſguiſe themſelves in dreſſes made of the ſkins of wolves and other wild beaſts, and wear even the heads fitted to their own. Theſe habits they uſe in the chace, to circumvent the animals of the field. But would not ignorance

rance or ſuperſtition aſcribe to a ſupernatural metamorpoſis theſe temporary expedients to deceive the brute creation?

"In their marches, the Kamtſchatkans never went abreaſt, but followed one another in the ſame tract. The ſame cuſtom is exactly obſerved by the Americans.

"The Tunguſi, the moſt numerous nation reſident in Siberia, prick their faces with ſmall punctures, with a needle, in various ſhapes; then rub into them charcoal, ſo that the marks become indelible. This cuſtom is ſtill obſerved in ſeveral parts of America. The Indians on the back of Hudſon's Bay, to this day, perform the operation exactly in the ſame manner, and puncture the ſkin into various figures; as the natives of New Zealand do at preſent, and as the ancient Britons did with the herb glaſtum, or woad; and the Virginians, on the firſt diſcovery of that country by the Engliſh.

"The Tunguſi uſe canoes made of birch-bark, diſtended over ribs of wood, and nicely ſewed together. The Canadian, and many other American nations, uſe no other ſort of boats. The paddles of the Tunguſi are broad at each end; thoſe of the people near Cook's river, and of Oonalaſcha, are of the ſame form.

"In burying of the dead, many of the American nations place the corpſe at full length, after preparing it according to their cuſtoms; others place it in a ſitting poſture, and lay by it the moſt valuable cloathing, wampum, and other matters. The Tartars did the ſame: and both people agree in covering the whole with earth, ſo as to form a tumulus, barrow, or carnedd.

"Some of the American nations hang their dead in trees. Certain of the Tunguſi obſerve a ſimilar cuſtom.

"We can draw ſome analogy from dreſs: conveniency in that article muſt have been conſulted on both continents, and originally the materials muſt have been the ſame, the ſkins of birds and beaſts. It is ſingular, that the conic bonnet of the Chineſe ſhould be found among the people of Nootka. I cannot give into the notion, that the Chineſe contributed to the population of the New World; but we can readily admit, that a ſhipwreck might furniſh thoſe Americans with a pattern for that part of the dreſs.

"In reſpect to the features and form of the human body, almoſt every tribe found along the weſtern coaſt has ſome ſimilitude to the Tartar nations, and ſtill retain the little eyes, ſmall noſes, high cheeks, and broad faces. They vary in ſize, from the luſty Calmucs to the little Nogaians. The internal Americans, ſuch as the Five Indian nations, who are tall of body, robuſt in make, and of oblong faces, are derived from

from a variety among the Tartars themſelves. The fine race of Tſchutſki ſeem to be the ſtock from which thoſe Americans are derived. The Tſchutſki, again, from that fine race of Tartars the Kabardinſki, or inhabitants of Kabarda.

" But about Prince William's Sound begins a race chiefly diſtinguiſhed by their dreſs, their canoes, and their inſtruments of the chace, from the tribes to the ſouth of them. Here commences the Eſquimaux people, or the race known by that name in the high latitudes of the eaſtern ſide of the continent. They may be divided into two varieties. At this place they are of the largeſt ſize. As they advance northward they decreaſe in height, till they dwindle into the dwarfiſh tribes which occupy ſome of the coaſts of the Icy Sea, and the maritime parts of Hudſon's Bay, of Greenland, and Terra de Labrador. The famous Japaneſe map places ſome iſlands ſeemingly within the Straits of Behring, on which is beſtowed the title of *Ya Zue*, or the Kingdom of the Dwarfs. Does not this in ſome manner authenticate the chart, and give us reaſon to ſuppoſe that America was not unknown to the Japaneſe; and that they had (as is mentioned by Kæmpfer and Charlevoix) made voyages of diſcovery, and according to the laſt, actually wintered on the continent? That they might have met with the Eſquimaux is very probable; whom, in compariſon of themſelves, they might juſtly diſtinguiſh by the name of *dwarfs*. The reaſon of their low ſtature is very obvious: theſe dwell in a moſt ſevere climate, amidſt penury of food; the former in one much more favourable, abundant in proviſions; circumſtances that tend to prevent the degeneracy of the human frame. At the iſland of Oonalaſcha, a dialect of the Eſquimaux is in uſe, which was continued along the whole coaſt from thence northward."

The continent which ſtocked America with the human race poured in the brute creation through the ſame paſſage. Very few quadrupeds continued in the peninſula of Kamtſchatka; Mr. Pennant enumerates only 25 which are inhabitants of land: all the reſt perſiſted in their migration, and fixed their reſidence in the New World. Seventeen of the Kamtſchatkan quadrupeds are found in America: others are common only to Siberia or Tartary, having, for unknown cauſes, entirely evacuated Kamtſchatka, and divided themſelves between America and the parts of Aſia above cited. Multitudes again have deſerted the Old World even to an individual, and fixed their ſeats at diſtances moſt remote from the ſpot from which they took their departure; from mount Ararat, the reſting place of the ark, in a central part of the Old World, and excellently adapted for the diſperſion of the animal creation to all its parts. We need not be ſtartled (ſays Mr. Pennant) at the vaſt

journeys

journeys many of the quadrupeds took to arrive at their preſent ſeats. Might not numbers of ſpecies have found a convenient abode in the vaſt Alps of Aſia, inſtead of wandering to the Cordilleras of Chili? or might not others have been contented with the boundleſs plains of Tartary, inſtead of travelling thouſands of miles to the extenſive flats of Pampas?—To endeavour to elucidate common difficulties is certainly a trouble worthy of the philoſopher and of the divine; not to attempt it would be a criminal indolence, a neglect to

"Vindicate the ways of God to man."

But there are multitudes of points beyond the human ability to explain, and yet are truths undeniable: the facts are indiſputable, notwithſtanding the cauſes are concealed. In ſuch caſes, faith muſt be called in to our relief. It would certainly be the height of folly to deny to that Being who broke open the great fountains of the deep to effect the deluge—and afterwards, to compel the diſperſion of mankind to people the globe, directed the confuſion of languages—powers inferior in their nature to theſe. After theſe wondrous proofs of Omnipotency, it will be abſurd to deny the poſſibility of infuſing inſtinct into the brute creation. *Deus eſt anima brutorum;* "God himſelf is the ſoul of brutes:" His pleaſure muſt have determined their will, and directed ſeveral ſpecies, and even the whole genera, by impulſe irreſiſtible, to move by ſlow progreſſion to their deſtined regions. But for that, the Lama and the Pacos might ſtill have inhabited the heights of Armenia and ſome more neighbouring Alps, inſtead of labouring to gain the diſtant Peruvian Andes; the whole genus of armadillos, ſlow of foot, would never have quitted the torrid zone of the Old World for that of the New; and the whole tribe of monkeys would have gamboled together in the foreſts of India, inſtead of dividing their reſidence between the ſhades of Indoſtan and the deep foreſts of the Braſils. Lions and tigers might have infeſted the hot parts of the New World, as the firſt do the deſarts of Africa, and the laſt the provinces of Aſia; or the pantherine animals of South America might have remained additional ſcourges with the ſavage beaſts of thoſe ancient continents. The Old World would have been overſtocked with animals; the New remained an unanimated waſte! or both have contained an equal portion of every beaſt of the earth. Let it not be objected, that animals bred in a ſouthern climate, after the deſcent of their parents from the ark, would be unable to bear the froſt and ſnow of the rigorous north, before they reached South America, the place of their final deſtination. It muſt be conſidered, that the migration muſt have been the work of ages; that in the courſe of their progreſs each

generation grew hardened to the climate it had reached; and that after their arrival in America they would again be gradually accuſtomed to warmer and warmer climates, in their removal from north to ſouth, as they had in the reverſe, or from ſouth to north. Part of the tigers ſtill inhabit the eternal ſnows of Ararat, and multitudes of the very ſame ſpecies live, but with exalted rage, beneath the line, in the burning ſoil of Borneo or Sumatra; but neither lions or tigers ever migrated into the New World. A few of the firſt are found in India and Perſia, but they are found in numbers only in Africa. The tiger extends as far north as weſtern Tartary, in lat 40. 50. but never has reached Africa."

In fine, the conjectures of the learned reſpecting the vicinity of the Old and New, are now, by the diſcoveries of our great navigators, loſt in conviction; and, in the place of imaginary hypotheſes, the real place of migration is uncontrovertibly pointed out. Some (from a paſſage in Plato) have extended over the Atlantic, from the ſtraits of Gibraltar to the coaſt of North and South America, an iſland equal in ſize to the continents of Aſia and Africa; over which had paſſed, as over a bridge, from the latter, men and animals; wool-headed negroes, and lions and tigers, none of which ever exiſted in the New World. A mighty ſea aroſe, and in one day and night engulphed this ſtupendous tract, and with it every being which had not completed its migration into America. The whole negro race, and almoſt every quadruped, now inhabitants of Africa, periſhed in this critical day. Five only are to be found at preſent in America; and of theſe only one, the bear, in South America: Not a ſingle cuſtom, common to the natives of Africa and America, to evince a common origin. Of the quadrupeds, the bear, ſtag, wolf, fox, and weeſel, are the only animals which we can pronounce with certainty to be found on each continent. The ſtag, fox, and weeſel, have made alſo no farther progreſs in Africa than the north; but on the ſame continent the wolf is ſpread over every part, yet is unknown in South America, as are the fox and weeſel. In Africa and South America the bear is very local, being met with only in the north of the firſt, and on the Andes in the laſt. Some cauſe unknown arreſted its progreſs in Africa, and impelled the migration of a few into the Chilian Alps, and induced them to leave unoccupied the vaſt tract from North America to the lofty Cordilleras.

Alluſions have often been made to ſome remains on the continent of America, of a more poliſhed and cultivated people, when compared with the tribes which poſſeſſed it on its firſt diſcovery by Europeans. Mr. Barton, in his *Obſervations on ſome parts of Natural Hiſtory*, Part I. has collected the ſcattered hints of Kalm, Carver, and ſome others, and has added

added a plan of a regular work, which has been discovered on the banks of the Muskingum, near its junction with the Ohio. These remains are principally stone-walls, large mounds of earth, and a combination of these mounds with the walls, suspected to have been fortifications. In some places the ditches and the fortress are said to have been plainly seen; in others, furrows, as if the land had been ploughed.

The mounds of earth are of two kinds: they are artificial tumuli, designed as repositories for the dead; or they are of a greater size, for the purpose of defending the adjacent country; and with this view they are artificially constructed, or advantage is taken of the natural eminences, to raise them into a fortification.

The remains near the banks of the Muskingum, are situated about one mile above the junction of that river with the Ohio, and 160 miles below Fort Pitt. They consist of a number of walls and other elevations, of ditches, &c. altogether occupying a space of ground about 300 perches in length, and from about 150 to 25 or 20 in breadth. The town, as it has been called, is a large level, encompassed by walls, nearly in the form of a square, the sides of which are from 96 to 86 perches in length. These walls are, in general, about 10 feet in height above the level on which they stand, and about 20 feet in diameter at the base, but at the top they are much narrower; they are at present overgrown with vegetables of different kinds, and, among others, with trees of several feet diameter. The chasms, or opening in the walls, were probably intended for gate-ways: they are three in number at each side, besides the smaller openings in the angles. Within the walls there are three elevations, each about six feet in height, with regular ascents to them: these elevations considerably resemble some of the eminences already mentioned, which have been discovered near the river Mississippi. This author's opinion is, That the Tolticas, or some other Mexican nation, were the people to whom the mounts and fortifications, which he has described, owe their existence; and that those people were probably the descendants of the Danes. The former part of this conjecture is thought probable, from the similarity of the Mexican mounts and fortifications described by the Abbé Clavigero, and other authors, to those described by our author; and from the tradition of the Mexicans, that they came from the north-west: for, if we can rely on the testimony of late travellers, fortifications similar to those mentioned by Mr. Barton have been discovered as far to the north as Lake Pepin; and we find them, as we approach to the south, even as low as the coasts of Florida. The second part of our author's conjecture appears not so well supported.

PRODUCTIONS. This vaſt country produces moſt of the metals, minerals, plants, fruits, trees, and wood, to be met with in the other parts of the world, and many of them in greater quantities and high perfection. The gold and ſilver of America have ſupplied Europe with ſuch immenſe quantities of thoſe valuable metals, that they are become vaſtly more common; ſo that the gold and ſilver of Europe now bears little proportion to the high price ſet upon them before the diſcovery of America.

It alſo produces diamonds, pearls, emeralds, amethyſts and other valuable ſtones, which, by being brought into Europe, have contributed likewiſe to lower their value. To theſe, which are chiefly the production of Spaniſh America, may be added a great number of other commodities, which, though of leſs price, are of much greater uſe; and many of them make the ornament and wealth of the Britiſh empire in this part of the world. Of theſe are the plentiful ſupplies of cochineal, indigo, anatto, logwood, brazil, fuſtic, pimento, lignum vitæ, rice, ginger, cocoa, or the chocolate nut, ſugar, cotton, tobacco, banillas, redwood, the balſams of Tolu, Peru, and Chili, that valuable article in medicine the Jeſuit's bark, mechoacan, ſaſſafras, ſarſaparilla, caſſia, tamarinds, hides, furs, ambergreaſe, and a great variety of woods, roots, and plants; to which, before the diſcovery of America, we were either ſtrangers, or forced to buy at an extravagant rate from Aſia and Africa, through the hands of the Venetians and Genoeſe, who then engroſſed the trade of the eaſtern world.

On this continent there grows alſo a variety of excellent fruits; as pine-apples, pomegranates, citrons, lemons, oranges, malicatons, cherries, pears, apples, figs, grapes, great numbers of culinary, medicinal, and other herbs, roots, and plants, with many exotic productions which are nouriſhed in as great perfection as in their native ſoil.

Having given a ſummary account of America in general; of its firſt diſcovery by Columbus, its extent, rivers, mountains, &c. of the Aborigines, and of the firſt peopling this continent, we ſhall next turn our attention to the *Diſcovery and Settlement of* NORTH AMERICA.

A SUMMARY

A SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS OF NORTH AMERICA.

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

NORTH AMERICA was diſcovered in the reign of Henry VII. a period when the Arts and Sciences had made very conſiderable progreſs in Europe. Many of the firſt adventurers were men of genius and learning, and were careful to preſerve authentic records of ſuch of their proceedings as would be intereſting to poſterity. Theſe records afford ample documents for American hiſtorians. Perhaps no people on the globe can trace the hiſtory of their origin and progreſs with ſo much preciſion as the inhabitants of North America; particularly that part of them who inhabit the territory of the United States.

The fame which Columbus had acquired by his firſt diſcoveries on this weſtern continent, ſpread through Europe and inſpired many
1496 with the ſpirit of enterprize. As early as 1496, four years only after the firſt diſcovery of America, John Cabot, a Venetian, obtained a commiſſion from Henry VII. to diſcover unknown lands and annex them to the crown.

In the ſpring he ſailed from England with two ſhips, carrying with him his three ſons. In this voyage, which was intended for China, he fell in with the north ſide of Terra Labrador, and coaſted northerly as far as the 67th degree of latitude.

1497.—The next year he made a ſecond voyage to America with his ſon Sebaſtian, who afterwards proceeded in the diſcoveries which his father had begun. On the 24th of June he diſcovered Bonaviſta, on the north-eaſt ſide of Newfoundland. Before his return he traverſed the coaſt from Davis's Straits to Cape Florida.

1502.—Sebaſtian Cabot was this year at Newfoundland; and on his return carried three of the natives of that iſland to Henry VII.

1513.—In the ſpring of 1513, John Ponce ſailed from Porto Rico northerly

northerly and discovered the continent in 30° 8′ north latitude. He landed in April, a season when the country around was covered with verdure, and in full bloom. This circumstance induced him to call the country *Florida*, which, for many years, was the common name for North and South America.

1516.—In 1516, Sir Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert explored the coast as far as Brazil in South America.

This vast extent of country, the coast whereof was thus explored, remained unclaimed and unsettled by any European power, (except by the Spaniards in South America) for almost a century from the time of its discovery.

1524.—It was not till the year 1524 that France attempted discoveries on the American coast. Stimulated by his enterprizing neighbours, Francis I. who possessed a great and active mind, sent John Verrazano, a Florentine, to America, for the purpose of making discoveries. He traversed the coast from latitude 28 ° 50° north. In a second voyage, some time after he was lost.

1525.—The next year Stephen Gomez, the first Spaniard who came upon the American coast for discovery, sailed from Groyn in Spain, to Cuba and Florida, thence northward to Cape Razo, in latitude 46° north, in search of a north-west passage to the East Indies.

1534.—In the spring of 1534, by the direction of Francis I. a fleet was fitted out at St. Malo's in France, with design to make discoveries in America. The command of this fleet was given to James Cartier. He arrived at Newfoundland in May of this year. Thence he sailed northerly; and on the day of the festival of St. Lawrence, he found himself in about latitude 48° 30′ north, in the midst of a broad gulf, which he named St. Lawrence. He gave the same name to the river which empties into it. In this voyage, he sailed as far north as latitnde 51°, expecting in vain to find a passage to China.

1535.—The next year he sailed up the river St. Lawrence 300 leagues to the great and swift *Fall*. He called the country New France; built a fort in which he spent the winter, and returned in the following spring to France.

1542.—In 1542, Francis la Roche, Lord of Robewell, was sent to Canada, by the French king, with three ships and 200 men, women and children. They wintered here in a fort which they had built, and returned in the spring. About the year 1550, a large number of adventurers sailed for Canada, but were never after heard of. In 1598, the king of France commissioned the Marquis de la Roche to conquer Canada, and other countries not possessed by any Christian prince. We do not

not learn however, that la Roche ever attempted to execute his commiſſion, or that any further attempts were made to ſettle Canada during this century.

1539.—On the 12th of May, 1539, Ferdinand de Soto, with 900 men, beſides ſeamen, ſailed from Cuba, having for his object the conqueſt of Florida. On the 30th of May he arrived at Spirito Santo, from whence he travelled northward 450 leagues from the ſea. Here he diſcovered a river a quarter of a mile wide and 19 fathoms deep,
1542 on the bank of which he died and was buried, May 1542, aged 42
1543 years. Alverdo his ſucceſſor built ſeven brigantines, and the year following embarked upon the river. In 17 days he proceeded down the river 400 leagues, where he judged it to be 15 leagues wide. From the largeneſs of the river at that place of his embarkation, he concluded its ſource muſt have been at leaſt 400 leagues above, ſo that the whole length of the river in his opinion muſt have been more than 800 leagues. As he paſſed down the river, he found it opened by two mouths into the gulph of Mexico. Theſe circumſtances led us to conclude, that this river, ſo early diſcovered, was the one which we now call the *Miſſiſſippi*.

Jan. 6, 1549. This year king Henry VII. granted a penſion for life to Sebaſtian Cabot, in conſideration of the important ſervices he had rendered to the kingdom by his diſcoveries in America.

1562.—The admiral of France, Chatillon, early in this year, ſent out a fleet under the command of John Ribalt. He arrived at Cape Francis on the coaſt of Florida, near which, on the firſt of May, he diſcovered and entered a river which he called May river. It is more than probable that river is the ſame which we now call St. Mary's, which forms a part of the ſouthern boundary of the United States. As he coaſted northward he diſcovered eight other rivers, one of which he called Port Royal, and ſailed up it ſeveral leagues. On one of the rivers he built a fort and called it *Charles*, in which he left a colony under the direction of Captain Albert. The ſeverity of Albert's meaſures excited a mutiny, in which, to the ruin of the colony, he was ſlain. Two years after, Chatillon ſent Rene Laudonier, with three ſhips, to Florida. In June he arrived at the River *May*, on which he built a fort, and, in honour to his king, Charles IX. he called it *Carolina*.

In Auguſt, this year, Capt. Ribalt arrived at Florida the ſecond time, with a fleet of ſeven veſſels to recruit the colony, which, two years before, he had left under the direction of the unfortunate Capt. Albert.

The September following, Pedro Melandes, with ſix Spaniſh ſhips, purſued

purſued Ribalt up the river on which he had ſettled, and overpowering him in numbers, cruelly maſſacred him and his whole company. Melandes, having in this way taken poſſeſſion of the country, built three forts, and left them garriſoned with 1200 ſoldiers. Laudonier and his colony on May River, receiving information of the fate of Ribalt, took the alarm and eſcaped to France.

1567.—A fleet of three ſhips was this year ſent from France to Florida, under the command of Dominique de Gourges. The object of this expedition was to diſpoſſeſs the Spaniards of that part of Florida which they had cruelly and unjuſtifiably ſeized three years be-
1568 fore. He arrived on the coaſt of Florida, April 1563, and ſoon after made a ſucceſsful attack upon the forts. The recent cruelty of Melandes and his company excited revenge in the breaſt of Gourges, and roufed the unjuſtifiable principle of retaliation. He took the forts; put moſt of the Spaniards to the ſword; and having burned and demoliſhed all their fortreſſes, returned to France. During the fifty years next after this event, the French enterprized no ſettlements in America.

1576.—Captain Frobiſher was ſent this year to find out a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies. The firſt land which he made on the coaſt was a Cape, which, in honour to the queen, he called *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*. In coaſting northerly he diſcovered the ſtraits which bear his name. He proſecuted his ſearch for a paſſage into the weſtern ocean till he was prevented by the ice, and then returned to England.

1579.—In 1579, Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a patent from queen Elizabeth, for lands not yet poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian prince, provided he would take poſſeſſion within ſix years. With this encourage-
1583 ment he ſailed for America, and on the firſt of Auguſt, 1583, anchored in Conception Bay. Afterward he diſcovered and took poſſeſſion of St. John's Harbour, and the country ſouth. In purſuing his diſcoveries he loſt one of his ſhips on the ſhoals of Sablon, and on his return home, a ſtorm overtook him, in which he was unfortunately loſt, and the intended ſettlement was prevented.

1584.—This year two patents were granted by queen Elizabeth, one to Adrian Gilbert, (Feb. 6.) the other to Sir Walter Raleigh, for lands not poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian prince. By the direction of Sir Walter, two ſhips were fitted and ſent out, under the command of Philip Amidas, and Arthur Barlow. In July they arrived on the coaſt, and anchored in a harbour ſeven leagues weſt of the Roanoke. On the 13th of July, they, in a formal manner, took poſſeſſion of the country, and, in honour of their virgin queen Elizabeth, they called it *Virginia*. Till this time

time the country was known by the general name of *Florida*. After this VIRGINIA became the common name for all North America.

1585.—The next year, Sir Walter Raleigh ſent Sir Richard Greenville to America, with ſeven ſhips. He arrived at Wococon Harbour in June. Having ſtationed a colony of more than a hundred people at Roanoke, under the direction of Capt. Ralph Lane, he coaſted north-eaſterly as far as Cheſapeek Bay, and returned to England.

The colony under Capt. Lane endured extreme hardſhips, and muſt have periſhed, had not Sir Francis Drake fortunately returned to Virginia, and carried them to England, after having made ſeveral conqueſts for the queen in the Weſt Indies and other places.

A fortnight after, Sir Richard Greenville arrived with new recruits; and, although he did not find the colony which he had before left, and knew not but they had periſhed, he had the raſhneſs to leave 50 men at the ſame place.

1587.—The year following, Sir Walter ſent another company to Virginia, under Governor White, with a charter and twelve aſſiſtants. In July he arrived at Roanoke. Not one of the ſecond company remained. He determined, however, to riſque a third colony. Accordingly he left 115 people at the old ſettlement, and returned to England.

This year (Aug. 13) *Manteo* was baptized in Virginia. He was the firſt native Indian who received that ordinance in that part of America. On the 18th of Auguſt, Mrs. Dare was delivered of a daughter, whom ſhe called VIRGINIA. She was the firſt Engliſh child that was born in North America.

1590.—In the year 1590, Governor White came over to Virginia with ſupplies and recruits for his colony; but, to his great grief, not a man was to be found. They had all miſerably famiſhed with hunger, or were maſſacred by the Indians.

1602.—In the ſpring of this year, Bartholomew Goſnold, with 32 perſons, made a voyage to North Virginia, and diſcovered and gave names to Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Elizabeth Iſlands, and to Dover Cliff. Eliſabeth Iſland was the place which they fixed for their firſt ſettlement. But the courage of thoſe who were to have tarried, failing, they all went on board and returned to England. All the attempts to ſettle this continent which were made by the Dutch, French, and Engliſh, from its diſcovery to the preſent time, a period of 110 years, proved ineffectual. The Spaniards only, of all the European nations, had been ſucceſsful. There is no account of there having been one European family, at this time, in all the vaſt extent of coaſt from Florida to Greenland.

1603.—Martin Pring and William Brown were this year ſent by Sir Walter Raleigh, with two ſmall veſſels, to make diſcoveries in North Virginia. They came upon the coaſt, which was broken with a multitude of iſlands, in latitude 43° 30′ north. They coaſted ſouthward to Cape Cod Bay; thence round the Cape into a commodious harbour in latitude 41° 25′, where they went aſhore and tarried ſeven weeks, during which time they loaded one of their veſſels with ſaſſafras, and returned to England.

Bartholomew Gilbert, in a Voyage to South Virgina, in ſearch of the third colony which had been left there by Governor White in 1587, having touched at ſeveral of the Weſt-India Iſlands, landed near Cheſapeek Bay, where, in a ſkirmiſh with the Indians, he and four of his men were unfortunately ſlain. The reſt, without any further ſearch for the colony, returned to England.

France, being at this time in a ſtate of tranquility in conſequence of the edict of Nantz in favour of the Proteſtants, paſſed by Henry IV. (April 1598) and of the peace with Philip king of Spain and Portugal, was induced to purſue her diſcoveries in America. Accordingly the king ſigned a patent in favour of De Mons, (1603) of all the country
from the 40th to the 46th degrees of north latitude under the name
1604 of *Acadia*. The next year De Mons ranged the coaſt from St.
Lawrence to Cape Sable, and ſo round to Cape Cod.

1605.—In May 1605, George's Iſland and Pentecoſt Harbour were diſcovered by Capt. George Weymouth. In May he entered a large river in latitude 43° 20′, (variation 11° 15′ weſt) which Mr. Prince, in his Chronology, ſuppoſes muſt have been Sagadahok; but from the latitude, it was more probably the Piſcataqua. Capt. Weymouth carried with him to England five of the natives.

1606.—In the Spring of this year, James I. by patent, divided Virginia into two colonies. The *ſouthern* included all lands between the 34th and 41ſt degrees of north latitude. This was ſtyled the *firſt colony*, under the name of South Virginia, and was granted to the London Company. The *northern*, called the ſecond colony, and known by the general name of North Virginia, included all lands between the 38th and 45th degrees north latitude, and was granted to the Plymouth Company. Each of theſe colonies had a council of thirteen men to govern them. To prevent diſputes about territory, the colonies were prohibited to plant within an hundred miles of each other. There appears to be an inconſiſtency in theſe grants, as the lands lying between the 38th and 41ſt degrees, are covered by both patents.

Both

Both the London and Plymouth companies enterprized ſettlements within the limits of their reſpective grants. With what ſucceſs will now be mentioned.

Mr. Piercy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, in the ſervice of the London Company, went over with a colony to Virginia, and diſcovered Powhatan, now James River. In the mean time the Plymouth Company ſent Capt. Henry Challons in a veſſel of fifty-five tons to plant a colony in North Virginia; but in his voyage he was taken by a Spaniſh fleet and carried to Spain.

1607.—The London Company this ſpring, ſent Capt. Chriſtopher
April 26. Newport with three veſſels to South Virginia. On the 26th of April he entered Cheſapeek Bay, and landed, and ſoon after gave to the moſt ſouthern point, the name of *Cape Henry*, which it ſtill
May 13. retains. Having elected Mr. Edward Wingfield preſident for the year, they next day landed all their men, and began a ſettlement on James river, at a place which they called James-
June 22. Town. This is the firſt town that was ſettled by the Engliſh in North America. The June following Capt. Newport ſailed for England, leaving with the preſident one hundred and four perſons.

Auguſt 22.—In Auguſt died Capt. Bartholomew Goſnold, the firſt projector of this ſettlement, and one of the council. The following winter James-Town was burnt.

During this time the Plymouth company fitted out two ſhips under the command of Admiral Rawley Gilbert. They ſailed for North Virginia on the 31ſt of May, with one hundred planters, and Capt. George Popham for their preſident. They arrived in Auguſt, and ſettled about nine or ten leagues to the ſouthward of the mouth of Sagadahok river. A great part of the colony, however, diſheartened by the ſeverity of the winter, returned to England in December, leaving their preſident, Capt. Popham, with only forty-five men.

It was in the fall of this year that the famous Mr. Robinſon, with part of his congregation, who afterwards ſettled at Plymouth in New-England, removed from the North of England to Holland, to avoid the cruelties of perſecution, and for the ſake of enjoying "purity of worſhip and liberty of conſcience."

This year a ſmall company of merchants at Dieppe and St. Malo's, founded Quebeck, or rather the colony which they ſent, built a few huts there, which did not take the form of a town until the reign of Lewis XIV.

1608.—The Sagadahok colony ſuffered incredible hardſhips after the departure of their friends in December. In the depth of winter, which

was extremely cold, their ſtore-houſe caught fire and was conſumed, with moſt of their proviſions and lodgings. Their misfortunes were increaſed, ſoon after, by the death of their preſident. Rawley Gilbert was appointed to ſucceed him.

Lord Chief Juſtice Popham made every exertion to keep this colony alive by repeatedly ſending them ſupplies. But the circumſtance of his death, which happened this year, together with that of preſident Gilbert's being called to England to ſettle his affairs, broke up the colony, and they all returned with him to England.

The unfavourable reports which theſe firſt unfortunate adventurers propagated reſpecting the country, prevented any further attempts to ſettle North Virginia for ſeveral years after.

1609.—The London company, laſt year, ſent Capt. Nelſon, with two ſhips and one hundred and twenty perſons, to James-Town; and this year Capt. John Smith, afterwards preſident, arrived on the coaſt of South Virginia, and by ſailing up a number of the rivers, diſcovered the interior country. In September, Capt. Newport arrived with ſeventy perſons, which increaſed the colony to two hundred ſouls.

Mr. Robinſon and his congregation, who had ſettled at Amſterdam, removed this year to Leyden, where they remained more than eleven years, till a part of them came over to New England.

The council for South Virginia having reſigned their old commiſſion, requeſted and obtained a new one; in conſequence of which they appointed Sir Thomas Weſt, Lord De la War, general of the colony; Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant; Sir George Somers, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, high marſhal; Sir Ferdinand Wainman, general of the horſe, and Capt. Newport, vice admiral.

June 8.—In June, Sir T. Gates, admiral Newport. and Sir George Somers, with ſeven ſhips and a ketch and pinnace, having five hundred ſouls on board, men, women, and children, ſailed from Fal-
July 24. mouth for South Virginia. In croſſing the Bahama Gulf, on the 24th of July, the fleet was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, and ſeparated. Four days after, Sir George Somers ran his veſſel aſhore on one of the Bermudas Iſlands, which, from this circumſtance, have been called the Somer Iſlands. The people on board, one hundred and fifty in number, all got ſafe on ſhore, and there remained until the following May. The remainder of the fleet arrived at Virginia in Auguſt. The colony was now increaſed to five hundred men. Capt. Smith, then preſident, a little before the arrival of the fleet, had been very badly burnt by means of ſome powder which had accidentally caught fire. This unfortunate circumſtance, together with the oppoſition he

met with from thoſe who had lately arrived, induced him to leave the colony and return to England, which he accordingly did the laſt of September. Francis Weſt, his ſucceſſor in office, ſoon followed him, and George Piercy was elected preſident.

1610.—The year following, the South Virginia or London company, ſealed a patent to Lord De la War, conſtituting him Governor and Captain General of South Virginia. He ſoon after embarked for America with Capt. Argal and one hundred and fifty men, in three ſhips.

The unfortunate people, who, the year before, had been ſhipwrecked on the Bermudas Iſlands, had employed themſelves during the winter and ſpring, under the direction of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and admiral Newport, in building a ſloop to tranſport themſelves to the continent. They embarked for Virginia on the 10th of May, with about one hundred and fifty perſons on board, leaving two of their men behind, who choſe to ſtay, and landed at James-Town on the 23d of the ſame month. Finding the colony, which at the time of Capt. Smith's departure, conſiſted of five hundred ſouls, now reduced to ſixty, and thoſe few in a diſtreſſed and wretched ſituation, they with one voice reſolved to return to England; and for this purpoſe, on the 7th of June, the whole colony repaired on board their veſſels, broke up their ſettlement, and ſailed down the river on their way to their native country.

Fortunately, Lord De la War, who had embarked for James-Town the March before, met them the day after they ſailed, and perſuaded them to return with him to James-Town, where they arrived and landed the 10th of June. The government of the colony of right devolved upon Lord De la War. From this time we may date the effectual ſettlement of Virginia. Its hiſtory, from this period, will be given in its proper place.

As early as the year 1608, or 1609, Henry Hudſon, an Engliſhman, under a commiſſion from the king his maſter, diſcovered Long Iſland, New York, and the river which ſtill bears his name, and afterwards ſold the country, or rather his right, to the Dutch. Their writers, however, contend that Hudſon was ſent out by the Eaſt-India company in 1609, to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to China; and that having firſt diſcovered Delaware Bay, he came and penetrated Hudſon's river as far as latitude 43°. It is ſaid however that there was a ſale, and that the Engliſh objected to it, though for ſome time they neglected to oppoſe the Dutch ſettlement of the country.

1610.—In 1610, Hudſon ſailed again to this country, then called by the Dutch *New Netherlands*, and four years after, the States-General granted

granted a patent to ſundry merchants for an excluſive trade on the
1614 North river, who the ſame year, (1614) built a fort on the weſt ſide near Albany. From this time we may date the ſettlement of New York, the hiſtory of which will be annexed to a deſcription of the State.

Conception Bay, on the Iſland of Newfoundland, was ſettled in the year 1610, by about forty planters under governor John Guy, to whom king James had given a patent of incorporation.

Champlain, a Frenchman, had begun a ſettlement at Quebec, 1608, St. Croix, Mount Manſel, and Port Royal were ſettled about the ſame time. Theſe ſettlements remained undiſturbed till 1613, when the Virginians, hearing that the French had ſettled within their limits, ſent Captain Argal to diſlodge them. For this purpoſe he ſailed to Sagadahoc, took their forts at Mount Manſel, St. Croix, and Port Royal, with their veſſels, ordnance, cattle, and proviſions, and carried them to James-Town in Virginia. Quebec was left in poſſeſſion of the French.

1614.—This year Capt. John Smith, with two ſhips and forty-five men and boys, made a voyage to North Virginia, to make experiments upon a gold and copper mine. His orders were, to fiſh and trade with the natives, if he ſhould fail in his expectations with regard to the mine. To facilitate this buſineſs, he took with him *Tantum*, an Indian, perhaps one that Capt. Weymouth carried to England in 1605. In April he reached the Iſland Monahigan in latitude 43° 30′. Here Capt. Smith was directed to ſtay and keep poſſeſſion, with ten men, for the purpoſe of making a trial of the whaling buſineſs, but being diſappointed in this, he built ſeven boats, in which thirty-ſeven men made a very ſucceſsful fiſhing voyage. In the mean time the captain himſelf, with eight men only, in a ſmall boat, coaſted from Penobſcot to Sagadahok, Accocisco, Paſſataquack, Tragabizanda, now called Cape Ann, thence to Acomak, where he ſkirmiſhed with ſome Indians; thence to Cape Cod where he ſet his Indian, Tantum, aſhore and left him, and returned to Monahigan. In this voyage he found two French ſhips in the Bay of Maſſachuſetts, who had come there ſix weeks before, and during that time, had been trading very advantageouſly with the Indians. It was conjectured that there was, at this time, three thouſand Indians upon the Maſſachuſetts Iſlands.

In July, Capt. Smith embarked for England in one of the veſſels, leaving the other under the command of Capt. Thomas Hunt, to equip for a voyage to Spain. After Capt. Smith's departure, Hunt perfidiouſly allured twenty Indians (one of whom was *Squanto*, afterwards ſo ſerviceable to the Engliſh) to come on board his ſhip at Patuxit, and ſeven

ſeven more at Nauſit, and carried them to the Iſland of Malaga, where he ſold them for twenty pounds each, to be ſlaves for life. This conduct, which fixes an indelible ſtigma upon the character of Hunt, excited in the breaſts of the Indians ſuch an inveterate hatred of the Engliſh, as that, for many years after, all commercial intercourſe with them was rendered exceedingly dangerous.

Capt. Smith arrived at London the laſt of Auguſt, where he drew a map of the country, and called it New-England. From this time North-Virginia aſſumed the name of *New-England*, and the name *Virginia* was confined to the ſouthern colony.

Between the years 1614 and 1620, ſeveral attempts were made by the Plymouth Company to ſettle New-England, but by various means they were all rendered ineffectual. During this time, however, an advantageous trade was carried on with the natives.

1617.—In the year 1617, Mr. Robinſon and his congregation, influenced by ſeveral weighty reaſons, meditated a removal to America.

Various difficulties intervened to prevent the ſucceſs of their de-
1620 ſigns, until the year 1620, when a part of Mr. Robinſon's congregation came over and ſettled at Plymouth. At this time commenced the ſettlement of New-England.

The particulars relating to the firſt emigrations to this northern part of America; the progreſs of its ſettlement, &c. will be given in the hiſtory of New-England, to which the reader is referred.

In order to preſerve the chronological order in which the ſeveral colo-
nies, not grown into independent ſtates, were firſt ſettled, it will be
1621 neceſſary that I ſhould juſt mention, that the next year after the ſettlement of Plymouth, Captain John Maſon obtained of the Plymouth council a grant of a part of the preſent ſtate of New-
1623 Hampſhire. Two years after, under the authority of this grant, a ſmall colony fixed down near the mouth of Piſcataqua river. From this period we may date the ſettlement of New-Hampſhire.

1627.—In 1627, a colony of Swedes and Fins came over and landed at Cape Henlopen; and afterwards purchaſed of the Indians the land from Cape Henlopen to the Falls of Delaware on both ſides the river, which they called *New Swedeland Stream*. On this river they built ſeveral forts, and made ſettlements.

1628. On the 19th of March, 1628, the council for New-England ſold to Sir Henry Roſwell, and five others, a large tract of land, lying round Maſſachuſetts Bay. The June following, Capt. John Endicot, with his wife and company, came over and ſettled at Naumkeag, now called Salem. This was the firſt ſettlement which was made in Maſſachuſetts,

chuſetts Bay. Plymouth, indeed, which is now included in the Commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts, was ſettled eight years before, but at this time it was a ſeparate colony, under a diſtinct government, and continued ſo until the ſecond charter of Maſſachuſetts was granted by William and Mary in 1691; by which Plymouth, the Province of Main and Sagadahok were annexed to Maſſachuſetts.

June 13, 1633.—In the reign of Charles the Firſt, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, applied for and obtained a grant of a tract of land upon Cheſapeek Bay, about one hundred and forty miles long and one hundred and thirty broad. Soon after this, in conſequence of the rigor of the laws of England againſt the Roman Catholics, Lord Baltimore, with a number of his perſecuted brethren, came over and ſettled it, and in honour of queen Henrietta Maria, they called it Maryland.

The firſt grant of Connecticut was made by Robert, Earl of Warwick, preſident of the council of Plymouth, to Lord Say and Seal, to
1631 Lord Brook and others, in the year 1631. In conſequence of ſeveral ſmaller grants made afterwards by the patentees to particular perſons, Mr. Fenwick made a ſettlement at the Mouth of Con-
1635 necticut river, and called it *Saybrook*. Four years after a number of people from Maſſachuſetts Bay came and began ſettlements at Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windſor on Connecticut river. Thus commenced the Engliſh ſettlement of Connecticut.

Rhode Iſland was firſt ſettled in conſequence of religious perſecution. Mr. Roger Williams, who was among thoſe who early came over to Maſſachuſetts, not agreeing with ſome of his brethren in ſentiment, was very unjuſtifiably baniſhed the colony, and went with twelve
1635 others, his adherents, and ſettled at Providence in 1635. From this beginning aroſe the colony, now ſtate of Rhode-Iſland.

1664.—On the 20th of March, 1664, Charles the Second granted to the Duke of York, what is now called New-Jerſey, then a part of a large tract of country by the name of New Netherland. Some parts of New-Jerſey were ſettled by the Dutch as early as about 1615.

1662.—In the year 1662, Charles the Second granted to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, and ſeven others, almoſt the whole territory of the three Southern ſtates, North and South Carolinas and Georgia.
1664 Two years after he granted a ſecond charter, enlarging their boundaries. The proprietors, by virtue of authority veſted in them by their charter, engaged Mr. Locke to frame a ſyſtem of laws for the government of their intended colony. Notwithſtanding theſe
1669 preparations, no effectual ſettlement was made until the year 1669, (though one was attempted in 1667) when Governor Sayle came over

over with a colony, and fixed on a neck of land between Aſhley and Cooper Rivers. Thus commenced the ſettlement of Carolina, which then included the whole territory between the 29th and 36th 30′ degrees, north latitude, together with the Bahama Iſlands, lying between latitude 22° and 27° north.

1681.—The Royal charter for Pennſylvania was granted to William Penn on the 4th of March, 1681. The firſt colony came over the
1682 next year, and ſettled under the proprietor, William Penn, who acted as Governor from October 1682 to Auguſt 1684. The firſt aſſembly in the province of Pennſylvania was held at Cheſter, on the 4th of December, 1682. Thus William Penn, a Quaker, juſtly celebrated as a great and good man, had the honour of laying the foundation of the preſent populous and very flouriſhing State of Pennſylvania.

The proprietory government in Carolina, was attended with ſo many inconveniences, and occaſioned ſuch violent diſſentions among the ſettlers, that the Parliament of Great-Britain was induced to take the province under their immediate care. The proprietors (except Lord Granville) accepted of £.22,500 ſterling, from the crown for the property and juriſdiction. This agreement was ratified by act of
1729 Parliament in 1729. A clauſe in this act reſerved to Lord Granville his eighth ſhare of the property and arrears of quit-rents, which continued legally veſted in his family till the revolution in 1776. Lord Granville's ſhare made a part of the preſent ſtate of North-Carolina. About the year 1729, the extenſive territory belonging to the proprietors, was divided into North and South Carolina. They remained ſeparate royal governments until they became independent States.

For the relief of poor indigent people of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the ſecurity of Carolina, a project was formed for planting a colony between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha. Accordingly appli-
cation being made to king George the Second, he iſſued letters
1732 patent, bearing date June 9th, 1732, for legally carrying into execution the benevolent plan. In honour of the king, who greatly encouraged the plan, they called the new province Georgia. Twenty-one truſtees were appointed to conduct the affairs relating to the ſettlement of the province. The November following, one hundred and fifteen perſons, one of whom was General Oglethorpe, embarked for Georgia, where they arrived, and landed at Yamacraw. In exploring the country, they found an elevated pleaſant ſpot of ground on the bank of a navigable river, upon which they marked out a town, and from the

Indian name of the river which paſſed by it, called it Savannah. From this period we may date the ſettlement of Georgia.

The country now called Kentucky, was well known to the Indian traders many years before its ſettlement. They gave a deſcription of it to Lewis Evans, who publiſhed his firſt map of it as early as the
1752 year 1752. James Macbride, with ſome others, explored this
1754 country in 1754. Col. Daniel Boon viſited it in 1769.

1773.—Four years after Col. Boon and his family, with five other families, who were joined by forty men from Powle's valley, began the ſettlement of Kentucky *, which is now one of the moſt growing colonies, perhaps, in the world, and was erected into an independent ſtate, by act of Congreſs, December 6th, 1790, and received into the Union, June 1ſt, 1792.

The tract of country called Vermont, before the late war, was claimed both by New-York and New-Hampſhire. When hoſtilities commenced between Great-Britain and her Colonies, the inhabitants conſidering themſelves as in a ſtate of nature, as to civil government, and not within any legal juriſdiction, aſſociated and formed for themſelves a conſtitution of government. Under this conſtitution, they have ever ſince continued to exerciſe all the powers of an independent State. Vermont was not admitted into union with the other ſtates till March
4, 1791, yet we may venture to date her political exiſtence as a
1777 ſeparate government, from the year 1777, becauſe, ſince that time, Vermont has, to all intents and purpoſes, been a ſovereign and independent State. The firſt ſettlement in this ſtate was made at Bennington as early as about 1764.

The extenſive tract of country lying north-weſt of the Ohio River, within the limits of the United States, was erected into a ſeparate *tempo-*
rary government by an Ordinance of Congreſs paſſed the 13th of
1787 July, 1787.

Thus we have given a ſummary view of the firſt diſcoveries and progreſſive ſettlement of North America in their chronological order. The following recapitulation will comprehend the whole in one view.

* This ſettlement was made in violation of the Treaty, in 1768, at Fort Stanwix, which expreſsly ſtipulates, that this tract of country ſhould be reſerved for the weſtern nations to hunt upon, until they and the crown of England ſhould otherwiſe agree. This has been one great cauſe of the enmity of thoſe Indian nations to the Virginians.

Names

Names of places.	*When ſettled.*	*By whom.*
Quebec,	1608	By the French.
Virginia,	June 10, 1610	By Lord De la War.
Newfoundland,	June, 1610	By Governor John Guy.
New-York, New-Jerſey,	about 1614	By the Dutch.
Plymouth,	1620	By part of Mr. Robinſon's congregation.
New-Hampſhire,	1623	By a ſmall Engliſh colony near the mouth of Piſcataqua river.
Delaware, Pennſylvania,	1627	By the Swedes and Fins.
Maſſachuſett's Bay,	1628	By Capt. John Endicot and company.
Maryland,	1633	By Lord Baltimore, with a colony of Roman Catholics.
Connecticut,	1635	By Mr. Fenwick, at Saybrook, near the mouth of Connecticut river.
Rhode-Iſland,	1635	By Mr. Roger Williams and his perſecuted brethren.
New-Jerſey,	1664	Granted to the Duke of York by Charles II. and made a diſtinct government, and ſettled ſome time before this by the Engliſh.
South Carolina,	1669	By Governor Sayle.
Pennſylvania,	1682	By William Penn, with a colony of Quakers.
North-Carolina,	about 1728	Erected into a ſeparate government, ſettled before by the Engliſh.
Georgia,	1732	By General Oglethorpe.
Kentucky,	1773	By Col. Daniel Boon.
Vermont,	about 1764	By emigrants from Connecticut and other parts of New England.
Territory N. W. of Ohio river,	1787	By the Ohio and other companies.

The above dates are from the periods, when the firſt permanent ſettlements were made.

NORTH AMERICA.

BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

NORTH AMERICA comprehends all that part of the weſtern continent which lies north of the Iſthmus of Darien, extending north and ſouth from about the 10th degree north latitude to the north pole; and eaſt and weſt from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, between the 45th and 165th degrees weſt longitude from London. Beyond the 70th degree N. Lat. few diſcoveries have been made. In July 1779, Capt. Cook proceeded as far as lat. 71°, when he came to a ſolid body of ice extending from continent to continent.

BAYS, SOUNDS, STRAITS AND ISLANDS.—Of theſe (except thoſe in the United States, which we ſhall deſcribe under that head) we know little more than their names. Baffin's Bay, lying between the 70th and 80th degrees N. Lat. is the largeſt and moſt northern, that has yet been diſcovered in North America. It opens into the Atlantic ocean through Baffin's and Davis's Straits, between Cape Chidley, on the Labrador coaſt, and Cape Farewell. It communicates with Hudſon's Bay to the ſouth, through a cluſter of iſlands. In this capacious bay or gulph is James Iſland, the ſouth point of which is called Cape Bedford; and the ſmaller iſlands of Waygate and Diſko. Davis's Straits ſeparate Greenland from the American continent, and are between Cape Walſingham, on James Iſland, and South Bay in Greenland, where they are about 60 leagues broad, and extend from the 67th to the 71ſt degrees of latitude above Diſko iſland. The moſt ſouthern point of Greenland is called Cape Farewell.

Hudſon's Bay took its name from Henry Hudſon, who diſcovered it in 1610. It lies between 51 and 69 degrees of north latitude. The eaſtern boundary of the Bay is Terra de Labrador; the northern part has a ſtraight coaſt, facing the bay, guarded with a line of iſles innumerable. A vaſt bay, called the Archiwinnipy Sea, lies within it, and opens into Hudſon's Bay, by means of gulph Hazard, through which the Beluga whales paſs in great numbers. The entrance of the bay, from the Atlantic ocean, after leaving, to the north, Cape Farewell and Davis's Straits, is between Reſolution iſles on the north, and Button's iſles, on the Labrador coaſt, to the ſouth, forming the eaſtern extremity of Hudſon's Straits.

The

The coaſts are very high, rocky and rugged at top; in ſome places precipitous, but ſometimes exhibit extenſive beaches. The iſlands of Saliſbury, Nottingham, and Digges are very lofty and naked. The depth of water in the middle of the bay is 140 fathoms. From Cape Churchill to the ſouth end of the bay are regular ſoundings; near the ſhore, ſhallow, with muddy or ſandy bottom. To the northward of Churchill, the ſoundings are irregular, the bottom rocky, and in ſome parts the rocks appear above the ſurface at low water.

James's Bay lies at the bottom, or moſt ſouthern part of Hudſon's Bay, with which it communicates, and divides New Britain from South Wales. To the northweſtward of Hudſon's Bay is an extenſive chain of lakes, among which is Lake Menichlich, lat. 61°, long. 105° W. North of this is Lake Dobount, to the northward of which lies the extenſive country of the northern Indians. Weſt of theſe lakes, between the latitudes of 60 and 66 degrees, after paſſing a large cluſter of unnamed lakes, lies the lake or ſea Arathapeſcow, whoſe ſouthern ſhores are inhabited by the Arathapeſcow Indians. North of this, and near the Arctic circle, is Lake Edlande, around which live the Dog ribbed Indians. Further north is Buffaloe lake, near which, is Copper Mine river, in lat. 72° N. and long. 119° W. of Greenwich. The Copper Mine Indians inhabit this country.

Between Copper Mine river, which, according to Mr. Herne, empties into the Northern ſea, where the tide riſes 12 or 14 feet, and which in its whole courſe is encumbered with ſhoals and falls, and the North-weſt coaſt of America, is an extenſive tract of unexplored country. As you deſcend from north to ſouth on the weſtern coaſt of America, juſt ſouth of the Arctic circle, you come to Cape Prince of Wales, oppoſite Eaſt Cape on the eaſtern continent; and here the two continents approach neareſt to each other. Proceeding ſouthward you paſs Norton Sound, Cape Stephen's, Shoalneſs, Briſtol Bay, Prince William's Sound, Cook's River, Admiralty Bay, and Port Mulgrave, Nootka Sound, &c. From Nootka Sound proceeding ſouth, you paſs the unexplored country of New Albion, thence to California, and New Mexico.

DIVISIONS OF NORTH AMERICA.

THE vaſt tract of country, bounded weſt by the Pacific Ocean, ſouth and eaſt by California, New Mexico, and Louiſiana—the United States, Canada and the Atlantic Ocean, and extending as far north as the country is habitable (a few ſcattered Engliſh, French, and ſome other European ſettlements excepted) is inhabited wholly by various nations and tribes of Indians. The Indians alſo poſſeſs large tracts of country within the Spaniſh, American and Britiſh dominions. Thoſe parts of North America not inhabited by Indians, belong, if we include Greenland, to Denmark, Great Britain, the American States, and Spain. Spain claims Eaſt and Weſt Florida, and all weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſouth of the northern boundaries of Louiſiana, New Mexico and California. Great Britain claims all the country inhabited by Europeans, lying north and eaſt of the United States, except Greenland, which belongs to Denmark. The remaining part is the territory of the Fifteen United States. The particular Provinces and States, are exhibited in the following table:

TABLE.

Belonging to.	*Countries, Provinces, and States.*	*Number of Inhabitants.*	*Chief Towns.*
United States of America.	Vermont	85,539	Windſor, Rutland
	New Hampſhire	141,885	Portſmouth, Concord
	Maſſachuſetts	387,787	Boſton, Salem, Newbury Port
	Diſtrict of Maine	96,540	Portland, Hallowell
	Rhode Iſland	68,825	Newport, Providence
	Connecticut	237,946	New Haven, Hartford
	New York	340,120	New York, Albany
	New Jerſey	184,139	Trenton, Burlington, Brunſwick
	Pennſylvania	434,373	Philadelphia, Lancaſter
	Delaware	59,094	Dover, Wilmington, Newcaſtle
	Maryland	319,728	Annapolis, Baltimore
	Virginia	747,610	Richmond, Peterſburgh, Norfolk
	Kentucky	73,677	Lexington
	North Carolina	393,751	Newbern, Edenton, Halifax
	South Carolina	249,073	Charleſton, Columbia
	Georgia	82,548	Savannah, Auguſta
	Territory S. of Ohio	35,691	Abingdon
	Territory N. W. of Ohio		Marietta
Britiſh Provinces.	New Britain	unknown	
	Upper Canada	20,000	Kingſton, Detroit, Niagara
	Lower Canada	130,000	Quebec, Montreal
	Cape Breton I.	1,000	Sidney, Louiſburgh
	New Brunſwick	35,000	Fredericktown
	Nova Scotia		Halifax
	S. John's Iſl. in 1783	5,000	Charlottetown
	Newfoundland Iſland	7,000	Placentia, St. John's
Denm. Span. Provin.	Greenland	10,000	New Herrnhut
	Eaſt Florida		Auguſtine
	Weſt Florida		Penſacola
	Louiſiana		New Orleans
	New Mexico		St. Fee
	California		St. Juan
	Mexico, or New Spain		Mexico

THE

THE UNITED STATES.

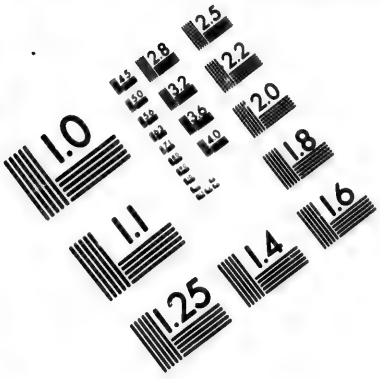
SITUATION AND EXTENT.

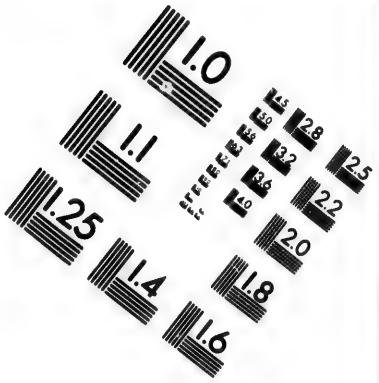
Miles.		Degrees.
Length 1250 Breadth 1040	Between	31° and 46° North Latitude. 8° E. and 22° W. Long. from Philadelphia. 64° and 96° W. Longitude from London.

BOUNDARIES.

BOUNDED north and east by British America, or the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and New Brunſwick; ſoutheaſt, by the Atlantic Ocean; ſouth, by Eaſt and Weſt Florida; weſt, by the river Miſſiſſippi.

In the treaty of peace, concluded in 1783, the limits of the American United States are more particularly defined in the words following: "And that all diſputes which might ariſe in future on the ſubject of the boundaries of the ſaid United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and ſhall be their boundaries, viz. From the north-weſt angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. That angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the ſource of St. Croix River to the Highlands, along the ſaid Highlands, which divide thoſe rivers that empty themſelves into the river St. Lawrence, from thoſe which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-weſternmoſt head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due weſt on the ſaid latitude, until it ſtrikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of the ſaid river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of the ſaid Lake, until it ſtrikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of the ſaid communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of the ſaid lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence through the middle of the ſaid lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Iſles Royal and Philipeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of the ſaid Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods to the ſaid Lake of the Woods; thence through the ſaid lake to the moſt northweſtern point thereof, and from thence, on a due weſt courſe, to the River Miſſiſſippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the ſaid River Miſſiſſippi, until it ſhall interſect the northernmoſt part of the thirty-firſt degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due eaſt from the determination of the line laſt mentioned, in the latitude of





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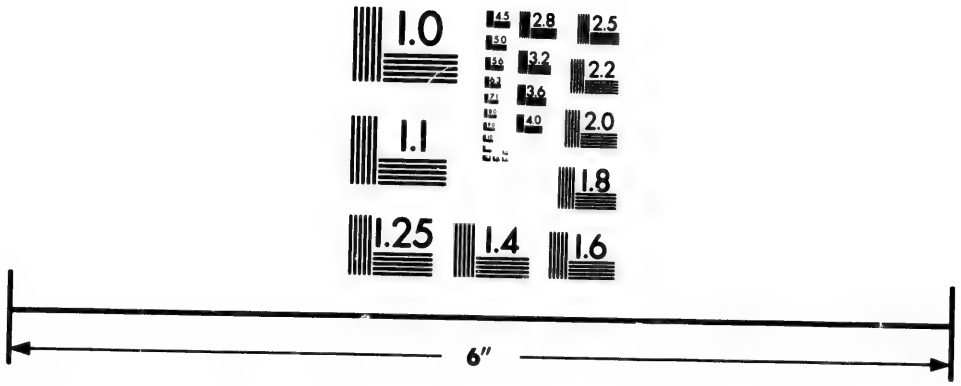

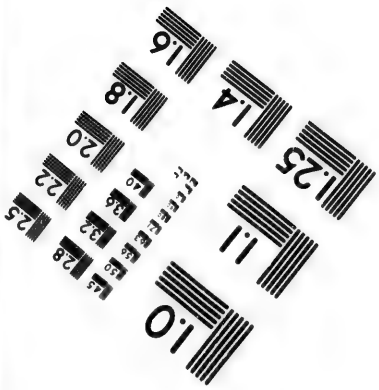

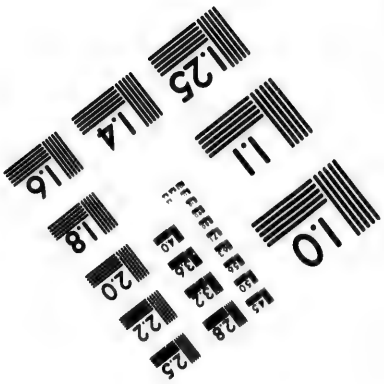

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thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the River Apalachicola, or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence ſtrait to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean; eaſt, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy, to its ſource; and from its ſource directly north, to the aforeſaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, from thoſe which fall into the River St. Lawrence, comprehending all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due eaſt from the points where the aforeſaid boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and Eaſt-Florida on the other, ſhall reſpectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting ſuch iſlands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the ſaid province of Nova-Scotia."

The following calculations were made from actual meaſurement of the beſt maps, by THOMAS HUTCHINS, *geographer to the United States.*

The territory of the United States contains by computation a million of ſquare miles, in which are 640,000,000 of acres

Deduct for water 51,000,000

Acres of land in the United States, 589,000,000

That part of the United States comprehended between the weſt boundary line of Pennſylvania on the eaſt, the boundary line between Great-Britain and the United States, extending from the river St. Croix to the north-weſt extremity of the Lake of the woods on the north, the river Miſſiſſippi, to the mouth of the Ohio on the weſt, and the river Ohio on the ſouth to the aforementioned bounds of Pennſylvania, contains by computation about four hundred and eleven thouſand ſquare miles, in which are 263,040,000 acres

Deduct for water 43,040,000

To be diſpoſed of by order of Congreſs, when purchaſed of the Indians. } 220,000,000 of acres.

The whole of this immenſe extent of unappropriated weſtern territory, containing as above ſtated, 220,000,000 of acres, and ſeveral large tracts ſouth of the Ohio*, have been, by the ceſſion of ſome of the

* Ceded by North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, with certain reſervation for the Indians and other purpoſes, as will be mentioned hereafter.

original

original thirteen ſtates, and by the treaty of peace, transferred to the federal government, and are pledged as a fund for ſinking the debt of the United States. Of this territory the Indians now poſſeſs a very large proportion. Mr. Jefferſon, in his report to Congreſs, Nov. 8, 1791, deſcribes the boundary line between us and the Indians, as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Cayahogana, which falls into the ſouthernmoſt part of Lake Erie, and running up the river to the portage, between that and the Tuſcaroro or N. E. branch of Muſkingum; then down the ſaid branch to the forks, at the croſſing place above Fort Lawrence; then weſtwardly, towards the portage of the Great Miami, to the main branch of that river, then down the Miami, to the fork of that river, next below the old fort, which was taken by the French in 1752; thence due weſt to the river De la Panſe, a branch of the Wabaſh, and down that river to the Wabaſh. So far the line is preciſely determined, and cleared of the claims of the Indians. The tract comprehending the whole country within the above deſcribed line, the Wabaſh, the Ohio, and the weſtern limits of Pennſylvania, contains about 55,000 ſquare miles. How far on the weſtern ſide of the Wabaſh, the ſouthern boundary of the Indians has been defined, we know not. It is only underſtood, in general, that their title to the lower country, between that river and the Illinois, was formerly extinguiſhed by the French, while in their poſſeſſion.

Eſtimate of the number of acres of water, north and weſtward of the river Ohio, within the territory of the United States.

	Acres.
In Lake Superior,	21,952,780
Lake of the Woods,	1,133,800
Lake Rain, &c.	165,200
Red Lake,	551,000
Lake Michigan,	10,368,000
Bay Puan,	1,216,000
Lake Huron,	5,009,920
Lake St. Clair,	89,500
Lake Erie, weſtern part,	2,252,800
Sundry ſmall lakes and rivers,	301,000
	43,040,000

Eſtimate of the number of acres of water within the Thirteen United States.

In the lakes as before mentioned - - -		43,040,000
In Lake Erie, weſtward of the line extending from the north-weſt corner of Pennſylvania, due north, to the boundary between the Britiſh territory and the United States, -	410,000	
In Lake Ontario, - -	2,390,000	
Lake Champlain, - -	500,000	
Cheſapeek bay, - -	1,700,000	
Albemarle bay, - - -	330,000	
Delaware bay, - - -	630,000	
All the rivers within the thirteen ſtates, including the Ohio, - -	2,000,000	
		7,960,000
Total		51,000,000

LAKES AND RIVERS.

It may in truth be ſaid, that no part of the world is ſo well watered with ſprings, rivulets, rivers, and lakes, as the territory of the United States. By means of theſe various ſtreams and collections of water, the whole country is chequered into iſlands and peninſulas. The United States, and indeed all parts of North America, ſeem to have been formed by nature for the moſt intimate union. The facilities of navigation render the communication between the ports of Georgia and New-Hampſhire, far more expeditious and practicable, than between thoſe of Provence and Picardy in France; Cornwall and Caithneſs, in Great-Britain; or Gallicia and Catalonia, in Spain. The canals propoſed between Suſquehannah, and Delaware, between Paſquetank and Elizabeth rivers, in Virginia, and between the Schuylkill and Suſquehannah, will open a communication from the Carolinas to the weſtern countries of Pennſylvania and New-York. The improvements of the Potomak, will give a paſſage from the ſouthern States, to the weſtern parts of Virginia, Maryland, Pennſylvania, and even to the lakes. From Detroit, to Alexandria, on the Patomak, ſix hundred and ſeven miles, are but two carrying places, which together do not exceed the diſtance of forty miles. The canals of Delaware and Cheſapeek will open the communication from South-Carolina to New-Jerſey, Delaware, the moſt populous parts of Pennſylvania, and the midland counties of New

New-York. Were theſe and the propoſed canal between Aſhley and Cooper rivers in South Carolina, the canals in the northern parts of the ſtate of New York, and thoſe of Maſſachuſetts and New Hampſhire all opened, North America would thereby be converted into a cluſter of large and fertile iſlands, communicating with each other with eaſe and little expence, and in many inſtances without the uncertainty or danger of the ſeas.

There is nothing in other parts of the globe which reſembles the prodigious chain of lakes in this part of the World. They may properly be termed inland ſeas of freſh water; and even thoſe of the ſecond or third claſs in magnitude, are of larger circuit than the greateſt lake in the eaſtern continent. Some of the moſt northern lakes belonging to the United States, have never been ſurveyed, or even viſited by the white people; of courſe we have no deſcription of them which can be relied on as accurate. Others have been partially ſurveyed, and their relative ſituation determined.—The beſt account of them which we have been able to procure is as follows:

The Lake of the Woods, the moſt northern in the United States, is ſo called from the large quantities of wood growing on its banks; ſuch as oaks, pines, firs, ſpruce, &c. This lake lies nearly eaſt of the ſouth end of Lake Winnepeck, and is ſuppoſed to be the ſource or conductor of one branch of the river Bourbon, if there be ſuch a river. Its length from eaſt to weſt is ſaid to be about ſeventy miles, and in ſome places it is forty miles wide. The Killiſtinoe Indians encamp on its borders to fiſh and hunt. This lake is the communication between the Lakes Winnepeck and Bourbon, and Lake Superior.

Rainy or Long Lake lies eaſt of the Lake of the Woods, and is ſaid to be nearly an hundred miles long, and in no part more than twenty miles wide.

Eaſtward of this lake, lie ſeveral ſmall ones, which extend in a ſtring to the great carrying place, and from thence into Lake Superior. Between theſe little lakes are ſeveral carrying places, which render the trade to the north-weſt difficult, and exceedingly tedious, as it takes two years to make one voyage from Michillimakkinak to theſe parts.

Lake Superior, formerly termed the Upper Lake, from its northern ſituation, is ſo called from its magnitude, it being the largeſt on the continent. It may juſtly be termed the Caſpian of America, and is ſuppoſed to be the largeſt body of freſh water on the globe. According to the French charts it is fifteen hundred miles in circumference. A great part of the coaſt is bounded by rocks and uneven ground. The water is pure and tranſparent, and appears, generally, throughout the lake, to lie upon a bed of huge rocks. It has been remarked, in

regard to the waters of this lake, with how much truth I pretend not to ſay, that although their ſurface, during the heat of ſummer, is impregnated with no ſmall degree of warmth, yet on letting down a cup to the depth of about a fathom, the water drawn from thence is cool and refreſhing.

The ſituation of this lake, from the moſt accurate obſervations which have yet been made, lies between forty ſix and fifty degrees of north latitude, and between nine and eighteen degrees of weſt longitude, from the meridian of Philadelphia.

There are many iſlands in this lake, two of them have each land enough if proper for cultivation, to form a conſiderable province; eſpecially Iſle Royal, which is not leſs than an hundred miles long, and in many places forty broad. The natives ſuppoſe theſe iſlands are the reſidence of the Great Spirit.

Two very large rivers empty themſelves into this lake, on the north and north-eaſt ſide; one is called the Nipegon, which leads to a tribe of the Chipeways, who inhabit theborders of a lake of the ſame name, and the other is the Michipicooton river, the ſource of which is towards James's Bay, from whence there is but a ſhort portage to another river, which empties itſelf into that bay.

Not far from the Nipegon is a ſmall river, that juſt before it enters the lake, has a perpendicular fall from the top of a mountain, of more than one hundred feet. It is very narrow, and appears at a diſtance like a white garter ſuſpended in the air. There are upwards of thirty other rivers, which empty themſelves into this lake, ſome of which are of a conſiderable ſize. On the ſouth ſide of it is a remarkable point or cape of about ſixty miles in length, called Point Chegomegan. About a hundred miles weſt of this cape, a conſiderable river falls into the lake, the head of which is compoſed of a great aſſemblage of ſmall ſtreams. This river is remarkable for the abundance of virgin copper that is found on and near its banks. Many ſmall iſlands, particularly on the eaſtern ſhores, abound with copper ore, lying in beds, with the appearance of copperas. This metal might be eaſily made a very advantageous article of commerce. This lake abounds with fiſh, particularly trout and ſturgeon; the former weigh from twelve to fifty pounds, and are caught almoſt any ſeaſon in the year in great plenty. Storms affect this lake as much as they do the Atlantic Ocean; the waves run as high, and the navigation is equally dangerous. It diſcharges its waters from the ſouth-eaſt corner through the Straits of St. Marie, which are about forty miles long. Near the upper end of theſe ſtraits is a rapid, which though it is impoſſible for canoes to aſcend, yet, when conducted by careful pilots, may be deſcended without danger.

Though

Though Lake Superior is ſupplied by near forty rivers, many of which are large, yet it does not appear that one tenth part of the waters which are conveyed into it by theſe rivers, is diſcharged by the abovementioned ſtrait. Such a ſuperabundance of water can be diſpoſed of only by evaporation*. The entrance into this lake from the ſtraits of St. Marie, affords one of the moſt pleaſing proſpects in the world. On the left may be ſeen many beautiful little iſlands, that extend a conſiderable way before you; and on the right, an agreeable ſucceſſion of ſmall points of land, that project a little way into the water, and contribute, with the iſlands, to render this delightful baſon calm, and ſecure from thoſe tempeſtuous winds, by which the adjoining lake is frequently troubled.

Lake Huron, into which you enter through the ſtraits of St. Marie is next in magnitude to Lake Superior. It lies between 43° 30 and 46° 30′ of north latitude, and between ſix and eight degrees weſt longitude. Its circumference is about one thouſand miles. On the north ſide of this lake is an iſland one hundred miles in length, and no more than eight miles broard. It is called Manataulin, ſignifying a place of ſpirits, and is conſidered as ſacred by the Indians. On the ſouth weſt part of this lake is Saganaum Bay, about eighty miles in length, and about eighteen or twenty miles broad. Thunder Bay ſo called from the thunder that is frequently heard there, lies about half

* That ſuch a ſuperabundance of water ſhould be diſpoſed of by evaporation is no ſingular circumſtance. There are ſome ſeas in which there is a pretty juſt balance between the waters received from rivers, brooks, &c. and the waſte by evaporation. Of this the Caſpian Sea, in Aſia, affords an inſtance; which, though it receives ſeveral large rivers, has no outlet. There are others, to ſpeak in borrowed language, whoſe expence exceeds their income; and theſe would ſoon become bankrupt, were it not for the ſupplies which they conſtantly receive from larger collections of water, with which they are connected; ſuch are the Black and Mediterranean ſeas; into the former of which there is a conſtant current from the Mediterranean, through the Boſphorus of Thrace; and into the latter, from the Atlantic, though the Straits of Gibraltar. Others again derive more from their tributary ſtreams than they loſe by evaporation. Theſe give riſe to large rivers. Of this kind are the Dambea in Africa, the Winipiſeogee in New Hampſhire, Lake Superior, and other waters in North America; and the quantity they diſcharge, is only the difference between the influx and the evaporation. It is obſervable, that on the ſhores the evaporation is much greater than at a diſtance from them on the ocean. The remarkable cluſter of lakes in the middle of North America, of which Lake Superior is one, was doubtleſs deſigned, by a divine Providence, to furniſh the interior parts of the country with that ſupply of vapours, without which, like the interior parts of Africa, they muſt have been a mere deſert. It may be thought equally ſurprizing that there ſhould be any water at all diſcharged from them, as that the quantity ſhould bear ſo ſmall a proportion to what they receive.

way

way between Saganaum Bay and the north-weſt corner of the lake. It is about nine miles acroſs either way. The fiſh are the ſame as in Lake Superior. At the north-weſt corner, this lake communicates with Lake Michigan by the Straits of Michillimakkinak.

Many of the Chipeway Indians live ſcattered around this lake; particularly near Saganaum Bay. On its banks are found amazing quantities of ſand cherries.

MICHIGAN LAKE, lies between latitude 42° 10′ and 46° 30′ north; and between 11° and 13° weſt long. from Philadelphia. Its computed length is 280 miles from north to ſouth; its breadth from ſixty to ſeventy miles. It is navigable for ſhipping of any burthen; and at the north-eaſtern part communicates with Lake Huron, by a ſtrait ſix miles broad, on the ſouth ſide of which ſtands fort Michillimakkinak, which is the name of the ſtrait. In this lake are ſeveral kinds of fiſh, particularly trout of an excellent quality, weighing from twenty to ſixty pounds, and ſome have been taken in the Straits of Michillimakkinak, of ninety pounds. Weſtward of this lake are large meadows, ſaid to extend to the Miſſiſſippi. It receives a number of rivers from the weſt and eaſt, among which is the river St. Joſeph, very rapid and full of Iſlands; it ſprings from a number of ſmall lakes, a little to the north-weſt of the Miami village, and runs north-weſt into the ſouth-eaſt part of the lake. On the north ſide of this river is fort St. Joſeph, from which there is a road, bearing north of eaſt, to Detroit. The Powtewatamie Indians, who have about two hundred fighting men, inhabit this river oppoſite fort St. Joſeph.

Between Lake Michigan on the weſt, and Lakes Huron, St. Clair, and the weſt end of Erie on the eaſt, is a fine tract of country, peninſulated, more than two hundred and fifty miles in length, and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred in breadth. The banks of the lakes, for a few miles inland, are ſandy and barren, producing a few pines, ſhrub oaks, and cedars. Back of this, from either lake, the timber is heavy and good, and the ſoil luxuriant.

LAKE ST. CLARE, lies about half way between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, and is about ninety miles in circumference. It receives the waters of the three great lakes, Superior, Michigan and Huron, and diſcharges them through the river or ſtrait, called Detroit, into Lake Erie. This lake is of an oval form, and navigable for large veſſels. The fort of Detroit is ſituated on the weſtern bank of the river of the ſame name, about nine miles below lake St. Clair. The ſettlements are extended on both ſides of the ſtrait or river for many miles towards Lake Erie, and ſome few above the fort.

LAKE

LAKE ERIE, is ſituated between forty-one and forty-three degrees of north latitude, and between 3° 40′ and 8° degrees weſt longitude. It is nearly three hundred miles long, from eaſt to weſt, and about forty in its broadeſt part. A point of land projects from the north ſide into this lake, ſeveral miles, towards the ſouth-eaſt, called Long Point. The iſlands and banks towards the weſt end of the lake are ſo infeſted with rattle-ſnakes, as to render it dangerous to land on them. The lake is covered near the banks of the iſlands with the large pond-lily; the leaves of which lie on the ſurface of the water ſo thick, as to cover it entirely for many acres together; on theſe, in the ſummer ſeaſon, lie myriads of water-ſnakes baſking in the ſun. Of the venomous ſerpents which infeſt this lake, the hiſſing ſnake is the moſt remarkable. It is about eighteen inches long, ſmall and ſpeckled. When you approach it, it flattens itſelf in a moment, and its ſpots, which are of various colours, become viſibly brighter through rage; at the ſame time it blows from its mouth, with great force, a ſubtil wind, ſaid to be of a nauſeous ſmell; and if drawn in with the breath of the unwary traveller, will infallibly bring on a decline, that in a few months muſt prove mortal. No remedy has yet been found to counteract its baneful influence. This lake is of a more dangerous navigation than any of the others, on account of the craggy rocks which project into the water, in a perpendicular direction, many miles together from the northern ſhore, affording no ſhelter from ſtorms. Preſque Iſle is on the ſouth-eaſt ſhore of this lake, about lat. 42° 10′. From this to Fort Le Beuf, on French Creek, is a portage of fifty-one miles and a half. About twenty miles north-eaſt of this another portage of nine miles and a quarter, between Chatoughque Creek, emptying into Lake Erie, and Chatoughque Lake, a water of Allegany river.

Fort Erie ſtands on the northern ſhore of Lake Erie, and the weſt bank of Niagara river, in Upper Canada. This lake at its north-eaſt end, communicates with Lake Ontario by the river Niagara, which runs from ſouth to north, about thirty miles, including its windings, embracing in its courſe Grand Iſland and receiving Tonewanto Creek, from the eaſt. About the middle of this river are the celebrated falls of Niagara, which are reckoned one of the greateſt natural curioſities in the world. The waters which ſupply the river Niagara riſe near two thouſand miles to the north-weſt, and paſſing through the lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron and Erie, receiving in their courſe, conſtant accumulations; at length, with aſtoniſhing grandeur, ruſh down a ſtupendous precipice of one hundred and fifty feet perpendicular; and in a ſtrong rapid, that extends to the diſtance of eight or nine miles below, fall near as much more: the river then loſes itſelf in Lake Ontario. The

noiſe of theſe falls, in a clear day and fair wind, may be heard between forty and fifty miles. When the water ſtrikes the bottom, its ſpray riſes a great height in the air, occaſioning a thick cloud of vapours, on which the ſun, when it ſhines, paints a beautiful rainbow. Fort Niagara is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of Niagara river, at its entrance into Lake Ontario. This fort, and that at Detroit, contrary to the treaty of 1783, are yet in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh Government.

Lake Ontario, is ſituated between forty-three and forty-five degrees north latitude, and between one and five weſt longitude. Its form is nearly oval. Its greateſt length is from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt, and in circumference about ſix hundred miles. It abounds with fiſh of an excellent flavour, among which are the Oſwego baſs, weighing three or four pounds. It receives the waters of the Cheneſſee river from the ſouth, and of Onondago, at Fort Oſwego, from the ſouth-eaſt, by which it communicates, through Lake Oneida and Wood Creek, with Mohawk river. On the north-eaſt, this lake diſcharges itſelf through the river Cataraqui, which at Montreal, takes the name of St. Lawrence, into the Atlantic Ocean.

About eight miles from the weſt end of Lake Ontario is a curious cavern, which the Meſſiſaugas Indians call *Manito' ah wigwam*, or *houſe of the Devil*. The mountains which border on the lake, at this place, break off abruptly, and form a precipice of two hundred feet perpendicular deſcent; at the bottom of which the cavern begins. The firſt opening is large enough for three men conveniently to walk abreaſt. It continues of this bigneſs for ſeventy yards in a horizontal direction. Then it falls almoſt perpendicularly fifty yards, which may be deſcended by irregular ſteps from one to four feet diſtant from each other.. It then continues forty yards horizontally, at the end of which is another perpendicular deſcent, down which there are no ſteps. The cold here is intenſe. In ſpring and autumn, there are, once in about a week, exploſions from this cavern, which ſhake the ground for ſixteen miles round.

Lake Champlain, is next in ſize to Lake Ontario, and lies nearly eaſt from it, forming a part of the dividing line between the ſtate of New York and the ſtate of Vermont. It took its name from a French governor, whoſe name was Champlain, who was drowned in it. It was before called Corlaer's Lake. It is about eighty miles in length from north to ſouth, and in its broadeſt part, fourteen. It is well ſtored with fiſh, and the land on its borders and on the banks of its rivers, is good. Crown Point and Ticonderoga are ſituated on the banks of this lake, near the ſouthern part of it.

Lake

Lake George, lies to the ſouthward of Champlain, and is a moſt clear, beautiful collection of water, about thirty-ſix miles long and from one to ſeven miles wide. It emboſoms more than two hundred iſlands, ſome ſay three hundred and ſixty-five; very few of which are any thing more than barren rock, covered with heath, and a few cedar, ſpruce, and hemlock trees, and ſhrubs, that harbor abundance of rattle-ſnakes. On each ſide it is ſkirted by prodigious mountains, from which large quantities of red cedar are every year carried to New York, for ſhip timber. The lake is full of fiſhes, and ſome of the beſt kind; among which are the black Oſwego baſs and large ſpeckled trouts. The water of this lake is about one hundred feet above the level of Lake Champlain. The portage between the two lakes is one mile and a half; but with a ſmall expence might be reduced to ſixty yards; and with one or two locks might be made navigable through for batteaux. This lake, in the French charts, is called Lake St. Sacrament; and it is ſaid that the Roman Catholics, in former times, were at the pains to procure this water for ſacramental uſes in all their Churches in Canada: hence probably it derived its name.

The Mississippi river, is the great reſervoir of the waters of the Ohio and Illinois, and their numerous branches from the eaſt; and of the Miſſouri and other rivers from the weſt. Theſe mighty ſtreams united, are borne down with increaſing impetuoſity, through vaſt foreſts and meadows, and diſcharged into the Gulf of Mexico. The great length and uncommon depth of this river, and the exceſſive muddineſs and ſalubrious quality of its waters, after its junction with the Miſſouri, are very ſingular *. The direction of the channel is ſo crooked, that from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, a diſtance which does not exceed four hundred and ſixty miles in a ſtrait line, is about eight hundred and fifty-ſix by water. It may be ſhortened at leaſt two hundred and fifty miles, by cutting acroſs eight or ten necks of land, ſome of which are not thirty yards wide. Charlevoix relates that in the year 1722, at Point Coupeé, or Cut Point, the river made a great turn, and ſome Canadians, by deepening the channel of a ſmall brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuoſity of the ſtream was ſo violent, and

* In a half pint tumbler of this water has been found a ſediment of one inch. It is, notwithſtanding, extremely wholeſome and well taſted, and very cool in the hotteſt ſeaſons of the year; the rowers, who are there employed, drink of it when they are in the ſtrongeſt perſpiration, and never receive any bad effects from it. The inhabitants of New Orleans uſe no other water than that of this river, which, by being kept in jars, becomes perfectly clear.

the ſoil, of ſo rich and looſe a quality, that, in a ſhort time, the point was entirely cut through, and travellers ſaved fourteen leagues of their voyage. The old bed has no water in it, the times of the periodical overflowings only excepted. The new channel has been ſince ſounded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding a bottom. Several other points, of great extent, have, in like manner, been ſince cut off, and the river diverted into new channels.

In the ſpring floods the Miſſiſſippi is very high, and the current ſo ſtrong, that it is with difficulty it can be aſcended; but this diſadvantage is in part compenſated by eddies or counter-currents, which are found in the bends cloſe to the banks of the river, which runs with nearly equal velocity againſt the ſtream, and aſſiſt the aſcending boats. The current at this ſeaſon deſcends at the rate of about five miles an hour. In autumn, when the waters are low, it does not run faſter than two miles, but it is rapid in ſuch parts of the river, as have cluſters of iſlands, ſhoals, and ſand-banks. The circumference of many of theſe ſhoals being ſeveral miles, the voyage is longer, and in ſome parts more dangerous than in the ſpring. The merchandize neceſſary for the commerce of the upper ſettlements on or near the Miſſiſſippi, is conveyed in the ſpring and autumn in batteaux, rowed by eighteen or twenty men, and carrying about forty tons. From New Orleans to the Illinois, the voyage is commonly performed in eight or ten weeks. A prodigious number of iſlands, ſome of which are of great extent, interſperſe this mighty river. Its depth increaſes as you aſcend it. Its waters, after overflowing its banks below the river Ibberville on the eaſt, and the river Rouge on the weſt, never return within them again, there being many outlets or ſtreams, by which they are conducted into the bay of Mexico, more eſpecially on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, dividing the country into numerous iſlands. Theſe ſingularities diſtinguiſh it from every other known river in the world. Below the Ibberville, the land begins to be very low on both ſides of the river acroſs the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer to the ſea. The iſland of New Orleans, and the lands oppoſite, are to all appearance of no long date; for in digging ever ſo little below the ſurface, you find water and great quantities of trees. The many beaches and breakers, as well inlets, which have ariſen out of the channel within the laſt half century, at the ſeveral mouths of the river, are convincing proofs that this peninſula was wholly formed in the ſame manner, And it is certain that when La Salle ſailed down the Miſſiſſippi to the ſea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at preſent.

The

The nearer you approach to the ſea, this truth becomes more ſtriking. The bars that croſs moſt of theſe ſmall channels opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of the trees carried down with the ſtreams; one of which ſtopped by its roots or branches in a ſhallow part, is ſufficient to obſtruct the paſſage of thouſands more, and to fix them at the ſame place. Aſtoniſhing collections of trees are daily ſeen in paſſing between the Balize and the Miſſouri. No human force being ſufficient for removing them, the mud carried down by the river ſerves to bind and cement them together. They are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their length and breadth, but adds another layer to their height. In leſs than ten years time, canes, ſhrubs, and aquatic timber grow on them, and form points and iſlands, which forcibly ſhift the bed of the river.

Nothing can be aſſerted with certainty, reſpecting the length of this river. Its ſource is not known, but ſuppoſed to be upwards of three thouſand miles from the ſea, as the river runs. We only know, that from St. Anthony's falls, in lat. 45°, it glides with a pleaſant, clear current, and receives many large and very extenſive tributary ſtreams before its junction with the Miſſouri, without greatly increaſing the breadth of the Miſſiſſippi, though they do its depth and rapidity. The muddy waters of the Miſſouri diſcolour the lower part of the river, till it empties itſelf into the bay of Mexico. The Miſſouri is a longer, broader, and deeper river than the Miſſiſſippi, and affords a more extenſive navigation; it is, in fact, the principal river, contributing more to the common ſtream than does the Miſſiſſippi It has been aſcended by French traders about twelve or thirteen hundred miles, and from the depth of water, and breadth of the river at that diſtance, it appeared to be navigable many miles further.

From the Miſſouri river, to nearly oppoſite the Ohio, the weſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi, is, ſome few places excepted, higher than the eaſtern. From Mine au fer, to the Ibberville, the eaſtern bank is higher than the weſtern, on which there is not a ſingle diſcernible riſing or eminence for the diſtance of ſeven hundred and fifty miles. From the Ibberville to the ſea there are no eminences on either ſide, though the eaſter bank appears rather the higheſt of the two, as far as the Engliſh turn. Thence the banks gradually diminiſh in height to the mouths of the river, where they are not more than two or three feet higher than the common ſurface of the water.

The ſlime which the annual floods of the river Miſſiſſippi leaves on the ſurface of the adjacent ſhores, may be compared with that of the Nile,

which depoſits a ſimilar manure, and for many centuries paſt has inſured the fertility of Egypt. When its banks ſhall have been cultivated as the excellency of its ſoil and temperature of the climate deſerve, its population will equal that of any other part of the world. The trade, wealth, and power of America, may, at ſome future period, depend, and perhaps centre, upon the Miſſiſſippi. This alſo reſembles the Nile in the number of its mouths, all iſſuing into a ſea, that may be compared to the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the north and ſouth by the two continents of Europe and Africa, as the Mexican Bay is by North and South America. The ſmaller mouths of this river might be eaſily ſtopped up, by means of thoſe floating trees with which the river, during the floods, is always covered. The whole force of the channel being united, the only opening then left would probably grow deep, and the bar be removed.

Whoever for a moment will caſt his eye over a map of the town of New Orleans, and the immenſe country around it, and view its advantageous ſituation, muſt be convinced that it, or ſome place near it, muſt, in proceſs of time, become one of the greateſt marts in the world.

The falls of St. Anthony, in about latitude 45°, received their name from Father Lewis Hennipin, a French miſſionary, who travelled into theſe parts about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty, and was the firſt European ever ſeen by the natives. The whole river, which is more than two hundred and fifty yards wide, falls perpendicularly about thirty feet, and forms a moſt pleaſing cataract. The rapids below, in the ſpace of three hundred yards, render the deſcent conſiderably greater; ſo that when viewed at a diſtance, they appear to be much higher than they really are. In the middle of the falls is a ſmall iſland, about forty feet broad, and ſomewhat longer, on which grow a few cragged hemlock and ſpruce trees; and about half way between this iſland and the eaſtern ſhore is a rock, lying at the very edge of the fall, in an oblique poſition, five or ſix feet broad, and thirty or forty long. Theſe falls are peculiarly ſituated, as they are approachable without the leaſt obſtruction from any intervening hill or precipice, which cannot be ſaid of any other conſiderable fall, perhaps, in the world. The country around is exceedingly beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain where the eye finds no relief, but compoſed of many gentle aſcents, which in the ſpring and ſummer are covered with verdure, and interſperſed with little groves, that give a pleaſing variety to the proſpect.

A little diſtance below the falls, is a ſmall iſland of about an acre and an half, on which grow a great number of oak trees, almoſt all the branches

branches of which, able to bear the weight, are, in the proper ſeaſon of the year, loaded with eagles neſts. Their inſtinctive wiſdom has taught them to chooſe this place, as it is ſecure, on account of the rapids above from the attacks either of man or beaſt.

From the beſt accounts that can be obtained from the Indians, we learn that the four moſt capital rivers on the continent of North America, viz. the St. Lawrence, the Miſſiſſippi, the river Bourbon, and the Oregon, or the river of the Weſt, have their ſources in the ſame neighbourhood. The waters of the three former, are ſaid to be within thirty miles of each other; the latter is rather farther weſt.

This ſhews that theſe parts are the higheſt lands in North America; and it is an inſtance not to be paralleled in the other three quarters of the globe, that four rivers of ſuch magnitude ſhould take their riſe together, and each, after running ſeparate courſes, diſcharge their waters into different oceans, at the diſtance of more than two thouſand miles from their ſources. For in their paſſage from this ſpot to the bay of St. Lawrence, eaſt; to the bay of Mexico, ſouth; to Hudſon's Bay, north; and to the bay at the ſtraits of Annian, weſt; where the river Oregon is ſuppoſed to empty itſelf, each of them traverſes upwards of two thouſand miles.

The Ohio is the moſt beautiful river on earth: its current gentle, waters clear, and boſom ſmooth and unbroken by rocks and rapids, a ſingle inſtance only excepted. It is one quarter of a mile wide at Fort Pitt: five hundred yards at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway: twelve hundred yards at Louiſville; and the rapids, half a mile, in ſome few places below Louiſville: but its general breadth does not exceed ſix hundred yards. In ſome places its width is not four hundred, and in one place particularly, far below the rapids, it is leſs than three hundred. Its breadth in no one place exceeds twelve hundred yards, and at its junction with the Miſſiſſippi, neither river is more than nine hundred yards wide.

Its length, as meaſured according to its meanders by Capt. Hutchins, is as follows:

		Miles.			Miles.
1	From Fort Pitt				
2	To Log's Town	18 ½	9	Muſkingum	25 ½
3	Big Beaver Creek	10 ¼	10	Little Kanaway	12 ¼
4	Little Beaver Creek	13 ½	11	Hockhocking	16
5	Yellow Creek	11 ¼	12	Great Kanhaway	82 ½
6	Two Creeks	21 ¼	13	Guiandot	43 ¼
7	Long Reach	53 ¼	14	Sandy Creek	14 ½
8	End Long Reach	16 ½	15	Sioto	48 ¼

To

16	To Little Miami	126 ½	23	Buffalo River	61 ½
17	Licking Creek	8	24	Wabaſh	97 ¼
18	Great Miami	26 ½	25	Big Cave	42 ¼
19	Big Bones	32 ½	26	Shawance River	52 ½
20	Kentucky	44 ½	27	Cherokee River	13
21	Rapids	77 ¼	28	Maſſac	11
22	Low Country	155 ¼	29	Miſſiſſippi	46
					1188

In common winter and ſpring floods, it affords thirty or forty feet water to Louiſville, twenty-five or thirty feet to La Tartes's rapids, forty miles above the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, and a ſufficiency at all times for light batteaux and canoes to Fort Pitt. The rapids are in latitude 28° 8′. The inundations of this river begin about the laſt of March, and ſubſide in July, although they frequently happen in other months, ſo that boats which carry three hundred barrels of flour, from the Monongahela, or Youhiogany, above Pittſburg, have ſeldom long to wait for water only. During theſe floods a firſt rate man of war may be carried from Louiſville to New Orleans, if the ſudden turns of the river and the ſtrength of its current will admit a ſafe ſteerage; and it is the opinion of Col. Morgan, who has had all the means of information, that a veſſel properly built for the ſea, to draw 12 feet water, when loaded, and carrying from twelve to ſixteen hundred barrels of flour, may be more eaſily, cheaply, and ſafely navigated from Pittſburgh to the ſea, than thoſe now in uſe; and that this matter only requires one man of capacity and enterprize to aſcertain it. He obſerves, that a veſſel intended to be rigged as a brigantine, ſnow, or ſhip, ſhould be double decked, take her maſts on deck, and be rowed to the Ibberville, below which are no iſlands, or to New Orleans, with twenty men, ſo as to afford reliefs of ten and ten in the night.—Such a veſſel, without the uſe of oars, he ſays, would float to New Orleans, from Pittſburg, twenty times in twenty-four hours. If this be ſo, what agreeable proſpects are preſented to thoſe who have fixed their reſidence in the weſtern country.

The rapids at Louiſville deſcend about ten feet in a length of a mile and a half. The bed of the river there is a ſolid rock, and is divided by an iſland into two branches, the ſouthern of which is about two hundred yards wide, but impaſſable in dry ſeaſons, about four months in the year. The bed of the northern branch is worn into channels by the conſtant courſe of the water, and attrition of the pebble ſtones carried on with it, ſo as to be paſſable for batteaux through the greater

part

part of the year. Yet it is thought that the ſouthern arm may be the moſt eaſily opened for conſtant navigation. The riſe of the waters in theſe rapids does not exceed twenty or twenty-five feet. The Americans have a fort, ſituated at the head of the falls. The ground on the ſouth ſide riſes very gradually.

At Fort Pitt the river Ohio loſes its name, branching into the Monongahela and Allegany.

The Monongahela is four hundred yards wide at its mouth. From thence is twelve or fifteen miles to the mouth of Yohogany, where it is three hundred yards wide. Thence to Redſtone by water is fifty miles, by land thirty. Then to the mouth of Cheat river by water forty miles, by land twenty-eight, the width continuing at three hundred yards, and the navigation good for boats. Thence the width is about two hundred yards to the weſtern fork, fifty miles higher, and the navigation frequently interrupted by rapids; which however with a ſwell of two or three feet, become very paſſable for boats. It then admits light boats, except in dry ſeaſons, ſixty-five miles further to the head of Tygart's valley, preſenting only ſome ſmall rapids and falls of one or two feet perpendicular, and leſſening in its width to twenty yards. The weſtern fork is navigable in the winter ten or fifteen miles towards the northern of the Little Kanhaway, and will admit a good waggon road to it. The Yohogany is the principal branch of this river. It paſſes through the Laurel mountain, about thirty miles from its mouth; is ſo far, from three hundred to one hundred and fifty yards wide, and the navigation much obſtructed in dry weather by rapids and ſhoals. In its paſſage through the mountain it makes very great falls, admitting no navigation for ten miles to the Turkey foot. Thence to the great croſſing, about twenty miles, it is again navigable, except in dry ſeaſons, and at this place is two hundred yards wide. The ſources of this river are divided from thoſe of the Potomak by the Allegany mountains. From the falls, where it interſects the Laurel mountain, to Fort Cumberland, the head of the navigation on the Potomak, is forty miles of very mountainous road. Wills's creek, at the mouth of which was Fort Cumberland, is thirty or forty yards wide, but affords no navigation as yet. Cheat river, another conſiderable branch of the Monongahela, is two hundred yards wide at its mouth, and one hundred yards at the Dunkard's ſettlement, fifty miles higher. It is navigable for boats, except in dry ſeaſons. The boundary between Virginia and Pennſylvania croſſes it about three or four miles above its mouth.

The Allegany river, with a ſlight ſwell, affords navigation for light batteaus to Venango, at the mouth of French creek, where it is two hundred yards wide; and it is practiſed even to Le Bœuf, from whence

there is a portage of fifteen miles and a half to Peſque Iſle on Lake Erie.

The country watered by the Miſſiſſippi and its eaſtern branches, conſtitutes five-eights of the United States; two of which five-eighths are occupied by the Ohio and its waters; the reſiduary ſtreams, which run into the Gulf of Mexico, the Atlantic, and the St. Lawrence, water the remaining three-eights.

Before we quit the ſubject of the weſtern waters, we will take a view of their principal connections with the Atlantic. Theſe are four, the Hudſon's river, the Potomak, St. Lawrence, and the Miſſiſſippi. Down the laſt will paſs all the heavy commodities. But the navigation through the Gulf of Mexico is ſo dangerous, and that up the Miſſiſſippi ſo difficult and tedious, that it is thought probable that European merchandize will not be conveyed through that channel. It is moſt likely that flour, timber, and other heavy articles will be floated on rafts, which will themſelves be an article for ſale as well as their loading, the navigators returning by land, as at preſent. There will therefore be a competition between the Hudſon, the Potomak, and the St. Lawrence rivers for the reſidue of the commerce of all the country weſtward of Lake Erie, on the waters of the lakes, of the Ohio, and upper parts of Miſſiſſippi. To go to New-York, that part of the trade which comes from the lakes or their waters muſt firſt be brought into Lake Erie. Between Lake Superior and its waters and Huron are the rapids of St. Marie, which will permit boats to paſs, but not larger veſſels. Lakes Huron and Michigan afford communication with Lake Erie by veſſels of eight feet draught. That part of the trade which comes from the waters of the Miſſiſſippi muſt paſs from them through ſome portage into the waters of the lakes. The portage from the Illinois river into a water of Michigan is of one mile only. From the Wabaſh, Miami, Muſkingum, or Allegany, are portages into the waters of Lake Erie, of from one to fifteen miles. When the commodities are brought into, and have paſſed through Lake Erie, there is between that and Ontario an interruption by the falls of Niagara, where the portage is of eight miles; and between Ontario and the Hudſon's river are portages of the falls of Onondago, a little above Oſwego, of a quarter of a mile; from Wood creek to the Mohawks river two miles; at the little falls of the Mohawks river half a mile, and from Schenectady to Albany ſixteen miles. Beſides the increaſe of expence occaſioned by frequent change of carriage, there is an increaſed riſk of pillage produced by committing merchandize to a greater number of hands ſucceſſively. The Potomak offers itſelf under the following circumſtance. For the trade of the lakes and their waters weſtward of Lake Erie, when it ſhall have

have entered that lake, it muſt coaſt along its ſouthern ſhore, on account of the number and excellence of its harbours, the northern, though the ſhorteſt, having few harbours, and theſe unſafe. Having reached Cayahoga, to proceed on to New-York it will have eight hundred and twenty-five miles, and five portages: whereas it is but four hundred and twenty-five miles to Alexandria, its emporium on the Potomak, if it turns into the Cayahoga, and paſſes through that, Bigbeaver, Ohio, Yahogany, or Monongalia and Cheat, and Potomak, and there are but two portages; the firſt of which between Cayahoga and Beaver may be removed by uniting the ſources of theſe waters, which are lakes in the neighbourhood of each other, and in a champaign country; the other from the waters of Ohio to the Potomak will be from fifteen to forty miles, according to the trouble which ſhall be taken to approach the two navigations. For the trade of the Ohio, or that which ſhall come into it from its own waters or the Miſſiſſippi, it is nearer through the Potomak to Alexandria than to New-York, by five hundred and eighty miles, and it is interrupted by one portage only. There is another circumſtance of difference too. The lakes themſelves never freeze, but the communications between them freeze, and the Hudſon's river is itſelf ſhut up by the ice three months in the year: whereas the channel to the Cheſapeak leads directly into a warmer climate. The ſouthern parts of it very rarely freeze at all, and whenever the northern do, it is ſo near the ſources of the rivers, that the frequent floods to which they are there liable break up the ice immediately, ſo that veſſels may paſs through the whole winter, ſubject only to accidental and ſhort delays. Add to all this, that in caſe of a war with their neighbours of Canada, or the Indians, the route to New-York becomes a frontier through almoſt its whole length, and all commerce through it, ceaſes from that moment. But the channel to New-York is already known to practice; whereas the upper waters of the Ohio and the Potomak, and the great falls of the latter, are yet to be cleared of their fixed obſtructions.

The rout by St. Lawrence is well known to be attended with many advantages, and ſome diſadvantages. But there is a fifth rout, which the enlightened and enterprizing Pennſylvanians contemplate, which, if effected, will be the eaſieſt, cheapeſt, and ſureſt paſſage from the lakes, and the Ohio river; by means of the Suſquehannah, and a canal from thence to Philadelphia. The latter part of this plan, viz. the canal between Suſquehannah and the Schuylkill rivers, is now actually in execution. Should they accompliſh their whole ſcheme, and they appear confident of ſucceſs, Philadelphia in all probability will become, in ſome future period, the largeſt city that has ever yet exiſted.

Particular deſcriptions of the other rivers in the United States, are reſerved to be given in the geographical account of the ſtates, through which they reſpectively flow. One general obſervation reſpecting the rivers will, however, be naturally introduced here, and that is, that the entrances into almoſt all the rivers, inlets and bays, from New-Hampſhire to Georgia, are from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt.

BAYS.

The coaſt of the United States is indented with numerous bays, ſome of which are equal in ſize to any in the known world. Beginning at the north-eaſterly part of the continent, and proceeding ſouth-weſterly, you firſt find the bay or gulf of St. Lawrence, which receives the waters of the river of the ſame name. Next are Chedabukto and Cebukto Bays, in Nova-Scotia, the latter diſtinguiſhed by the loſs of a French fleet in a former war between France and Great-Britain. The bay of Fundy, between Nova-Scotia and New-Brunſwick, is remarkable for its tides, which riſe to the height of fifty or ſixty feet, and flow ſo rapidly as to overtake animals which feed upon the ſhore. Paſſamaquody, Penobſcot, Broad and Caſco Bays, lie along the coaſt of the diſtrict of Maine. Maſſachuſetts-Bay ſpreads eaſtward of Boſton, and is comprehended between Cape Ann on the north, and Cape Cod on the ſouth. The points of Boſton harbour are Nahant and Alderton points. Paſſing by Narraganſet and other bays in the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland, you enter Long-Iſland Sound, between Montauk-point and the Main. This *Sound*, as it is called, is a kind of inland ſea, from three to twenty-five miles broad, and about one hundred and forty miles long, extending the whole length of the iſland, and dividing it from Connecticut. It communicates with the ocean at both ends of Long-Iſland, and affords a very ſafe and convenient inland navigation.

The celebrated ſtraight, called *Hell-Gate*, is near the weſt end of this ſound, about eight miles eaſtward of New-York city, and is remarkable for its whirlpools, which make a tremendous roaring at certain times of tide. Theſe whirlpools are occaſioned by the narrowneſs and crookedneſs of the paſs, and a bed of rocks which extend quite acroſs it; and not by the meeting of the tides from eaſt to weſt, as has been conjectured, becauſe they meet at Frogs-point, ſeveral miles above. A ſkilful pilot may with ſafety conduct a ſhip of any burden through this ſtrait with the tide, or at ſtill water with a fair wind *.

* The following ingenious geological remarks of Dr. Mitchell's, on certain maritim parts of the ſtate of New York, deſerve a place in this connection:

"From

Delaware Bay is fixty miles long, from the Cape to the entrance of the river Delaware at Bombay-hook; and ſo wide in ſome parts, as that a ſhip, in the middle of it, cannot be ſeen from the land. It opens into the Atlantic north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, between Cape Henlopen on the right, and Cape May on the left. Theſe Capes are eighteen or twenty miles apart.

The Cheſapeek is one of the largeſt bays in the known world. Its entrance is nearly E. N. E. and S. S. W. between Cape Charles, lat. 37° 12′, and Cape Henry lat. 37°, in Virginia, it is twelve miles wide, and extends two hundred and ſeventy miles to the northward, dividing Virginia and Maryland. It is from ſeven to eighteen miles broad, and generally as much as nine fathoms deep; affording many commodious

" From the ſurvey of the foſſils in theſe parts of the American coaſt one becomes convinced, that the principal ſhare of them is GRANITICAL, *compoſed of the ſame ſorts of materials with the higheſt Alps, Pyrenees, Caucaſus, and Andes, and like them deſtitute of metals and petrefactions.*

The occurrence of *no* horizontal ſtrata, and the frequency of vertical layers, lead us further to ſuppoſe *that theſe are not ſecondary collections of minerals, but are certainly in a ſtate of primeval arrangement.*

The *Steatites, Amiantkus, Shoerl, Feldſpath, Mica, Garnet, Jaſpar, Shiſtus, Aſbeſtos,* and *Quartz,* muſt all be conſidered as *primitive foſſils, and by no means of an alluvial nature.*

What inference remains now to be drawn from this ſtatement of facts, but that the faſhionable opinion of conſidering theſe maritime parts of our country as flats, hove up from the deeps by the ſea, or brought down from the heights by the rivers, ſtands unſupported by reaſon, and contradicted by experience?

A more probable opinion is, that Long Iſland, and the adjacent continent, were in former days contiguous, or only ſeparated by a ſmall river, and that the ſtrait which now divides them, was formed by ſucceſſive inroads of the ſea from the eaſtward and weſtward in the courſe of ages. This conjecture is ſupported by the facts which follow, *to wit:* 1. The foſſil bodies on both ſhores have a near reſemblance. 2. The rocks and iſlands lying between are formed of ſimilar materials. 3. In ſeveral places, particularly at White-Stone and Hell-Gate, the diſtance from land to land is very ſmall. 4. Wherever the ſhore is not compoſed of ſolid rock, there the water continues to make great incroachments, and to cauſe the high banks to tumble down, not only here, but at Monćton, Newton, and elſewhere, at this very day. 5. The rocky piles in the Sound, called Execution, and Stepping-Stones, and thoſe named Hurtleberry Iſland, Pea Iſland, Heart Iſland, and many more that lie up and down, are ſtrong circumſtances in favour of this opinion; for from ſeveral of them all the earthy matter, as far as the higheſt tides can reach, has long ſince been carried away, and from the reſt, the ſand and gravel continue to be removed by daily attrition; as is the caſe with the Brothers, Ryker's, Blackwell's, and other iſlands. 6. There is a tradition among that race of men, who, previous to the Europeans, poſſeſſed this tract of country; that at ſome diſtant period, in former times, their anceſtors could ſtep from rock to rock, and croſs this arm of the ſea on foot at Hell-Gate."

harbours, and a ſafe and eaſy navigation. It receives the waters of the Suſquehannah, Potomak, Rappahannok, York and James river, which are all large and navigable.

FACE OF THE COUNTRY.

The tract of country belonging to the United States, is happily variegated with plains and mountains, hills and vallies. Some parts are rocky, particularly New-England, the north parts of New York, and New-Jerſey, and a broad ſpace, including the ſeveral ridges of the long range of mountains which run ſouth-weſtward through Pennſylvania, Virginia, North-Carolina, and part of Georgia, dividing the waters which flow into the Atlantic, from thoſe which fall into the Miſſiſſippi. In the parts, eaſt of the Allegany mountains, in the ſouthern ſtates, the country for ſeveral hundred miles in length, and ſixty or ſeventy, and ſometimes more, in breadth, is level and entirely free of ſtone. It has been a queſtion agitated by the curious, whether the extenſive tract of low, flat country, which fronts the ſeveral ſtates ſouth of New-York, and extends back to the hills, has remained in its preſent form and ſituation ever ſince the flood: or whether it has been made by the particles of earth which have been waſhed down from the adjacent mountains, and by the accumulation of ſoil from the decay of vegetable ſubſtances; or by earth waſhed out of the bay of Mexico by the gulf ſtream, and lodged on the coaſt; or by the receſs of the ocean, occaſioned by a change in ſome other part of the earth. Several phenomena deſerve conſideration in forming an opinion on this queſtion.

1. It is a fact, well known to every perſon of obſervation who has lived in, or travelled through the ſouthern ſtates, that marine ſhells and other ſubſtances which are peculiar to the ſea-ſhore, are almoſt invariably found by digging eighteen or twenty feet below the ſurface of the earth. A gentleman of veracity has aſſerted; that in ſinking a well many miles from the ſea, he found, at the depth of twenty feet, every appearance of a ſalt marſh; that is, marſh graſs, marſh mud, and brackiſh water. In all this flat country until you come to the hilly land, wherever you dig a well, you find the water, at a certain depth, freſh and tolerably good; but if you exceed that depth two or three feet, you come to a ſaltiſh or brackiſh water that is ſcarcely drinkable, and the earth dug up, reſembles, in appearance and ſmell, that which is dug up on the edges of the ſalt marſhes.

2. On and near the margin of the rivers are frequently found ſand hills, which appear to have been drifted into ridges by the force of water. At the bottom of ſome of the banks in the rivers, fifteen or twenty feet below the ſurface of the earth, are waſhed out from the ſolid ground,

logs,

logs, branches, and leaves of trees; and the whole bank, from bottom to top, appears ſtreaked with layers of logs, leaves and ſand. Theſe appearances are ſeen far up the rivers, from eighty to one hundred miles from the ſea, where, when the rivers are low, the banks are from fifteen to twenty feet high. As you proceed down the rivers toward the ſea, the banks decreaſe in height, but ſtill are formed of layers of ſand, leaves and logs, ſome of which are entirely ſound, and appear to have been ſuddenly covered to a conſiderable depth.

3. It has been obſerved, that the rivers in the ſouthern States frequently vary their channels; that the ſwamps and low grounds are conſtantly filling up; and that the land in many places annually infringes upon the ocean. It is an authenticated fact, that no longer ago than 1771, at Cape Look-out on the coaſt of North-Carolina, in about latitude 34° 50′, there was an excellent harbour, capacious enough to receive an hundred ſail of ſhipping at a time, in a good depth of water: it is now entirely filled up, and is ſolid ground. Inſtances of this kind are frequent along the coaſt.

It is obſervable, likewiſe, that there is a gradual deſcent of about eight hundred feet, by meaſurement, from the foot of the mountains to the ſea board. This deſcent continues, as is demonſtrated by ſoundings, far into the ſea.

4. It is worthy of obſervation, that the ſoil on the banks of the rivers is proportionably coarſe or fine according to its diſtance from the mountains. When you firſt leave the mountains, and for a conſiderable diſtance, it is obſervable, that the ſoil is coarſe, with a large mixture of ſand and ſhining heavy particles. As you proceed toward the ſea, the ſoil is leſs coarſe, and ſo on; in proportion as you advance, the ſoil is finer and finer, until, finally, is depoſited a ſoil ſo fine, that it conſolidates into perfect clay; but a clay of a peculiar quality, for a great part of it, has intermixed with it reddiſh ſtreaks and veins, like a ſpecies of *ochre*; brought probably from the *red-lands* which lie up towards the mountains. This clay, when dug up and expoſed to the weather, will diſſolve into a fine mould, without the leaſt mixture of ſand or any gritty ſubſtance whatever. Now we know that running waters, when turbid, will depoſit, firſt, the coarſeſt and heavieſt particles, mediately, thoſe of the ſeveral intermediate degrees of fineneſs, and ultimately, thoſe which are the moſt light and ſubtle; and ſuch in fact is the general quality of the ſoil on the banks of the ſouthern rivers.

5. It is a well-known fact, that on the banks of Savannah river, about ninety miles from the ſea in a direct line, and one hundred and fifty or two hundred, as the river runs, there is a very remarkable collection of oyſter

oyſter ſhells of an uncommon ſize. They run in a north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt direction, nearly parallel to the ſea coaſt, in three diſtinct ridges, which together occupy a ſpace of ſeven miles in breadth. The ridges commence at Savannah river, and have been traced as far ſouth as the northern branches of the Alatamaha river. They are found in ſuch quantities, as that the indigo planters carry them away in large boat loads, for the purpoſe of making lime water, to be uſed in the manufacture of indigo. There are thouſands and thouſands of tons ſtill remaining *. The queſtion is, how came they here? It cannot be ſuppoſed that they were carried by land. Neither is it probable that they were conveyed in canoes, or boats, to ſuch a diſtance from the place where oyſters are now found. The uncivilized natives, agreeable to their roving manner of living, would rather have removed to the ſea ſhore, than have been at ſuch immenſe labour in procuring oyſters. Beſides, the difficulties of conveying them would have been inſurmountable. They would not only have had a ſtrong current in the river againſt them, an obſtacle which would not have been eaſily overcome by the Indians, who have ever had a great averſion to labour; but could they have ſurmounted this difficulty, oyſters conveyed ſuch a diſtance, either by land or water, in ſo warm a climate, would have ſpoiled on the paſſage, and have become uſeleſs. The circumſtance of theſe ſhells being found in ſuch quantities, at ſo great a diſtance from the ſea, can be rationally accounted for in no other way, than by ſuppoſing that the ſea ſhore was formerly near this bed of ſhells, and that the ocean has ſince, by the operation of certain cauſes not yet fully inveſtigated, receded.

* "On the Georgia ſide of the river, about 15 miles below Silver Bluff, the high road croſſes a ridge of high-ſwelling hills of uncommon elevation, and perhaps 70 feet higher than the ſurface of the river. Theſe hills are from three feet below the common vegetative ſurface, to the depth of 20 or 30 feet, compoſed entirely of foſſil oyſter ſhells, internally of the colour and conſiſtency of clear white marble: they are of an incredible magnitude, generally 15 or 20 inches in length; from 6 to 8 wide, and from 2 to 4 in thickneſs, and their hollows ſufficient to receive an ordinary man's foot. They appear all to have been opened before the period of petrifaction; a tranſmutation they ſeem evidently to have ſuffered. They are undoubtedly very ancient, and perhaps antediluvian. The adjacent inhabitants burn them to lime, for building, for which purpoſe they ſerve well; and will undoubtedly afford an excellent manure, when their lands require it, theſe hills now being remarkably fertile. The heaps of ſhells lie upon a *ſtratum* of yellowiſh ſand mould, of ſeveral feet in depth, upon a foundation of ſoft white rocks, that has the outward appearance of free-ſtone, but on ſtrict examination is really a teſtaceous concrete, or compoſition of ſand and pulveriſed ſea ſhells. In ſhort, this teſtaceous rock approaches near in quality and appearance to the Bahama or Bermudian White Rock." *Bartram's Travels*, p. 318.

These phenomena, it is presumed, will authorize this conclusion, that a great part of the flat country which spreads easterly of the Allegany mountains, had, in some past period, a superincumbent sea; or rather, that the constant accretion of soil from the various causes before hinted at, has forced it to retire.

MOUNTAINS.

The tract of country east of Hudson's river, comprehending part of the State of New York, the four New England States, and Vermont, is rough, hilly, and in some parts mountainous. These mountains will be more particularly described under New England. In all parts of the world, and particularly on this western continent, it is observable, that as you depart from the ocean, or from a river, the land gradually rises; and the height of land, in common, is about equally distant from the water on either side. The Andes, in South America, form the height of land between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The high lands between the district of Maine and the province of Lower Canada, divide the rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence, north, and into the Atlantic, south. The Green Mountains, in Vermont, divide the waters which flow easterly into Connecticut river, from those which fall westerly into Lake Champlain, Lake George, and Hudson's River.

Between the Atlantic, the Mississippi, and the lakes, runs a long range of mountains, made up of a great number of ridges. These mountains extend north-easterly and south-westerly, nearly parallel to the sea coast, about nine hundred miles in length, and from sixty to one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles in breadth. Mr. Evans observes, with respect to that part of these mountains which he travelled over, viz. in the back part of Pennsylvania, that scarcely one acre in ten is capable of culture. This, however, is not the case in all parts of this range. Numerous tracts of fine arable and grazing land intervene between the ridges. The different ridges which compose this immense range of mountains, have different names in different states.

As you advance from the Atlantic, the first ridge in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, is the Blue Ridge, or South Mountain, which is from one hundred and thirty to two hundred miles from the sea. Between this and the North Mountain spreads a large fertile vale; next lies the Allegany ridge; next beyond this is the Long Ridge, called the Laurel Mountains, in a spur of which, about latitude 36°, is a spring of water fifty feet deep, very cold, and it is said, to be as blue as indigo. From these several ridges proceed innumerable nameless branches or spurs.

The

The Kittatinny mountains run through the northern parts of New Jerſey and Pennſylvania. All theſe ridges, except the Allegany, are ſeparated by rivers, which appear to have forced their paſſages through ſolid rocks.

The principal ridge is the Allegany, which has been deſcriptively called the *back-bone* of the United States. The general name for theſe mountains, taken collectively, ſeems not yet to have been determined. Mr. Evans calls them the *Endleſs Mountains*: others have called them the Appalachian Mountains, from a tribe of Indians who live on a river which proceeds from this mountain, called the Appalachicola. But the moſt common name is the Allegany Mountains, ſo called, either from the principal ridge of the range, or from their running nearly parallel to the Allegany or Ohio river; which, from its head waters, till it empties into the Miſſiſſippi, is known and called by the name of Allegany River, by the Seneca and other tribes of the Six Nations, who once inhabited it. Theſe mountains are not confuſedly ſcattered and broken, riſing here and there into high peaks, overtopping each other, but ſtretch along in uniform ridges, ſcarcely half a mile high. They ſpread as you proceed ſouth, and ſome of them terminate in high perpendicular bluffs. Others gradually ſubſide into a level country, giving riſe to the rivers which run ſoutherly into the Gulf of Mexico.

They afford many curious phenomena, from which naturaliſts have deduced many theories of the earth. Some of them have been whimſical enough; Mr. Evans ſuppoſes that the moſt obvious of the theories which have been formed of the earth is, that it was originally made out of the ruins of another. "Bones and ſhells which eſcaped the fate of ſofter animal ſubſtances, we find mixed with the old materials, and elegantly preſerved in the looſe ſtones and rocky baſes of the higheſt of theſe hills." With deference, however, to Mr. Evans's opinion, theſe appearances have been much more rationally accounted for by ſuppoſing the reality of the flood, of which Moſes has given us an account. Mr. Evans thinks this too great a miracle to obtain belief. But whether is it a greater miracle for the Creator to alter a globe of earth by a deluge, when made, or to create one new from the ruins of another? The former certainly is not leſs credible than the latter. "Theſe mountains," ſays our author, "exiſted in their preſent elevated height before the deluge, but not ſo bare of ſoil as now." How Mr. Evans came to be ſo circumſtantially acquainted with theſe pretended facts, is difficult to determine, unleſs we ſuppoſe him to have been an Antediluvian, and to have ſurveyed them accurately before the convulſions of the deluge; and until we can be fully aſſured of this, we muſt be excuſed in not aſſenting to his

his opinion, and in adhering to the old philoſophy of Moſes and his advocates. We have every reaſon to believe that the primitive ſtate of the earth was totally metamorphoſed by the firſt convulſion of nature at the time of the deluge; that *the fountains of the great deep were indeed broken up*, and that the various *ſtrata* of the earth were diſſevered, and thrown into every poſſible degree of confuſion and diſorder. Hence thoſe vaſt piles of mountains which lift their craggy cliffs to the clouds, were probably thrown together from the floating ruins of the earth: and this conjecture is remarkably confirmed by the vaſt number of foſſils and other marine *exuviæ* which are found imbeded on the tops of mountains, in the interior parts of continents remote from the ſea, in all parts of the world hitherto explored. The various circumſtances attending theſe marine bodies leave us to conclude, that they were actually generated, lived, and died in the very beds wherein they are found, and therefore theſe beds muſt have originally been at the bottom of the ocean, though now in many inſtances elevated ſeveral miles above its ſurface. Hence it appears that mountains and continents were not primary productions of nature, but of a very diſtant period of time from the creation of the world; a time long enough for the *ſtrata* to have acquired their greateſt degree of cohefion and hardneſs; and for the teſtaceous matter of marine ſhells to become changed to a ſtony ſubſtance; for in the fiſſures of the lime-ſtone and other ſtrata, fragments of the ſame ſhell have been frequently found adhering to each ſide of the cleft, in the very ſtate in which they were originally broken; ſo that if the ſeveral parts were brought together, they would apparently tally with each other exactly. A very conſiderable time therefore muſt have elapſed between the chaotic ſtate of the earth and the deluge, which agrees with the account of Moſes, who makes it a little upwards of ſixteen hundred years. Theſe obſervations are intended to ſhew, in one inſtance out of many others, the agreement between revelation and reaſon, between the account which Moſes gives us of the creation and deluge, and the preſent appearances of nature.

SOIL AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

In the United States are to be found every ſpecies of ſoil that the earth affords. In one part of them or another, they produce all the various kinds of fruits, grain, pulſe, and hortuline plants and roots, which are found in Europe, and have been thence tranſplanted to America, and beſides theſe, a great variety of native vegetable productions.

The natural hiſtory of the American States, particularly of New England, is yet in its infancy. Several ingenious foreigners, ſkilled in botany, have viſited the ſouthern, and ſome of the middle ſtates, and Canada; and theſe ſtates have alſo had ingenious botaniſts of their own, who have made conſiderable progreſs in deſcribing the productions of thoſe parts of America which they have viſited; but New England ſeems not to have engaged the attention either of foreign or American botaniſts. There never was an attempt to deſcribe botanically, the vegetable productions of the eaſtern ſtates, till the Rev. Dr. Cutler, of Ipſwich, turned his attention to the ſubject. The reſult of his firſt enquiries has been publiſhed in the firſt volume of the "Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences." Since that period, the Doctor has paid very particular attention to this, his favourite, ſtudy; and the public may ſhortly expect to be gratified and improved by his botanical deſcriptions and diſcoveries.

The productions of the ſouthern ſtates are likewiſe far from being well deſcribed, by any one author, in a work profeſſedly for that purpoſe; but are moſtly intermixed with the productions of other parts of the world; in the large works of European botaniſts. This renders it difficult to ſelect and to give an accurate and connected account of them. To remedy this inconvenience, and to reſcue the republic from the reproach of not having any authentic and ſcientific account of its natural hiſtory, Dr. Cutler, who has already examined nearly all the vegetables of New England, intends, as ſoon as his leiſure will admit, to publiſh a botanical work, of conſiderable magnitude, confined principally to the productions of the New England ſtates. Dr. Barton, of Philadelphia, I am informed, is collecting materials for a work of a ſimilar nature, to comprehend the middle and ſouthern ſtates: ſo that both together will form a complete Natural Hiſtory of the American States. As far as poſſible to take advantage of theſe, as well as of other works of a ſimilar kind, the Natural Hiſtory of the vegetables, animals, birds, reptiles, inſects, fiſhes, &c. peculiar to the American continent, will be ſeparately conſidered in the laſt volume of this Work; to which the reader is referred.

POPULATION.

According to the cenſus, taken by order of Congreſs, in 1790, the number of inhabitants in the United States of America, was three millions nine hundred and thirty thouſand, nearly. In this number, none of the inhabitants of the territory N. W. of the River Ohio, are included. Theſe added, would undoubtedly have increaſed the number to three millions

millions nine hundred and fifty thouſand, at the period the cenſus was taken. The increaſe ſince, on ſuppoſition that the inhabitants of the United States double once in twenty years, has been about four hundred thouſand: ſo that now, 1794, they are, increaſed to four millions three hundred and fifty thouſand. To theſe muſt be added, the vaſt influx of inhabitants into the States, from the different countries of Europe; with their natural increaſe; which taken at a moderate calculation will make the number at leaſt five millions of ſouls.

The American republic is compoſed of almoſt all nations, languages, characters, and religions, which Europe can furniſh; the greater part, however, are deſcended from the Engliſh; and all may, perhaps with propriety, be diſtinguiſhingly denominated Federal Americans.

It has generally been conſidered as a fact, that, of the human race, more males than females are born into the world. The proportion commonly fixed on, is as thirteen to twelve. Hence an argument has been derived againſt Polygamy. The larger number of males has been believed to be a wiſe appointment of Providence, to balance the deſtruction of the males in war, by ſea, and by other occupations more hazardous to life than the domeſtic employment of the female ſex. The following table, formed from the cenſus of the United States, in which the males and females are numbered in different columns, furniſhes a new proof of the truth of the common opinion, as it reſpects the United States *:

TABLE.

	Males.	Females.	Exceſs.	Sex.
Vermont - -	44,763	40,505	4,258 †	Males.
New Hampſhire -	70,937	70,160	777	do.
Diſtrict of Maine ‡				
Maſſachuſetts -	182,742	190,582	7,840	Females.
Rhode Iſland -	31,818	32,652	834	do.
Connecticut - -	114,926	117,448	2,522	do.
New York - -	161,822	152,320	9,502	Males.
New Jerſey - -	86,667	83,287	3,380	do.
Pennſylvania -	217,736	206,263	11,373	do.
Delaware - -	23,926	22,384	1,540	do.

* Mr. Bruce, in his Travels, affirms, that in that tract of country from the Iſthmus of Suez to the Straits of Babelmandel, which contains the three Arabias, the proportion is full *four* women to *one* man.

† In the columns of the cenſus, in which are noted *all other free perſons* and *ſlaves*, the males and females are not diſtinguiſhed, and are therefore not regarded in this table.

‡ The males and females are not diſtinguiſhed in the diſtrict of Maine, in the late cenſus.

	Males.	Females.	Excefs.	Sex.
Maryland - -	107,254	101,395	5,859	Males.
Virginia - -	227,071	215,046	12,025	do.
Kentucky - -	32,211	28,922	3,289	do.
North Carolina -	147,494	140,710	6,784	do.
South Carolina -	73,298	66,880	6,418	do.
Georgia - -	27,147	25,739	1,408	do.
Territory S. of Ohio	16,548	15,365	1,183	do.

It is remarkable, that the excefs in all the States is on the fide of males, except in Maffachufetts, Rhode Iſland, and Connecticut. In thefe States the females are confiderably the moſt numerous. This difference is obviouſly to be aſcribed to the large migrations from all theſe States to Vermont, the northern and weſtern parts of New York, the territory N. W. of Ohio, Kentucky, and Pennſylvania, and ſome to almoſt all the ſouthern States. A great proportion of theſe migrants were males; and while they have ſerved to increaſe the proportion of males in the States where they have ſettled, as is ſtrikingly the caſe in Vermont and Kentucky, to which the migrations have been moſt numerous, and where the males are to the females nearly as *ten* to *nine*, they have ſerved to leſſen the proportion of males in the States from whence they emigrated.

The number of ſlaves, in 1790, in all the States, was ſix hundred ninety-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-ſeven. The increaſe of this number ſince, owing to ſalutary laws, in ſeveral of the States, and the humane exertions of the government in favour of their emancipation and the prevention of any further importation, has happily been ſmall, and will be leſs in future.

CHARACTER AND MANNERS.

FEDERAL AMERICANS, collected together from various countries, of ferent habits, formed under different governments, have yet to form their national character, or we may rather ſay, it is in a forming ſtate. They have not yet exiſted as a nation long enough for us to form an idea of what will be, in its maturity, its prominent features. Judging, however, from its preſent promiſing infancy, we are encouraged to hope, that, at ſome future period, not far diſtant, it will, in every point of view, be reſpectable.

Until the revolution, which was accompliſhed in 1783, Europeans were ſtrangely ignorant of America and its inhabitants. They concluded, that the new world *muſt* be inferior to the old. The Count de Buffon ſuppoſed, that even the animals in that country were uniformly leſs than in Europe, and thence concluded that, "on that ſide the Atlantic there

there is a tendency in nature to belittle her productions." The Abbe Raynal, in a former edition of his works, ſuppoſed this *belittling* tendency, or influence, had its effects on the race of whites tranſplanted from Europe, and thence had the preſumption to aſſert, that "America had not yet produced one good poet, one able mathematician, nor one man of genius, in a ſingle art or ſcience." Had the Abbe been juſtly informed reſpecting the Americans, we preſume he would not have made an aſſertion ſo ungenerous and injurious to their genius and literary character. This aſſertion drew from Mr. Jefferſon the following reply:

"When we ſhall have exiſted as a people as long as the Greeks did before they produced a Homer, the Romans a Virgil, the French a Racine and Voltaire, the Engliſh a Shakeſpeare and Milton, ſhould this reproach be ſtill true, we will inquire from what unfriendly cauſes it has proceeded, that the other countries of Europe and quarters of the earth, ſhall not have inſcribed any name in the roll of poets. In war we have produced a Waſhington, whoſe memory will be adored while liberty ſhall have votaries, whoſe name will triumph over time, and will in future ages aſſume its juſt ſtation among the moſt celebrated worthies of the world, when that wretched philoſophy ſhall be forgotten, which would arrange him among the degeneracies of nature. In phyſics we have produced a Franklin, than whom no one of the preſent age has made more important diſcoveries, nor has enriched philoſophy with more, or more ingenious ſolutions of the phænomena of nature. We have ſuppoſed Mr. Rittenhouſe ſecond to no aſtronomer living: that in genius he muſt be the firſt, becauſe he is ſelf-taught. As an artiſt, he has exhibited as great proofs of mechanical genius as the world has ever produced.—He has not indeed made a world; but he has, by imitation, approached nearer its Maker than any man who has lived from the creation to this day. As in philoſophy and war, ſo in government, in oratory, in painting, in the plaſtic art, we might ſhew that America, though but a child of yeſterday, has already given hopeful proofs of genius, as well of the nobler kinds, which arouſe the beſt feelings of man, which call him into action, which ſubſtantiate his freedom, and conduct him to happineſs, as of the ſubordinate, which ſerve to amuſe him only. We therefore ſuppoſe, that this reproach is as unjuſt as it is unkind; and that, of the geniuſes which adorn the preſent age, America contributes its full ſhare. For comparing it with thoſe countries, where genius is moſt cultivated, where are the moſt excellent models for art, and ſcaffoldings for the attainment of ſcience, as France and England, for inſtance, we calculate thus: the United States contain three millions of inhabitants, France twenty millions, and the Britiſh iſlands ten. We produce a Waſhington, a Franklin,

lin, a Rittenhouſe. France then ſhould have half a dozen in each of theſe lines, and Great Britain half that number equally eminent. It may be true that France has; we are but juſt becoming acquainted with her, and our acquaintance ſo far gives us high ideas of the genius of her inhabitants. It would be injuring too many of them to name particularly a Voltaire, a Buffon, the conſtellation of Encyclopediſts, the Abbe Raynal, himſelf, &c. &c. We therefore have reaſon to believe ſhe can produce her full quota of genius."

The two late important revolutions in America, which have been ſcarcely exceeded ſince the memory of man, I mean that of the declaration and eſtabliſhment of independence, and that of the adoption of a new form of government without bloodſhed, have called to hiſtoric fame many noble and diſtinguiſhed characters who might otherwiſe have ſlept in oblivion.

But while we exhibit the fair ſide of the character of the FEDERAL AMERICANS, we would not be thought blind to their faults.

"If there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, ſigning reſolutions of independency with one hand, and with the other brandiſhing a whip over his affrighted ſlaves."

Much has been written to ſhew the injuſtice and iniquity of enſlaving the Africans; ſo much, as to render it unneceſſary here to ſay any thing on that part of the ſubject. We cannot, however, forbear introducing a few obſervations reſpecting the influence of ſlavery upon policy, morals, and manners. From calculations on the ſubject, it has been found, that the expence of maintaining a ſlave, eſpecially if the purchaſe money be included, is much greater than that of maintaining a free man: this, however, is diſputed by ſome; but ſuppoſe the expence in both caſes be equal, it is certain that the labour of the free man, influenced by the powerful motive of gain, is, at leaſt, twice as profitable to the employer as that of the ſlave. Beſides, ſlavery is the bane of induſtry. It renders labour, among the whites, not only unfaſhionable, but diſreputable. Induſtry is the offſpring of neceſſity rather than of choice. Slavery precludes this neceſſity; and indolence, which ſtrikes at the root of all ſocial and political happineſs, is the unhappy conſequence. Theſe obſervations, without adding any thing upon the injuſtice of the practice, ſhew that ſlavery is impolitic.

Its influence on manners and morals is equally pernicious. The negro wenches, in many inſtances, are nurſes to their miſtreſſes children. The infant babe, as ſoon as it is born, is delivered to its black nurſe, and perhaps ſeldom or never taſtes a drop of its mother's milk. The children, by being brought up, and conſtantly aſſociating with the negroes, too

often imbibe their low ideas, and vitiated manners and morals, and contract a *negroiſh* kind of accent and dialect, which they often carry with them through life.

To theſe I ſhall add the obſervations of a native* of a ſtate which contains a greater number of ſlaves than any of the others. Although his obſervations upon the influence of ſlavery were intended for a particular ſtate, they will apply equally well to all places where this pernicious practice in any conſiderable degree prevails.

"There muſt doubtleſs," he obſerves, "be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the exiſtence of ſlavery among us. The whole commerce between maſter and ſlave is a perpetual exerciſe of the moſt boiſterous paſſions, the moſt unremitting deſpotiſm on the one part, and degrading ſubmiſſions on the other. Our children ſee this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he ſees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his ſelf-love, for reſtraining the intemperance of a paſſion towards his ſlave, it ſhould always be a ſufficient one, that his child is preſent. But generally it is not ſufficient. The parent ſtorms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the ſame airs in the circle of ſmaller ſlaves, gives a looſe to his worſt of paſſions, and thus nurſed, educated, and daily exerciſed in tyranny, cannot but be ſtamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man muſt be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by ſuch circumſtances. And with what execration ſhould the ſtateſman be loaded, who, permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms thoſe into deſpots, and theſe into enemies; deſtroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if a ſlave can have a country in this world, it muſt be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another: in which he muſt lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute, as far as depends on his individual endeavour, to the evaniſhment of the human race, or entail his own miſerable condition on the endleſs generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their induſtry alſo is deſtroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himſelf who can make another labour for him. This is ſo true, that of the proprietors of ſlaves a very ſmall proportion indeed are ever ſeen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought ſecure when we have removed their only firm baſis, a conviction in the minds of

* Mr. Jefferſon.

the

the people that theſe liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is juſt: that his juſtice cannot ſleep for ever: that conſidering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of ſituation, is among poſſible events: that it may become probable by ſupernatural inference!—The Almighty has no attribute which can take ſide with us in ſuch a conteſt. But it is impoſſible to be temperate and to purſue this ſubject through the various conſiderations of policy, of morals, of hiſtory, natural and civil. We muſt be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, ſince the origin of the preſent revolution. The ſpirit of the maſter is abating, that of the ſlave riſing from the duſt, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auſpices of Heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is diſpoſed, in the order of events, to be with the conſent of their maſters, rather than by their extirpation."

Under the Federal government, from the meaſures already adopted, we have reaſon to believe that all ſlaves in the United States, will in time be emancipated, in a manner moſt conſiſtent with their own happineſs, and the true intereſt of their proprietors. Whether this will be effected by tranſporting them back to Africa; or by colonizing them in ſome part of the American territory, and extending to them their alliance and protection, until they ſhall have acquired ſtrength ſufficient for their own defence; or by incorporation with the whites; or in ſome other way, remains to be determined.

In the middle and northern States, there are comparatively but few ſlaves; and of courſe there is leſs difficulty in giving them their freedom. In Maſſachuſetts alone, and we mention it to their diſtinguiſhed honour, there are NONE. Societies for the manumiſſion of ſlaves have been inſtituted in Philadelphia New York, and other places, and laws have been enacted, and other meaſures taken, in the New England States, to accompliſh the ſame purpoſe. The FRIENDS, commonly call Quakers, have evinced the propriety of their name, by their goodneſs in originating, and their vigorous exertions in executing, this truly humane and benevolent deſign.

The Engliſh Language is univerſally ſpoken in the United Sates, and in it buſineſs is tranſacted, and the records are kept. It is ſpoken with great purity, and pronounced with propriety in New England, by perſons of education; and, excepting ſome few corruptions in pronunciation, by all ranks of people. In the middle and ſouthern States, where they have had a great influx of foreigners, the language, in many inſtances, is corrupted

rupted, eſpecially in pronunciation. Attempts are making to introduce an uniformity of pronunciation throughout the States, which for political, as well as other, reaſons, it is hoped will meet the approbation and encouragement of all literary and influential characters.

Intermingled with the Americans, are the Dutch, Scotch, Iriſh, French, Germans, Swedes, and Jews; all theſe, except the Scotch and Iriſh, retain in a greater or leſs degree, their native language, in which they perform their public worſhip, converſe and tranſact their buſineſs with each other.

The time, however, is anticipated, when all improper diſtinctions ſhall be aboliſhed; and when the language, manners, cuſtoms, political and religious ſentiments of the mixed maſs of people who inhabit the United States, ſhall become ſo aſſimilated, as that all nominal diſtinctions ſhall be loſt in the general and honourable name of AMERICANS.

GOVERNMENT.

UNTIL the fourth of July, 1776, the preſent United States were Britiſh colonies. On that memorable day, the Repreſentatives of the United States of America, in Congreſs aſſembled, made a ſolemn declaration, in which they aſſigned their reaſons for withdrawing their allegiance from the King of Great Britain. Appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, they did, in the name and by the authority of the good people of the colonies, ſolemnly publiſh and declare, That theſe United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they were abſolved from all allegiance to the Britiſh crown, and that all political connection between them and Great Britain, was, and ought to be, totally diſſolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they had full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, eſtabliſh commerce, and do all other acts and things, which Independent States may of right do. For the ſupport of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, the delegates then in Congreſs, fifty-five in number, mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their ſacred honour.

At the ſame time they publiſhed articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States, in which they took the title of "The United States of America," and agreed, that each State ſhould retain its ſovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, juriſdiction, and right, not expreſsly delegated to Congreſs by the confederation. By theſe articles, the Thirteen United States ſeverally entered into a firm league of friendſhip with each other for their common defence, the ſe-

curity of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, and bound themſelves to aſſiſt each other, againſt all force, offered to, or attacks that might be made upon all, or any of them, on account of religion ſovereignty, commerce, or any other pretence whatever. But for the more convenient management of the general intereſts of the United States, it was determined, that Delegates ſhould be annually appointed, in ſuch manner as the Legiſlature of each State ſhould direct, to meet in Congreſs the firſt Monday in November of every year; with a power reſerved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to ſend others in their ſtead for the remainder of the year. No State was to be repreſented in Congreſs by leſs than two, or more than ſeven members; and no perſon could be a delegate for more than three years, in any term of ſix years, nor was any perſon, being a delegate, capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or any other for his benefit, ſhould receive any ſalary, fees, or emolument of any kind. In determining queſtions in Congreſs, each State was to have one vote. Every State was bound to abide by the determinations of Congreſs in all queſtions which were ſubmitted to them by the confederation. The articles of confederation were to be invariably obſerved by every State, and the Union to be perpetual: nor was any alteration at any time afterwards to be made in any of the articles, unleſs ſuch alterations were agreed to in Congreſs, and afterwards confirmed by the legiſlatures of every State. The articles of confederation were ratified by Congreſs, July 9th, 1778.

Theſe articles of confederation being found inadequate to the purpoſes of a federal government, for reaſons hereafter mentioned, delegates were choſen in each of the United States, to meet and fix upon the neceſſary amendments. They accordingly met in convention at Philadelphia, in the ſummer of 1787, and agreed to propoſe the following conſtitution for the conſideration of their conſtituents:

CONSTITUTION.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, eſtabliſh juſtice, inſure domeſtic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and ſecure the bleſſings of liberty to ourſelves and our poſterity, do ordain and eſtabliſh, this Conſtitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. 1. ALL legiſlative powers herein granted ſhall be veſted in a Congreſs of the United States, which ſhall conſiſt of a Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives.

SECT. II.

SECT. II. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes, shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New-Jersey four, Pensylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North-Carolina five, South-Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any state, the executive authority thereof, shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. III. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive power thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of

thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that ſtate for which he ſhall be choſen.

The vice-preſident of the United States ſhall be preſident of the ſenate, but ſhall have no vote, unleſs they be equally divided.

The ſenate ſhall chooſe their other officers, and alſo a preſident *pro tempore*, in the abſence of the vice-preſident, or when he ſhall exerciſe the office of preſident of the United States.

The ſenate ſhall have the ſole power to try all impeachments. When ſitting for that purpoſe, they ſhall be on oath or affirmation. When the preſident of the United States is tried, the chief juſtice ſhall preſide: And no perſon ſhall be convicted, without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members preſent.

Judgment in caſes of impeachment, ſhall not extend further than to removal from office, and diſqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, truſt, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted ſhall nevertheleſs be liable and ſubject to indictment, trial, judgment, and puniſhment according to law.

SECT. IV. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for ſenators and repreſentatives, ſhall be ſubſcribed in each ſtate by the legiſlature thereof; but the Congreſs may at any time by law, make or alter ſuch regulations, except as to the places of chooſing ſenators.

The Congreſs ſhall aſſemble at leaſt once in every year, and ſuch meeting ſhall be on the firſt Monday in December, unleſs they ſhall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. V. Each houſe ſhall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each ſhall conſtitute a quorum to do buſineſs; but a ſmaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authoriſed to compel the attendance of abſent members, in ſuch manner, and under ſuch penalties as each houſe may provide.

Each houſe may determine the rules of its proceedings, puniſh its members for diſorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each houſe ſhall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publiſh the ſame, excepting ſuch parts as may in their judgment require ſecrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either houſe, on any queſtion, ſhall at the deſire of one fifth of thoſe preſent, be entered on the journal.

Neither houſe, during the ſeſſion of Congreſs, ſhall, without the conſent

ſent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houſes ſhall be ſitting.

SECT. VI. The Senators and Repreſentatives ſhall receive a compenſation for their ſervices, to be aſcertained by law, and paid out of the treaſury of the United States. They ſhall, in all caſes, except treaſon, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arreſt during their attendance at the ſeſſion of their reſpective houſes, and in going to and returning from the ſame; and for any ſpeech or debate in either houſe, they ſhall not be queſtioned in any other place.

No ſenator or repreſentative ſhall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which ſhall have been created, or the emoluments whereof ſhall have been increaſed during ſuch time; and no perſon holding any office under the United States, ſhall be a member of either Houſe during his continuance in office.

SECT. VII. All bills for raiſing revenue ſhall originate in the Houſe of Repreſentatives; but the Senate may propoſe or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill which ſhall have paſſed the Houſe of Repreſentatives and the Senate, ſhall, before it becomes a law, be preſented to the Preſident of the United States; if he approve, he ſhall ſign it, but if not, he ſhall return it, with his objections, to that houſe in which it originated, who ſhall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-conſider it. If, after ſuch re-conſideration, two thirds of that houſe ſhall agree to paſs the bill, it ſhall be ſent, together with the objections, to the other houſe, by which it ſhall likewiſe be re-conſidered, and if approved by two thirds of that houſe, it ſhall become a law. But in all ſuch caſes the votes of both houſes ſhall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the perſons voting for and againſt the bill ſhall be entered on the journal of each houſe reſpectively. If any bill ſhall not be returned by the Preſident within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it ſhall have been preſented to him, the ſame ſhall be a law, in like manner as if he had ſigned it, unleſs the Congreſs, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which caſe it ſhall not be a law.

Every order, reſolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives may be neceſſary (except on a queſtion of adjournment) ſhall be preſented to the Preſident of the United States; and before the ſame ſhall take effect, ſhall be approved by him, or, being diſapproved by him, ſhall be re-paſſed by two thirds of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives, according to the rules and limitations preſcribed in the caſe of a bill.

SECT. VIII.

SECT. VIII. The Congreſs ſhall have power,

To lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſts, and exciſes; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, impoſts, and exciſes ſhall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the ſeveral States, and with the Indian tribes;

To eſtabliſh an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the ſubject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the ſtandard of weights and meaſures;

To provide for the puniſhment of counterfeiting the ſecurities and current coin of the United States;

To eſtabliſh poſt offices and poſt roads;

To promote the progreſs of ſcience and uſeful arts, by ſecuring for limited times, to authors and inventors, the excluſive right to their reſpective writings and diſcoveries;

To conſtitute tribunals inferior to the ſupreme court;

To define and puniſh piracies and felonies committed on the high ſeas, and offences againſt the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and repriſal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raiſe and ſupport armies, but no appropriation of money to that uſe ſhall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, ſuppreſs inſurrections, and repel invaſions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and diſciplining the militia, and for governing ſuch part of them as may be employed in the ſervice of the United States, reſerving to the States reſpectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the diſcipline preſcribed by Congreſs;

To exerciſe excluſive legiſlation in all caſes whatſoever, over ſuch diſtrict, not exceeding ten miles ſquare, as may by ceſſion of particular States, and the acceptance of Congreſs, become the ſeat of government of the United States; and to exerciſe like authority over all places purchaſed by the conſent of the legiſlature of the State in which the ſame

ſhall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arſenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings:—And

To make all laws which ſhall be neceſſary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers veſted by this conſtitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECT. IX. The migration or importation of ſuch perſons, as any of the States now exiſting ſhall think proper to admit, ſhall not be prohibited by the Congreſs prior to the year one thouſand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be impoſed on ſuch importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each perſon.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus ſhall not be ſuſpended, unleſs when, in caſes of rebellion or invaſion, the public ſafety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex poſt facto law ſhall be paſſed.

No capitation, or other direct tax, ſhall be laid, unleſs in proportion to the cenſus, or enumeration, herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty ſhall be laid on articles exported from any State.—No preference ſhall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over thoſe of another: nor ſhall veſſels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another

No money ſhall be drawn from the treaſury, but in conſequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular ſtatement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money ſhall be publiſhed from time to time.

No title of nobility ſhall be granted by the United States.—And no perſon holding any office of profit or truſt under them, ſhall, without the conſent of Congreſs, accept of any preſent, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign ſtate.

SECT. X. No State ſhall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and repriſal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and ſilver coin a tender in payment of debts; paſs any bill of attainder, ex poſt facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State ſhall, without the conſent of the Congreſs, lay any impoſts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be abſolutely neceſſary for executing its inſpection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impoſts, laid by any State on imports or exports, ſhall be for the uſe of the Treaſury of the United States; and all ſuch laws ſhall be ſubject to the

the reviſion and controul of the Congreſs. No State ſhall, without the conſent of Congreſs, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ſhips of war, in time of peace, enter into any engagement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unleſs actually invaded, or in ſuch imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. THE executive power ſhall be veſted in a Preſident of the United States of America. He ſhall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-Preſident, choſen for the ſame term, be elected as follows:

Each State ſhall appoint, in ſuch manner as the legiſlature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of ſenators and repreſentatives to which the State may be intitled in the Congreſs: but no ſenator or repreſentative, or perſon holding an office of truſt or profit under the United States, ſhall be appointed an elector.

The electors ſhall meet in their reſpective States, and vote by ballot for two perſons, of whom one at leaſt ſhall not be an inhabitant of the ſame State with themſelves. And they ſhall make a liſt of all the perſons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which liſt they ſhall ſign, certify and tranſmit, ſealed, to the ſeat of the government of the United States, directed to the Preſident of the Senate. The Preſident of the Senate ſhall, in the preſence of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentative, open all the certificates, and the votes ſhall then be counted. The perſon having the greateſt number of votes ſhall be the Preſident, if ſuch number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have ſuch majority, and have an equal number of votes, than the Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall immediately chooſe, by ballot, one of them for Preſident; and if no perſon have a majority, then from the five higheſt on the liſt, the ſaid houſe ſhall in like manner chooſe the Preſident. But in chooſing the Preſident, the votes ſhall be taken by States, the repreſentations from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpoſe ſhall conſiſt of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States ſhall be neceſſary to a choice. In every caſe, after the choice of the Preſident, the perſon having the greateſt number of votes of the electors ſhall be the Vice-Preſident. But if there ſhould remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate ſhall chooſe from them by ballot the Vice-Preſident.

The Congreſs may determine the time of chooſing the electors, and the

the day on which they ſhall give their votes; which day ſhall be the ſame throughout the United States.

No perſon, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this conſtitution, ſhall be eligible to the office of Preſident; neither ſhall any perſon be eligible to that office who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a reſident within the United States.

In caſe of the removal of the Preſident from office, or of his death, reſignation, or inability to diſcharge the powers and duties of the ſaid office, the ſame ſhall devolve on the Vice-Preſident, and the Congreſs may by law provide for the caſe of removal, death, reſignation, or inability, both of the Preſident and Vice-Preſident, declaring what officer ſhall then act as Preſident, and ſuch officer ſhall act accordingly, until the diſability be removed, or a Preſident ſhall be elected.

The Preſident ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for his ſervices, a compenſation, which ſhall neither be increaſed or diminiſhed during the period for which he ſhall have been elected, and he ſhall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he ſhall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do ſolemnly ſwear (or affirm), that I will faithfully execute the "office of Preſident of the United States, and will, to the beſt of my "ability, preſerve, protect, and defend the conſtitution of the United "States."

Sec. 2. The Preſident ſhall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the ſeveral States, when called into the actual ſervice of the United States; he may requíre the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any ſubject relating to the duties of their reſpective offices, and he ſhall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences againſt the United States, except in caſes of impeachment.

He ſhall have power, by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the ſenators preſent concur; and he ſhall nominate, and by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate ſhall appoint ambaſſadors, other public miniſters, and conſuls, judges of the ſupreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whoſe appointments are not herein otherwiſe provided for, and which ſhall be eſtabliſhed by law. But the Congreſs may by law veſt the appointment of ſuch inferior officers, as they think proper, in the Preſident alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The preſident ſhall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the receſs of the ſenate, by granting commiſſions which ſhall expire at the end of their next ſeſſion.

SECT. 3. He ſhall from time to time give to the Congreſs information of the ſtate of the union, and recommend to their conſideration ſuch meaſures as he ſhall judge neceſſary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occaſions, convene both houſes, or either of them, and in caſe of diſagreement between them, with reſpect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to ſuch time as he ſhall think proper; he ſhall receive ambaſſadors and other public miniſters; he ſhall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and ſhall commiſſion all the officers of the United States.

SECT. 4. The Preſident, Vice-Preſident, and all civil officers of the United States, ſhall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treaſon, bribery, or other high crimes and miſdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. 1. The judicial power of the United States ſhall be veſted in one ſupreme court, and in ſuch inferior courts, as the Congreſs may from time to time ordain and eſtabliſh. The judges, both of the ſupreme and inferior courts, ſhall hold their offices during good behaviour, and ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for their ſervices, a compenſation, which ſhall not be diminiſhed during their continuance in office.

SECT. 2. The judicial power ſhall extend to all caſes, in law and equity, ariſing under this conſtitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under their authority; to all caſes affecting ambaſſadors, other public miniſters, and conſuls; to all caſes of admiralty and maritime juriſdiction; to controverſies to which the United States ſhall be a party; to controverſies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the ſame State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or ſubjects.

In all caſes affecting ambaſſadors, other public miniſters, and conſuls, and thoſe in which a State ſhall be party, the ſupreme court ſhall have original juriſdiction. In all the other caſes before mentioned, the ſupreme court ſhall have appellate juriſdiction, both as to law and fact, with ſuch exceptions, and under ſuch regulations as the Congreſs ſhall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in caſes of impeachment, ſhall be by jury; and ſuch trial ſhall be held in the State where the ſaid crime ſhall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial

trial ſhall be at ſuch place or places as the Congreſs may by law have directed.

SECT. 3. Treaſon againſt the United States ſhall conſiſt only in levying war againſt them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No perſon ſhall be convicted of treaſon, unleſs on the teſtimony of two witneſſes to the ſame overt act, or on confeſſion in open court.

The Congreſs ſhall have power to declare the puniſhment of treaſon, but no attainder of treaſon ſhall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the perſon attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECT. 1. Full faith and credit ſhall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congreſs may by general laws preſcribe the manner in which ſuch acts, records, and proceedings ſhall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. 2. The citizens of each State ſhall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the ſeveral States.

A perſon charged in any State with treaſon, felony, or other crime, who ſhall flee from juſtice, and be found in another State, ſhall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having juriſdiction of the crime.

No perſon held to ſervice or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, eſcaping into another, ſhall, in conſequence of any law or regulation therein, be diſcharged from ſuch ſervice or labour, but ſhall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom ſuch ſervice or labour may be due.

SECT. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congreſs into this union, but no new State ſhall be formed or erected within the juriſdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the conſent of the legiſlatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congreſs.

The Congreſs ſhall have power to diſpoſe of and make all needful rules and regulations reſpecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this conſtitution ſhall be ſo conſtrued as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECT. 4. The United States ſhall guarantee to every State in this union a republican form of government, and ſhall protect each of them againſt invaſion; and on application of the legiſlature, or of the executive, when the legiſlature cannot be convened, againſt domeſtic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congreſs, whenever two thirds of both houſes ſhall deem it ne-

ceſſary, ſhall propoſe amendments to this conſtitution, or, on the application of the legiſlatures of two thirds of the ſeveral States, ſhall call a convention for propoſing amendments, which, in either caſe, ſhall be valid to all intents and purpoſes, as part of this conſtitution, when ratified by the legiſlatures of three fourths of the ſeveral States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be propoſed by the Congreſs: provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thouſand eight hundred and eight, ſhall in any manner affect the firſt and fourth clauſes in the ninth ſection of the firſt article; and that no State, without its conſent, ſhall be deprived of its equal ſuffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into before the adoption of this conſtitution, ſhall be as valid againſt the United States under this conſtitution, as under the confederation.

This conſtitution, and the laws of the United States, which ſhall be made in purſuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under the authority of the United States, ſhall be the ſupreme law of the land; and the judges in every State ſhall be bound thereby, any thing in the conſtitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The Senators and Repreſentatives before mentioned, and the Members of the ſeveral State Legiſlatures, and all Executive and Judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the ſeveral States, ſhall be bound by oath or affirmation to ſupport this conſtitution; but no religious teſt ſhall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public truſt under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States ſhall be ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution, between the States ſo ratifying the ſame.

DONE in Convention, by the unanimous conſent of the States preſent, the ſeventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Eighty-ſeven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witneſs whereof, we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Preſident.*

Signed alſo by all the Delegates which were preſent from twelve States.

Atteſt. WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

In

In CONVENTION, Monday, September 17, 1787.

PRESENT,

The States of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

RESOLVED, That the preceding conſtitution be laid before the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it ſhould afterwards be ſubmitted to a Convention of Delegates, choſen in each State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legiſlature, for their aſſent and ratification; and that each Convention aſſenting to, and ratifying the ſame, ſhould give notice thereof to the United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as ſoon as the conventions of nine States ſhall have ratified this conſtitution, the United States in Congreſs aſſembled ſhould fix a day on which electors ſhould be appointed by the States which ſhall have ratified the ſame, and a day on which the electors ſhould aſſemble to vote for the Preſident, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Conſtitution. That after ſuch publication, the electors ſhould be appointed, and the ſenators and repreſentatives elected; that the electors ſhould meet on the day fixed for the election of the preſident, and ſhould tranſmit their votes certified, ſigned, ſealed, and directed, as the conſtitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled; that the ſenators and repreſentatives ſhould convene at the time and place aſſigned; that the ſenators ſhould appoint a preſident of the ſenate, for the ſole purpoſe of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for preſident; and that after he ſhall be choſen, the Congreſs, together with the preſident, ſhould, without delay, proceed to execute this conſtitution.

By the unanimous order of the Convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Preſident.*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

In CONVENTION, September 17, 1787.

SIR,

WE have now the honour to ſubmit to the conſideration of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, that conſtitution which has appeared to us the moſt adviſeable.

The friends of our country have long ſeen and deſired, that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correſpondent executive and judicial authorities, ſhould be fully and effectually veſted in the general government of the union; but the impropriety of delegating ſuch extenſive truſt to one body

body of men is evident. Hence reſults the neceſſity of a different organization.

It is obviouſly impracticable, in the federal government of theſe States, to ſecure all rights of independent ſovereignty to each, and yet provide for the intereſt and ſafety of all. Individuals entering into ſociety muſt give up a ſhare of liberty to preſerve the reſt. The magnitude of the ſacrifice muſt depend as well on ſituation and circumſtances, as on the object to be attained. It is at all times difficult to draw with preciſion the line between thoſe rights which muſt be ſurrendered, and thoſe which may be reſerved; and on the preſent occaſion this difficulty was increaſed by a difference among the ſeveral States as to their ſituation, extent, habits, and particular intereſts.

In all our deliberations on this ſubject, we kept ſteadily in our view, that which appears to us the greateſt intereſt of every true American, the conſolidation of our union, in which is involved our proſperity, felicity, ſafety, perhaps our national exiſtence. This important conſideration, ſeriouſly and deeply impreſſed on our minds, led each State in the convention to be leſs rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwiſe expected; and thus the conſtitution, which we now preſent, is the reſult of a ſpirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and conceſſion which the peculiarity of our political ſituation rendered indiſpenſable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected: but each will doubtleſs conſider, that had her intereſts been alone conſulted, the conſequences might have been particularly diſagreeable or injurious to others: that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reaſonably have been expected, we hope and believe: that it may promote the laſting welfare of that country ſo dear to us all, and ſecure her freedom and happineſs, which is our moſt ardent wiſh.

With great reſpect, we have the honour to be, Sir, your Excellency's moſt obedient, and humble ſervants,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Preſident.*

By unanimous order of the Convention.

His Excellency the Preſident of the Congreſs.

The conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the conſtitution expreſſed a deſire, in order to prevent miſconſtruction or abuſe of its powers, that further declaratory and reſtrictive clauſes ſhould be added: and as extending the ground of public confidence in the government will beſt enſure the beneficent ends of its inſtitution, it was

RESOLVED by the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States

States of America in Congreſs aſſembled, two-thirds of both houſes concurring, That the following articles be propoſed to the legiſlatures of the ſeveral States, as amendments to the conſtitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the ſaid legiſlatures, to be valid to all intents and purpoſes, as part of the ſaid conſtitution: viz.

ART. I. After the firſt enumeration required by the firſt article of the conſtitution, there ſhall be one repreſentative for every thirty thouſand, until the number ſhall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion ſhall be ſo regulated by Congreſs, that there ſhall be not leſs than one hundred repreſentatives, nor leſs than one repreſentative for every forty thouſand perſons, until the number of repreſentatives ſhall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion ſhall be ſo regulated by Congreſs, that there ſhall not be leſs than two hundred repreſentatives, nor more than one repreſentative for every fifty thouſand perſons.

ART. II. No law varying the compenſation for the ſervices of the ſenators and repreſentatives ſhall take effect, until an election of repreſentatives ſhall have intervened.

ART. III. Congreſs ſhall make no law reſpecting an eſtabliſhment of religion, or prohibiting the free exerciſe thereof; or abridging the freedom of ſpeech, or of the preſs; or the right of people peaceably to aſſemble, and to petition the government for a redreſs of grievances.

ART. IV. A well-regulated militia being neceſſary to the ſecurity of a free ſtate, the right of the people to keep and bear arms ſhall not be infringed.

ART. V. No ſoldier ſhall in time of peace be quartered in any houſe without the conſent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be preſcribed by law.

ART. VI. The right of the people to be ſecure in their perſons, houſes, papers, and effects, againſt unreaſonable ſearches and ſeizures, ſhall not be violated, and no warrants ſhall iſſue, but upon probable cauſe, ſupported by oath or affirmation, and particularly deſcribing the place to be ſearched, and the perſons or things to be ſeized.

ART. VII. No perſon ſhall be held to anſwer for a capital, or otherwiſe infamous crime, unleſs on a preſentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in caſes ariſing in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual ſervice, in time of war or public danger; nor ſhall be compelled in any criminal caſe to be a witneſs againſt himſelf, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due proceſs of law;

law; nor ſhall private property be taken for public uſe without juſt compenſation.

ART. VIII. In all criminal proſecutions the accuſed ſhall enjoy the right to a ſpeedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and diſtrict wherein the crime ſhall have been committed, which diſtrict ſhall have been previouſly aſcertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cauſe of the accuſation; to be confronted with the witneſſes againſt him; to have compulſory proceſs for obtaining witneſſes in his favour; and to have the aſſiſtance in counſel for his defence.

ART. IX. In ſuits at common law, where the value in controverſy ſhall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury ſhall be preſerved, and no fact, tried by a jury, ſhall be otherwiſe re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ART. X. Exceſſive bail ſhall not be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

ART. XI. The enumeration in the conſtitution, of certain rights, ſhall not be conſtrued to deny or diſparage others retained by the people.

ART. XII. The powers not delegated to the United States by the conſtitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reſerved to the States reſpectively, or to the people.

The following States have ratified all the foregoing articles of amendment to the conſtitution of the United States, viz. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, Virginia, and Vermont. New Hampſhire, New Jerſey, and Pennſylvania reject the ſecond article; and Delaware rejects the firſt article. No official returns, to our knowledge, have been made from the other States.

AGAINST this conſtitution, thus ratified, organized and eſtabliſhed, objections may no doubt be urged, and defects pointed out; it may be ſaid that it contains no declaration of rights, and that the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and conſtitutions of the ſeveral States, the declarations of rights in the ſeveral ſtate conſtitutions are no ſecurity—nor are the people ſecured even in the enjoyment of the benefits of the common law.

Owing to the ſmall number of members in the houſe of repreſentatives, there is not the ſubſtance, but the ſhadow only of repreſentation, which can never produce proper information in the legiſlature, or inſpire confidence in the people—the laws will therefore be generally made by men little concerned in, and unacquainted with, their effects and conſequences.

The

The Senate have the power of altering all money bills, and of originating appropriations of money, although they are not the immediate repreſentatives of the people, or amenable to them, theſe and their other great powers, viz. their power in the appointment of Ambaſſadors, and all public officers, in making treaties, and trying all impeachments; their influence upon, and connection with, the ſupreme executive. From theſe circumſtances, their duration of office, and their being a conſtant exiſting body, almoſt continually ſitting, joined with their being one complete branch of the Legiſlature, will deſtroy any and every balance in the government, and enable them to accompliſh what uſurpation they pleaſe upon the rights and liberties of the people.

The Judiciary of the United States is ſo conſtructed and extended as to abſorb and deſtroy the Judiciaries of the ſeveral States, thereby rendering law *tedious, intricate, and expenſive*, and juſtice in conſequence *unattainable* by a great part of the community, *as in*, thus enabling the rich, to oppreſs the poor.

The Preſident of the United States has no conſtitutional Council—a thing unknown in any ſafe and regular Government—he will therefore be unſupported by proper information and advice, and will generally be directed by minions and favourites, or he will become a tool to the Senate; or a Council of State will grow out of the principal officers of the great departments, the worſt and moſt dangerous of all ingredients for ſuch a Council in a free country; for they may be induced to join in any dangerous or oppreſſive meaſures to ſhelter themſelves, and prevent an inquiry into their own miſconduct in office: whereas, had a conſtitutional Council been formed, as was ſaid to have been propoſed, of ſix Members, viz. two from the Eaſtern, two from the Middle, and two from the Southern States, to be appointed by vote of the States in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, with the ſame duration and rotation of office as the Senate, the executive would always have had ſafe and proper information and advice; the Preſident of ſuch a Council might have acted as Vice Preſident of the United States, *pro tempore*, upon any vacancy or diſability of the Chief Magiſtrate, and the long-continued ſeſſions of the Senate would, in a great meaſure, have been prevented. From this fatal defect of a conſtitutional Council, has ariſen the improper power of the Senate in the appointment of public officers, and the alarming dependence and connection between that branch of the legiſlature and the executive. Hence alſo ſprung that unneceſſary and dangerous office of the Vice Preſident, who, for want of other employment, is made Preſident of the Senate, thereby dangerouſly blending the legiſlative and executive

powers; beſides always giving to ſome one of the States an unneceſſary and unjuſt pre-eminence over the others.

The Preſident of the United States has the unreſtrained power of granting pardon for treaſons, which may be ſometimes exerciſed to ſcreen from puniſhment, thoſe whom he had ſecretly inſtigated to commit the crime, and thereby prevent the diſcovery of his own guilt.

By declaring all treaties ſupreme laws of the land, the executive and ſenate have, in many caſes, an excluſive power of legiſlation, which might have been avoided by proper diſtinctions with reſpect to treaties, and requiring the aſſent of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, were it could be done with ſafety.

Under their own conſtruction of the general clauſe at the end of the enumerated powers, the Congreſs may grant monopolies in trade and commerce—conſtitute new crimes—inflict unuſual and ſevere puniſhments, and extend their power as far as they ſhall think proper—ſo that the State Legiſlatures have no ſecurity for the powers now preſumed to remain to them, or the people for their rights.

There is no declaration for preſerving the liberty of the preſs, the trial by jury in civil cauſes, nor againſt the danger of ſtanding armies in time of peace.

We admit theſe objections in part to be juſt, and view them as unanſwerable; but we conſider them as deducting but little from the beauty and order of the whole ſyſtem; they may all be corrected by the application of the ſame principles on which the Conſtitution is founded, and if all circumſtances are conſidered we ſhall, perhaps, rather be aſtoniſhed that its defects are ſo few and of ſo little importance.

To form a good ſyſtem of government, for a ſingle city or ſtate, however limited as to territory, or inconſiderable as to numbers, has been thought to require the ſtrongeſt efforts of human genius. With what conſcious diffidence, then, muſt the members of the convention have revolved in their minds, the immenſe undertaking which was before them. Their views could not be confined to a ſmall or a ſingle community, but were expanded to a great number of ſtates; ſeveral of which contain an extent of territory, and reſources of population, equal to thoſe of ſome of the moſt reſpectable kingdoms on this ſide of the Atlantic. Nor were even theſe the only objects to be comprehended within their deliberations. Numerous ſtates yet unformed: Myriads of the human race, who will inhabit regions hitherto uncultivated, were to be affected by the reſult of their proceedings. It was neceſſary, therefore, to form their calculations, on a ſcale commenſurate to ſo large a portion of the globe.

Thus

Thus a very important difficulty arose from comparing the extent of the country to be governed, with the kind of government which it would be proper to establish in it. It has been an opinion, countenanced by high authority, "that the natural property of small states is to be governed as a republic; of middling ones, to be subject to a monarch; and of large empires, to be swayed by a despotic prince; and that the consequence is, that, in order to preserve the principles of the established government, the state must be supported in the extent it has acquired; and that the spirit of the state will alter in proportion as it extends or contracts its limits *." This opinion seems to be supported rather than contradicted, by the history of the governments in the old world. Here then the difficulty appeared in full view. On one hand, the United States containing an immense extent of territory, according to the foregoing opinion, a despotic government was best adapted to that extent. On the other hand, it was well known, that, however the citizens of the United States might, with pleasure, submit to the legitimate restraints of a republican constitution, they would reject, with indignation, the fetters of despotism. What then was to be done? The idea of a confederate republic presented itself. A kind of constitution which has been thought to have "all the internal advantages of a republican, together with the external force of a monarchical government."

Its description is, "a convention, by which several states agree to become members of a larger one, which they intend to establish. It is a kind of assemblage of societies, that constitute a *new one*, capable of encreasing by means of farther association †." The *expanding* quality of such a government is peculiarly fitted for the United States, the greatest part of whose territory is yet uncultivated.

But while this form of government enabled them to surmount the difficulty last mentioned, it conducted them to another. It left them almost without precedent or guide; and consequently, without the benefit of that instruction, which, in many cases, may be derived from the constitution, history and experience of other nations. Several associations have frequently been called by the name of confederate states, which have not, in propriety of language, deserved it. The Swiss Cantons are connected only by alliances. The United Netherlands are indeed an assemblage of societies; but this assemblage constitutes *no new one*; and therefore, it does not correspond with the full definition of a confederate republic. The Germanic body is composed of such disproportioned and

* Montesquieu, b. 8. c. 20.

† Montesquieu, b. 9. c. 1.

diſcordant materials, and its ſtructure is ſo intricate and complex, that little uſeful knowledge could be drawn from it. Ancient hiſtory diſcloſes, and barely diſcloſes to our view, ſome confederate republics—the Achaean league – the Lycian confederacy, and the Amphyctyonic council. But the facts recorded concerning their conſtitutions are ſo few and general, and their hiſtories are ſo unmarked and defective, that no ſatisfactory information can be collected from them concerning many particular circumſtances; from an accurate diſcernment and compariſon of which alone, legitimate and practical inferences can be made from one conſtitution to another. Beſides, the ſituation and dimenſions of thoſe confederacies, and the ſtate of ſociety, manners and habits in them, were ſo different from thoſe of the United States, that the moſt correct deſcriptions could have ſupplied but a very ſmall fund of applicable remarks. Thus, in forming this ſyſtem, they were deprived of many advantages, which the hiſtory and experience of other ages and other countries would, in other caſes, have afforded them.

We may add, in this place, that the ſcience of government itſelf, ſeems yet to be almoſt in its ſtate of infancy. Governments, in general, have been the reſult of force, of fraud, and of accident. After a period of ſix thouſand years has elapſed, ſince the creation, the United States exhibit to the world, the firſt inſtance, as far as we can learn, of a nation, unattacked by external force, unconvulſed by domeſtic inſurrections, aſſembling voluntarily, deliberating fully, and deciding calmly, concerning that ſyſtem of government, under which they would wiſh that they and their poſterity ſhould live. The ancients, ſo enlightened on other ſubjects, were very uninformed with regard to this. They ſeem ſcarcely to have had any idea of any other kind of governments, than the three ſimple forms, deſigned by the epithets, monarchial, ariſtocratical and democratical. Much and pleaſing ingenuity has been exerted, in modern times, in drawing entertaining parallels between ſome of the ancient conſtitutions and ſome of the mixed governments that have ſince exiſted in Europe. But on ſtrict examination, the inſtances of reſemblance will be found to be few and weak; to be ſuggeſted by the improvements, which, in ſubſequent ages, have been made in government, and not to be drawn immediately from the ancient conſtitutions themſelves, as they were intended and underſtood by thoſe who framed them. One thing is very certain, that the doctrine of repreſentation in government was altogether unknown to the ancients. The knowledge and practice of which, is eſſential to every ſyſtem, that can poſſeſs the qualities of freedom, wiſdom and energy.

Repreſentation

Repreſentation is the chain of communication between the people, and thoſe, to whom they have committed the exerciſe of the powers of government. This chain may conſiſt of one or more links; but in all caſes it ſhould be ſufficiently ſtrong and diſcernable.

To be left without guide or precedent was not the only difficulty, in which the convention were involved, by propoſing to their conſtituents a plan of a confederate republic. They found themſelves embarraſſed with another, of peculiar delicacy and importance; I mean that of drawing a proper line between the national government, and the governments of the ſeveral ſtates. It was eaſy to diſcover a proper and ſatisfactory principle on the ſubject. Whatever object of government is confined in its operation and effects within the bounds of a particular ſtate, ſhould be conſidered as belonging to the government of that ſtate; whatever object of government extends, in its operation or effects, beyond the bounds of a particular ſtate, ſhould be conſidered as belonging to the government of the United States; but though this principle is ſound and ſatisfactory, its application to particular caſes would be accompanied with much difficulty; becauſe in its application, room muſt be allowed for great diſcretionary latitude of conſtruction of the principle. In order to leſſen, or remove the difficulty, ariſing from diſcretionary conſtruction on this ſubject, an enumeration of particular inſtances, in which the application of the principle ought to take place, has been attempted, with much induſtry and care. It is only in mathematical ſcience that a line can be deſcribed with mathematical preciſion. But upon the ſtricteſt inveſtigation, the enumeration will be found to be ſafe and unexceptionable; and accurate too in as great a degree as accuracy can be expected, in a ſubject of this nature.

After all, it was neceſſary, that, on a ſubject ſo peculiarly delicate as this, much prudence, much candour, much moderation and much liberality, ſhould be exerciſed and diſplayed, both by the federal government and by the governments of the ſeveral ſtates. And it is to be hoped, that theſe virtues will continue to be exerciſed and diſplayed, when we conſider, that the powers of the federal government and thoſe of the ſtate governments are drawn from ſources equally pure. If a difference can be diſcovered between them, it is in favor of the federal government, becauſe that government is founded on a repreſentation of the *whole* union; whereas the government of any particular ſtate is founded only on the repreſentation of a part, inconſiderable when compared with the whole. Is it not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the counſels of the whole will embrace the intereſt of every part, than that the counſels of any part will embrace the intereſts of the whole?

Having

Having enumerated ſome of the difficulties, which the convention were obliged to encounter in the courſe of their proceedings, let us view the end, which they propoſed to accompliſh.

In forming this ſyſtem, it was proper to give minute attention to the intereſt of all the parts; but there was a duty of ſtill higher import—to feel and to ſhew a predominating regard to the ſuperior intereſts of the whole. If this great principle had not prevailed, the plan before us would never have made its appearance.

The aim of the convention, was to form a ſyſtem of good and efficient government on the more extenſive ſcale of the United States. In this, and in every other inſtance, the work ſhould be judged with the ſame ſpirit, with which it was performed. A principle of duty as well as candour demands this.

It has been remarked, that civil government is neceſſary to the perfection of ſociety: We remark that civil liberty is neceſſary to the perfection of civil government. Civil liberty is natural liberty itſelf, diveſted only of that part, which, placed in the government, produces more good and happineſs to the community, than if it had remained in the individual. Hence it follows, that civil liberty, while it reſigns a part of natural liberty, retains the free and generous exerciſe of all the human faculties, ſo far as it is compatible with the public welfare.

In conſidering and developing the nature and end of the ſyſtem before us, it is neceſſary to mention another kind of liberty, which may be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *federal liberty*. When a ſingle government is inſtituted, the individuals, of which it is compoſed, ſurrender to it a part of their natural independence, which they before enjoyed as men. When a confederate republic is inſtituted, the communities, of which it is compoſed, ſurrender to it a part of their political independence, which they before enjoyed as ſtates. The principles, which directed, in the former caſe, what part of the natural liberty of the man ought to be given up, and what part ought to be retained, will give ſimilar directions in the latter caſe. The ſtates ſhould reſign, to the national government, that part, and that part only, of their political liberty, which placed in that government, will produce more good to the whole, than if it had remained in the ſeveral ſtates. While they reſign this part of their political liberty, they retain the free and generous exerciſe of all their other faculties as ſtates, ſo far as it is compatible with the welfare of the general and ſuperintending confederacy.

Since *ſtates* as well as *citizens* are repreſented in the conſtitution before us, and form the objects on which that conſtitution is propoſed to operate,

operate, it was neceſſary to notice and define *federal* as well as *civil* liberty.

We now ſee the great end which they propoſed to accompliſh. It was to frame, for their conſtituents, one federal and national conſtitution—a conſtitution, that would produce the advantages of good, and prevent the inconveniencies of bad government—a conſtitution, whoſe beneficence and energy would pervade the whole union; and bind and embrace the intereſts of every part—a conſtitution, that would enſure peace, freedom and happineſs, to the ſtates and people of America.

We are now naturally led to examine the means, by which they propoſed to accompliſh this end. But previouſly to our entering upon it, it will not be improper to ſtate ſome general and leading principles of government, which will receive particular application in the courſe of our inveſtigations.

There neceſſarily exiſts in every government, a power from which there is no appeal; and which, for that reaſon, may be termed ſupreme, abſolute and uncontrollable. Where does this power reſide? To this queſtion, writers on different governments will give different anſwers. According to Blackſtone, in this country, this power is lodged in the Britiſh parliament, and the parliament may alter the form of government; and its power is abſolute without control. The idea of a conſtitution, limiting and ſuperintending the operations of legiſlative authority, ſeems not to have been accurately underſtood in this kingdom. There are, at leaſt no traces of practice, conformable to ſuch a principle.

To control the power and conduct of the legiſlature by an over-ruling conſtitution, was an improvement in the ſcience and practice of government, reſerved to the American ſtates.

Perhaps ſome politician, who has not conſidered, with ſufficient accuracy, their political ſyſtems, would anſwer, that in their governments, the ſupreme power was veſted in the conſtitutions. This opinion approaches a ſtep nearer to the truth; but does not reach it. The truth is, that, in the American governments, the ſupreme, abſolute and uncontrollable power *remains* in the people. As their conſtitutions are ſuperior to their legiſlatures; ſo the people are ſuperior to their conſtitutions. Indeed the ſuperiority, in this laſt inſtance, is much greater; for the people poſſeſs, over their conſtitutions, control in *act*, as well as in right.

The conſequence is, that the people may change the conſtitutions, whenever, and however they pleaſe. This is a right, of which no poſitive inſtitution can ever deprive them.

Theſe important truths, are far from being merely ſpeculative: To their operation, we are to aſcribe the ſcene, hitherto unparallelled, which

America now exhibits to the world—a gentle, a peaceful, a voluntary and a deliberate tranſition from one conſtitution of government to another. In other parts of the world, the idea of revolutions in government is, by a mournful and indiſſoluble aſſociation, connected with the idea of wars, and all the calamities attendant on wars. But happy experience teaches us to view ſuch revolutions in a very different light—to conſider them only as progreſſive ſteps in improving the knowledge of government, and increaſing the happineſs of ſociety and mankind.

With ſilent pleaſure and admiration we view the force and prevalence of this ſentiment throughout the United States, that the ſupreme power reſides in the people; and that they never can part with it. It may be called the *Panacea* in politics. There can be no diſorder in the community but may here receive a radical cure. If the error be in the legiſlature, it may be corrected by the conſtitution: If in the conſtitution, it may be corrected by the people. There is a remedy, therefore, for every diſtemper in government; if the people are not wanting to themſelves. For a people wanting to themſelves, there is no remedy: From their power, there is no appeal: To their error, there is no ſuperior principle of correction.

The leading principle in politics, and that which pervades the American conſtitutions, is, that the ſupreme power reſides in the people; their conſtitution opens with a ſolemn and practical recognition of this principle; "WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, in order to form a more perfect union, eſtabliſh juſtice, &c. DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH this conſtitution, for the United States of America." It is announced in their name, it receives its political exiſtence from their authority—they ordain and eſtabliſh: What is the neceſſary conſequence?—thoſe who ordain and eſtabliſh, have the power, if they think proper, to repeal and annul.—A proper attention to this principle may ſatisfy the minds of ſome, who contend for the neceſſity of a bill of rights.

Its eſtabliſhment, I apprehend, has more force, than a volume written on the ſubject—it renders this truth evident, that the people have a right to do what they pleaſe, with regard to the government.

Therefore, even in a ſingle government, if the powers of the people reſt on the ſame eſtabliſhment, as is expreſſed in this conſtitution, a bill of rights is by no means a neceſſary meaſure. In a government poſſeſſed of enumerated powers, ſuch a meaſure would be not only unneceſſary, but prepoſterous and dangerous: whence come this notion, that in the United States there is no ſecurity without a bill of rights? Have the citizens of South-Carolina no ſecurity for their liberties? they have no bill of rights. Are the citizens on the eaſtern ſide of the Delaware leſs free, or leſs ſecured in their liberties, than thoſe on the weſtern ſide?

The

The ſtate of New-Jerſey has no bill of rights.—The ſtate of New-York has no bill of rights.—The ſtates of Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland have no bill of rights. I know not whether I have exactly enumerated the ſtates who have thought it unneceſſary to add a bill of rights to their conſtitutions: but this enumeration will ſerve to ſhew by experience, as well as principle, that even in ſingle governments, a bill of rights is not an eſſential or neceſſary meaſure.—But in a government, conſiſting of enumerated powers, ſuch as is adopted by the United States, a bill of rights would not only be unneceſſary, but, in my humble judgment, highly imprudent. In all ſocieties, there are many powers and rights, which cannot be particularly enumerated. A bill of rights annexed to a conſtitution, is an enumeration of the powers reſerved. If we attempt an enumeration, every thing that is not enumerated, is preſumed to be given. The conſequence is, that an imperfect enumeration would throw all implied power into the ſcale of the government; and the rights of the people would be rendered incomplete. On the other hand; an imperfect enumeration of the powers of government, reſerves all implied power to the people; and, by that means the conſtitution becomes incomplete; but of the two, it is much ſafer to run the riſk on the ſide of the conſtitution; for an omiſſion in the enumeration of the powers of government, is neither ſo dangerous, nor important, as an omiſſion in the enumeration of the rights of the people.

In this conſtitution, the citizens of the United States appear diſpenſing a part of their original power, in what manner and in what proportion they think fit. They never part with the whole; and they retain the right of re-calling what they part with. When, therefore, they poſſeſs, the fee-ſimple of authority, why ſhould they have recourſe to the minute and ſubordinate remedies, which can be neceſſary only to thoſe, who paſs the fee, and reſerve only a rent-charge?

To every ſuggeſtion concerning a bill of rights, the citizens of the United States may always ſay, WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO DO WHAT WE PLEASE.

This obſervation naturally leads to a more particular conſideration of the government before us. In order to give permanency, ſtability and ſecurity to any government, it is of eſſential importance, that its legiſlature ſhould be reſtrained; that there ſhould not only be, what we call a *paſſive*, but an *active* power over it; for of all kinds of deſpotiſm, this is the moſt dreadful, and the moſt difficult to be corrected.

It is therefore proper to have efficient reſtraints upon the legiſlative body. Theſe reſtraints ariſe from different ſources: In the American conſtitution they are produced in a very conſiderable degree, by a diviſion

ſion of the power in the legiſlative body itſelf. Under this ſyſtem, they may ariſe likewiſe from the interference of thoſe officers, who are introduced into the executive and judicial departments. They may ſpring alſo from another ſource; the election by the people; and finally, under this conſtitution, they may proceed from the great and laſt reſort—from the PEOPLE themſelves.

In order to ſecure the preſident from any dependence upon the legiſlature, as to his ſalary, it is provided, that he ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for his ſervices, a compenſation that ſhall neither be increaſed nor diminiſhed, during the period for which he ſhall have been elected, and that he ſhall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them individually.

To ſecure to the judges independence, it is ordered that they ſhall receive for their ſervices, a compenſation which ſhall not be diminiſhed during their continuance in office. The congreſs may be reſtrained, by the election of its conſtituent parts. If a legiſlature ſhall make a law contrary to the conſtitution, or oppreſſive to the people, they have it in their power, every ſecond year, in one branch, and every ſixth year in the other, to diſplace the men, who act thus inconſiſtent with their duty; and if this is not ſufficient, they have ſtill a farther power; they may aſſume into their own hands, the alteration of the conſtitution itſelf—they may revoke the leaſe, when the conditions are broken by the tenant.

There is ſtill a further reſtraint upon the legiſlature—the qualified negative of the preſident. This will be attended with very important advantages, for the ſecurity and happineſs of the people of the United States. The preſident, will not be a ſtranger to the country, to its laws, or its wiſhes. He will, under this conſtitution, be placed in office as the preſident of the whole union, and be choſen in ſuch a manner that he may juſtly be ſtiled THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE; being elected by the different parts of the United States, he will conſider himſelf as not particularly intereſted for any one of them, but will watch over the whole with paternal care and affection. This will be his natural conduct, to recommend himſelf to thoſe who placed him in that high chair, and it is a very important advantage, that ſuch a man muſt have every law preſented to him, before it can become binding upon the United States. He will have before him the fulleſt information of their ſituation, he will avail himſelf not only of records and official communications, foreign and domeſtic, but he will have alſo the advice of the executive officers in the different departments of the general government.

If in conſequence of this information and advice, he exerciſe the authority

authority given to him, the effect will not be loſt—he returns his objections, together with the bill, and unleſs two thirds of both branches of the legiſlature are *now* found to approve it, it does not become a law. But even if his objections do not prevent its paſſing into a law, they will not be uſeleſs; they will be kept together with the law, and, in the archives of congreſs, will be valuable and practical materials, to form the minds of poſterity for legiſlation—if it is found that the law operates inconveniently, or oppreſſively, the people may diſcover in the preſident's objections, the ſource of that inconvenience or oppreſſion. Further, when objections ſhall have been made, it is provided, in order to ſecure the greateſt degree of caution and reſponſibility, that the votes of both houſes ſhall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the perſons, voting for and againſt the bill, ſhall be entered in the journal of each houſe reſpectively. Thus much, with regard to the Conſtitution itſelf, the diſtribution of the legiſlative authority, and the reſtraints under which it is exerciſed.

On the whole, though there are ſome parts of the conſtitution which we cannot approve; and which no doubt, by the powers veſted in congreſs, and the legiſlatures of the different ſtates, for that purpoſe, will in due time be altered or corrected, as prudence ſhall dictate; yet there is much, that entitles it to the reſpect of every friend to the freedom and happineſs of mankind:—the people retain the ſupreme power, and exerciſe it by repreſentation:—the legiſlative, executive and judicial powers, are kept independent and diſtinct from each other;—the executive power, is ſo ſettled as to ſecure VIGOUR and ENERGY with ACTUAL RESPONSIBILITY, in the perſon of the preſident, who ſo far from being above the laws, is amenable to them, in his private character, of a citizen.—The line is drawn with accuracy between the powers of the general government, and the government of the particular ſtates, ſo that no diſtruſt can ariſe to diſturb the harmony of their union while the powers of both DERIVED BY REPRESENTATION FROM THE PEOPLE, muſt effectually prevent any diſagreement or diſcontent from taking place.—Thus a principle of democracy being carried into every part of the conſtitution, and repreſentation, and direct taxation, going hand in hand, the proſperity of the country and the ſtability of its government, will keep pace with each other.

We cannot take leave of this ſubject, better than in the energetic and elegant language of Dr. Ramſey, with whoſe ſentiments we agree, and with whoſe wiſhes we unite.

"Citizens of the United States! you have a well-balanced conſtitution eſtabliſhed by general conſent, which is an improvement on all re-

publican forms of government heretofore eſtabliſhed. It poſſeſſes the freedom and independence of a popular aſſembly, acquainted with the wants and wiſhes of the people, but without the capacity of doing thoſe miſchiefs which reſult from uncontrouled power in one aſſembly. The end and object of it is public good. If you are not happy it will be your own fault. No knave or fool can plead an hereditary right to ſport with your property or your liberties. Your laws and your law-givers muſt all proceed from yourſelves. You have the experience of nearly ſix thouſand years, to point out the rocks on which former republics have been daſhed to pieces. Learn wiſdom from their misfortunes. Cultivate juſtice both public and private. No government will or can endure, which does not protect the rights of its ſubjects. Unleſs ſuch efficient regulations are adopted, as will ſecure property as well as liberty, one revolution will follow another. Anarchy, monarchy, or deſpotiſm, will be the conſequence. By juſt laws and the faithful execution of them, public and private credit will be reſtored, and the reſtoration of credit will be a mine of wealth to this young country. It will make a fund for agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, which will ſoon enable the United States to claim an exalted rank among the nations of the earth. Such are the reſources of your country, and ſo trifling are your debts, compared with your reſources, that proper ſyſtems, wiſely planned and faithfully executed, will ſoon fill your extenſive territory with inhabitants, and give you the command of ſuch ample capitals, as will enable you to run the career of national greatneſs, with advantages equal to the oldeſt kingdoms of Europe. What they have been ſlowly growing to, in the courſe of near two thouſand years, you may hope to equal within one century. If you continue under one government, built on the ſolid foundations of public juſtice, and public virtue, there is no point of national greatneſs to which you may not aſpire with a well-founded hope of ſpeedily attaining it. Cheriſh and ſupport a reverence for government, and cultivate an union between the Eaſt and South, the Atlantic and the Miſſiſſippi. Let the greateſt good of the greateſt number, be the pole-ſtar of your public and private deliberations. Shun wars, they beget debt, add to the common vices of mankind, and produce others, which are almoſt peculiar to themſelves. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are your proper buſineſs. Seek not to enlarge your territory by conqueſt; it is already ſufficiently extenſive. You have ample ſcope for the employment of your moſt active minds, in promoting your own domeſtic happineſs. Maintain your own rights, and let all others remain in quiet poſſeſſion of theirs. Avoid diſcord, faction, luxury, and the other vices which have been the bane of commonwealths.

monwealths. Cherish and reward the philosophers, the statesmen, and the patriots, who devote their talents and time, at the expence of their private interests, to the toils of enlightening and directing their fellow citizens, and thereby rescue citizens and rulers of republics from the common, and too often merited, charge of ingratitude. Practise industry, frugality, temperance, moderation, and the whole lovely train of republican virtues. Banish from your borders the liquid fire of the West-Indies, which, while it entails poverty and disease, prevents industry, and foments private quarrels. Venerate the plough, the hoe, and all the implements of agriculture. Honour the men, who with their own hands maintain their families, and raise up children who are inured to toil, and capable of defending their country. Reckon the necessity of labour not among the curses, but the blessings of life. Your towns will probably ere long be engulphed in luxury and effeminacy. If your liberties and future prospects depended on them, your career of liberty would probably be short; but a great majority of your country, must, and will be yeomanry, who have no other dependence than on Almighty God for his usual blessing on their daily labour. From the great excess of the number of such independent farmers in these States, over and above all other classes of inhabitants, the long continuance of your liberties may be reasonably presumed."

"Let the hapless African sleep undisturbed on his native shore, and give over wishing for the extermination of the ancient proprietors of this land. Universal justice is universal interest. The most enlarged happiness of one people, by no means requires the degradation or destruction of another. It would be more glorious to civilise one tribe of savages, than to exterminate or expel a score, There is territory enough for them and for you. Instead of invading their rights, promote their happiness, and give them no reason to curse the folly of their fathers, who suffered your's to sit down on a soil which the common Parent of us both had previously assigned to them: but above all, be particularly careful that your own descendents do not degenerate into savages. Diffuse the means of education, and particularly of religious instruction, through your remotest settlements. To this end, support and strengthen the hands of your public teachers. Let your voluntary contributions confute the dishonourable position, that religion cannot be supported but by compulsory establishments. Remember that there can be no political happiness without liberty; that there can be no liberty without morality; and that there can be no morality without religion."

"It is now your turn to figure on the face of the earth, and in the annals of the world. You possess a country which in less than a century will

will probably contain fifty millions of inhabitants. You have, with a great expence of blood and treaſure, reſcued yourſelves and your poſterity from the domination of Europe. Perfect the good work you have begun, by forming ſuch arrangements and inſtitutions, as bid fair for enſuring, to the preſent and future generations, the bleſſings for which you have ſucceſsfully contended."

"May the Almighty Ruler of the Univerſe, who has raiſed you to independence, and given you a place among the nations of the earth, make the American Revolution an era in the hiſtory of the world, remarkable for the progreſſive increaſe of human happineſs!"

Having conſidered the Conſtitution in its theory, it now remains to contemplate it as reduced to practice; or rather the government ariſing out of it: and here the United States preſent to our view, a picture very different, from any we behold in the various countries of Europe.

In the United States we ſee the people raiſed to their due importance, reſorting to firſt principles, aſſerting their own independance and forming a government for themſelves; and when eleven years experience had convinced them of its inſufficiency to ſecure the important ends for which they deſigned it, we again behold them laying it aſide, and diſcarding the contemptable arguments that would render innovation formidable, raiſing a new and more perfect ſyſtem in its place, publiſhing it in their own name and giving it energy and effect, by their own willing ſubmiſſion to the laws and regulations it enjoins—here then we contemplate the government ſpringing from its right ſource; originating with the people, and exerciſed under the guidance of a conſtitution formed agreeable to their ſovereign will. On the contrary, if we carefully examine the Conſtitutions, or what are ſo called, in Europe, we ſhall find that they have had their origin in governments, prior formed by conqueſt and uſurpation; and that what appearance of order they have aſſumed, what portion the people poſſeſs in them, or what proviſion they make for the ſecurity of their liberties or property, have all been gradually procured by the people, ſtruggling againſt the ſeverity and oppreſſion of the feudal ſyſtem. Such was the origin of our Magna Charta, Habeas Corpus Act, and Bill of Rights, and ſuch has been the origin of the ſmall portion of liberty, which the other European nations poſſeſs. It is to America we muſt look for the firſt and bright example, of a nation ſitting down in peace, cauſing a defective government to paſs away without a groan, and erecting another in its ſtead more beneficial, and more congenial with its wiſhes.

The goodneſs of a government, muſt be eſtimated by the ſhare which the people at large have in it, the benefits they derive from it, and the

ſmall portion of individual liberty and property ſurrendered for its ſupport. If we apply this criterion to the government of the American Empire, we ſhall find that it has a ſtrong claim to our approbation, the whole of it may juſtly be conſidered as in the hands of the people. Its beneficial influence, may be fairly concluded from the riſing importance, and rapid improvements of the United States; and the ſmall portion of property ſurrendered for its ſupport will appear evident, if we conſider the following eſtimates laid before the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

EXPENDITURE.

Eſtimate of the Expenditure for the CIVIL LIST *of the United States, together with the Incidental and Contingent Expences of the ſeveral Departments and Offices, for the Year* 1794.

PRESIDENTS.

	Dols.	Dols.
For compenſation to the Preſident of the United States	25,000	
Ditto to the Vice Preſident	5,000	
		30,000

JUDGES.

Compenſation to the Chief Juſtice	4,000	
Ditto, to five aſſociate Judges, at 3,500 dollars per annum each	17,500	
Ditto, to the Judges of the following diſtricts, viz.		
Maine	1,000	
New Hampſhire	1,000	
Vermont	800	
Maſſachuſetts	1,200	
Rhode Iſland	800	
Connecticut	1,000	
New York	1,500	
New Jerſey	1,000	
Pennſylvania	1,600	
Delaware	800	
Maryland	1,500	
Virginia	1,800	
Kentucky	1,000	
North Carolina	1,500	
South Carolina	1,800	
Georgia	1,500	
Attorney General	1,900	
		43,200

MEMBERS

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND THEIR OFFICERS.

Compenſation to the Members of Congreſs, eſtimating the attendance of the whole for ſix months.

Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, at twelve dollars per day		2,190
One hundred and thirty-four members, at ſix dollars per day		146,730
Travelling expenſes to and from the ſeat of government		25,000
Secretary of the Senate, for one years ſalary	1,500	
Additional allowance eſtimated for ſix months, at two dollars per day	365	
		1,865
Principal clerk to the Secretary of the Senate, for 365 days, at three dollars per day		1,095
Two engroſſing clerks to ditto, at two dollars per day each, for 365 days		1,460
Chaplain to the Senate, eſtimated for ſix months, at 500 dols. per annum		250
Door-keeper to the Senate, one year's ſalary		500
Aſſiſtant door-keeper, do. do.		450
Clerk to the Houſe of Repreſentatives, one year's ſalary	1,500	
Additional allowance, eſtimated for ſix months, at two dollars per day	365	
		1,865
Principal clerk in the office of the clerk of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, for 365 days, at 3 dols. per day		1,095
Two engroſſing clerks at two dollars per day each, for 365 days		1,460
Chaplain to the Houſe of Repreſentatives, eſtimated for ſix months, at 500 dollars per ann.		250
Serjeant at Arms for the ſame time, at four dols. per day		730
Door-keeper to the Houſe of Repreſentatives, one year's ſalary		500
Aſſiſtant door-keeper do. do.		450
		185,890

TREASURY

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Secretary of the Treaſury - -	3,500	
Two principal clerks at 800 dollars each -	1,600	
Five clerks, at 500 dols. each - -	2,500	
Meſſenger and office-keeper - -	250	
		7,850
Comptroller of the Treaſury - -	2,650	
Principal clerk - - -	800	
Thirteen clerks, at 500 dollars each -	6,500	
Meſſenger and office-keeper - -	250	
		10,200
Treaſurer - - - -	2,400	
Principal clerk - - -	600	
Two clerks, at 500 dollars each - -	1,000	
Meſſenger and office-keeper - -	100	
		4,100
Auditory of the Treaſury - -	2,400	
Principal clerk - - -	800	
Fourteen clerks, at 500 dollars each -	7,000	
Salary of the meſſenger - -	250	
		10,450
Commiſſioner of the revenue - -	2,400	
Principal and ſix other clerks, on the buſineſs of the revenue, light houſes, general returns, and ſtatements, &c. - - -	3,500	
Meſſenger and office-keeper - -	250	
		6,150
Regiſter of the treaſury - -	2,000	
Three clerks on the impoſt, tonnage, and exciſe accounts - - -	1,500	
Two ditto, on the books and records relative to the receipt and expenditures of public monies -	1,000	
Two ditto, on the duties aſſigned to the regiſter, by the acts concerning the regiſtering and recording, enrolling and licenſing ſhips or veſſels -	1,000	
Three ditto, for drawing out, checking, and iſſuing, and taking receipts for certificates of the domeſtic and aſſumed debts - - -	1,500	
Three ditto on the books of the general and particular loan offices, comprehending the intereſt, accounts, and claimed dividends, at the ſeveral loan offices -	1,500	

	Dols.	
Six clerks on the books and records which relate to the public creditors, on the feveral defcriptions of ftock and tranfers - - -	3,000	
Two ditto, on the books and records of regiftered debt, including the payment of its intereft -	1,000	
One ditto, to complete the arrangement of the public fecurities in books prepared for their reception in numerical order - - -	500	
Two ditto, on the books of the late government	1,000	
One tranfcribing clerk - - -	500	
Two office-keepers, incident to the feveral offices of record, at 250 dollars per annum each -	500	
		15,000
		53,750

Department of State.

The Secretary of State - - -	3,500	
Chief Clerk - - -	800	
Four clerks, at 500 dollars each - -	2,000	
Clerk for foreign languages - -	250	
Office-keeper and Meffenger - -	250	
		6,800

Mint of the United States.

Director of the Mint - -	2,000	
Affayer - - -	1,500	
Chief coiner - - -	1,500	
Engraver - - - -	1,500	
* Three clerks, at 500 dollars each -	1,500	
The Director eftimates ten or twelve workmen at 65 dollars per week - -	3,385	
		11,285

* The director obferves, that three clerks are eftimated to provide againft a contingency; but of the three eftimated for laft year, only one had been employed, and that at 400 dollars per annum, excepting three months laft winter, for which one other was paid at the rate of 500 dollars per annum.

Depart-

	Dols.	Dols.
Department of War.		
The Secretary of the department	3,000	
Principal clerk	800	
Six clerks, at 500 dollars each	3,000	
Meſſenger and office-keeper	250	
		7,050
Accomptant of the war department	1,200	
Seven clerks, at 500 dollars each	3,500	
		4,700
		11,750
Land Officers.		
For New Hampſhire	650	
Maſſachuſetts	1,500	
Rhode Iſland	600	
Connecticut	1,000	
New York	1,500	
New Jerſey	700	
Pennſylvania	1,500	
Delaware	600	
Maryland	1,000	
Virginia	1,500	
North Carolina	1,000	
South Carolina	1,000	
Georgia	700	
		13,250
Government of the Western Territory.		
Diſtrict North Weſt of the River Ohio.		
Governor, for his ſalary as ſuch, and for diſcharging the duties of Superintendant of Indian Affairs, Northern Department	2,000	
The Secretary of the ſaid diſtrict	750	
Three Judges at 800 dols. each	2,400	
Stationary, office-rent, &c.	350	
		5,500

	Dols.	Cts.
District South-West of the River Ohio.		
Governor, for his salary as such, and for discharging the duties of Superintendant of Indian Affairs, Southern Department -	2,000	
Secretary of the said district - -	750	
Three Judges at 800 dols. each - -	2,400	
Stationary, office-rent, &c. - -	350	
		5,500
PENSIONS GRANTED BY THE LATE GOVERNMENT.		
Isaac Van Voert, John Paulding, and David Williams, each a pension of 200 dols. per annum pursuant to an act of Congress of 23d Nov. 1780 - - -	600	
Dominique L'Eglize, per act of Congress of 8th August, 1792 - - -	120	
Joseph Traverse per ditto - -	120	
Youngest children of the late major-general Warren, per act of the 1st July, 1780.	450	
Samuel M'Kenzie, Joseph Bruffels, and John Jordon, per act of 10th Sep. 1783, entitled to a pension of forty dols. each per annum -	120	
Eliz. Bergen, per act of 21st August, 1781	53	33
Joseph De Beauleau, per act of 5th August, 1782	100	
Richard Gridley, per acts of 17th Nov. 1775, and 26th Feb. 1781 - -	444	40
Lieut. Col. Toufard, per act of 27th Oct. 1788	360	
		2,367 73
GRANT TO BARON STEUBEN, &c.		
His annual allowance per act of Congress -	2,500	
Annual allowance to the widow and orphan children of Col. John Harding, per act of 27th Feb. 1793	450	
Annual allowance to the orphan children of Major Alexander Trueman, per same act -	300	
Annual allowance for the education of Hugh Mercer, son of the late major-general Mercer, per act dated 2d March, 1793 - -	400	
		3,650

FOR

		Dols. Cts.
FOR THE INCIDENTAL AND CONTINGENT EXPENCES RELATIVE TO THE CIVIL LIST ESTABLISHMENT *.		
Secretary of the Senate, his eſtimate -	3,000	
Clerk of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, his do.	7,000	
		10,000
TREASURY DEPARTMENT.		
Secretary of the Treaſury, per eſtimate -	500	
Comptroller of the Treaſury, per do. -	800	
Treaſurer, per do. - - -	400	
Commiſſioner of the Revenue, per do. -	300	
Auditor of the Treaſury, per do. -	500	
Regiſter of the Treaſury (including books for the public ſtocks) per do. - -	2,000	
Rent of the Treaſury - -	650	
Ditto, of a houſe taken for a part of the office of the Regiſter - - -	240	
Ditto, of a houſe for the office of the Commiſſioner of the Revenue, and for part of the office of the Comptroller, and part of the office of the Auditor	266 66	
Rent of a houſe for the office of the Auditor, and a ſmall ſtore for public papers - -	440	
Wood for the department (Treaſurers excepted) candles, &c. - - -	1,200	
		7,296 66
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.		
Including the expenſe which will attend the publication of the laws of the firſt ſeſſion of the third Congreſs, and for printing an edition of the ſame to be diſtributed according to law -		2,061 67
MINT OF THE UNITED STATES.		
The Director eſtimates for the ſeveral expenſes of the mint, including the pay of a refiner, when employed, for gold, ſilver and copper, and for the completion of the melting furnaces -		2,700

* Under this head are comprehended fire-wood and ſtationary, together with printing work, and all the contingent expenſes of the two houſes of Congreſs, rent and office expenſes of the three ſeveral departments, viz. Treaſury, State and War, and alſo for the Mint of the United States.

DEPART-

DEPARTMENT OF WAR.

		Dols.	Cts.
Secretary at War, per ſtatement - -	800		
Accomptant to the war department - -	400		
	1,200		
		23,258	33
Total Dollars		397,201	6

An additional Eſtimate, for making good deficiencies for the ſupport of the Civil Liſt eſtabliſhment, for aiding the fund appropriated for the payments of certain officers of the Courts, Jurors and Witneſſes, for the ſupport of the Lighthouſes, and for other purpoſes.

			Dols.	Cts.
To make good deficiencies for the ſupport of the Civil Liſt for the year 1793.				
Extra clerk-hire, in the office of the Secretary of State, in preparing documents for Congreſs	600			
For an index to the laws of the 2d Congreſs	200			
		800		
The Secretary at War, his eſtimates to make good ſo much ſhort, eſtimated, for contingent expences for the year 1793 - -			205	76
Additional compenſation from 1ſt Oct. 1793, to 31ſt December following, to certain public officers, by act paſſed the ſecond of March, 1793*.				
Auditor of the Treaſury, at 500 dols. per ann.	125			
Commiſſioners of the Revenue, ditto -	125			
Comptroller of the Treaſury, at 500 dols. per annum - - - - -	62	50		
Regiſter of the Treaſury, ditto - -	62	50		
		375		
			1,380	76

* By the ſaid act, this additional compenſation commenced the firſt of April, 1793, the two quarters preceding the firſt Oct. 1793, were paid out of the ſum of 5,169 dollars, granted in the appropriation of 1,589,044 76-100 dollars for the purpoſe of diſcharging claims admitted in due courſe of ſettlement at the Treaſury.

The

Expences of Commiſſioners of Loans for Clerk-hire and Stationary, from 1ſt March, 1793, to 31ſt December, 1794.

The accounts of many of the ſaid commiſſioners having been tranſmitted to the treaſury, under an idea that legiſlative proviſion will be made for defraying the ſaid expences, the following ſtatement, extracted from their ſaid accounts, ſo far as the ſame have been rendered, will ſhew the amount thereof at each loan-office, viz.

		Dols.	Cts.
NEW-HAMPSHIRE, Eſtimate		697	1
MASSACHUSETTS,			
Account rendered in the month of March -	326 12		
Do. from 1ſt April to 30th June - -	816 97		
Do. from 1ſt July to 30th Sept - -	865 85		
Eſtimate from 1ſt October to 31ſt December, the ſame as the preceding quarter - -	865 85		
		2,874	79
RHODE-ISLAND.			
Account rendered from 1ſt March to 31ſt ditto -	68 83		
Ditto from 1ſt April to 30th June - -	190 74		
Eſtimate from 1ſt July to 31ſt Dec. - -	381 48		
		641	5
CONNECTICUT.			
Account rendered from 1ſt March to 30th June -	408 94		
Do. from 1ſt July to 30th Sept. - -	256 52		
Eſtimate from 1ſt Oct. to 31ſt Dec. - -	256 52		
		921	98
NEW-YORK.			
Account rendered from 1ſt March to 31ſt March	515		
Do. from 1ſt April to 30th June - -	1,430 38		
Do. from 1ſt July to 30th Sept. - -	1,303 81		
Eſtimate from 6th Oct. to 31ſt Dec. - -	1,303 81		
		4,553	
NEW-JERSEY.			
Account rendered from 1ſt March to 31ſt March -	26		
Do. from 1ſt April to 30th June - -	8		
Do. from 1ſt July to 30th Sept - - -	54 52		
Eſtimate from 1ſt Oct. to 31ſt Dec. - -	54 52		
		221	4

PENNSYL-

			Dols. Cts.
PENNSYLVANIA.			
Account rendered from 1ſt March to 31ſt do. -	154 16		
Eſtimate from 1ſt April to 31ſt Dec. - -	1,317 44		
			1,541 62
DELAWARE.			
Account rendered from 1ſt March to 31ſt do. -	25		
Eſtimate from 1ſt April to 31ſt Dec. - -	225		
			250
MARYLAND.			
Account rendered from 1ſt to 31ſt March -	110 50		
Eſtimate from 1ſt April to 31ſt Dec. - -	991 50		
			1,102
VIRGINIA.			
Account rendered from 1ſt to 31ſt March - -	227 16		
Do. from 1ſt April to 30th June - -	741 19		
Do. from 1ſt July to 30th September - -	649 5		
Eſtimate from 1ſt Oct. to 31ſt Dec. - -	649 5		
			2,266 45
NORTH CAROLINA.			
Eſtimate from 1ſt March to 31ſt December, 1793			800
SOUTH CAROLINA.			
Account rendered from 1ſt to 31ſt March -	127 47		
Dit. from 1ſt April to 30th June - -	377 50		
Do. from 1ſt July to 30th September - -	380 43		
Eſtimate from 1ſt Oct. to 31ſt December -	380 43		
			1,265 83
GEORGIA.			
Eſtimate from 1ſt March to 31ſt Decem. 1793			240
For clerk-hire and ſtationary of the ſeveral ſtate commiſſioners of loans, from 1ſt January, 1794, to the 31ſt of December following, eſtimated on a reference to the claims exhibited and referred to in the above ſtatement, at - - -			22,622 25

CLERKS OF COURTS, JURIES, WITNESSES, &c.

The fund ariſing from fines, forfeitures and penalties, having laſt year proved inſufficient for the diſcharge of the accounts of clerks, &c. to

	Dols.	Dols.
which they were appointed, a ſum for the preſent year is eſtimated, in order to provide againſt a ſimilar contingency, of - - - - - -		12,000
For the maintenance and ſupport of light-houſes, beacons, public piers and ſteakage of channels, bars, and ſhoals, and for occaſional improvements in the conſtruction of lanterns, and of the lamps and materials uſed therein - -	20,000	
To make good a deficiency in the eſtimate for 1792, for the ſame objects - - - - - -	4,000	
		24,000
For the expences towards the ſafe-keeping and proſecuting of perſons committed for offences againſt the United States - - - - - -	4,000	
For the purchaſe of hydrometers for the uſe of the officers of the Cuſtoms and Inſpectors of the Revenue, for the year 1794 - - - - - -	1,500	
		5,500
FOR THE COINAGE OF COPPER AT THE MINT OF THE UNITED STATES.		
To replace ſo much advanced at the Bank of the United States, for the purpoſe of an importation of copper, under the ſuperintendance of the Director of the Mint - - - - - - - -	10,000	
To pay for copper purchaſed in the year 1793 -	7,350	
For the purchaſe of ditto 1794 - - - - -	7,350	
		24,700
Arrears of Penſion due to the Widow and Orphan children of Col. John Harding,		
For their allowance from 1ſt of July 1792, to the 31ſt of Dec. 1793, per act of Congreſs, dated Feb. 27, 1793, at 450 dollars per annum - - -	675	
Arrears of Penſion due to the Orphan children of major Alexander Truman		
For the allowance from 1ſt July, 1792, to the 31ſt Dec. 1793, per act of Congreſs, dated 27th Feb. 1793, at 300 dollars per annum - - -	450	
		1,125
For the indemnification of the eſtimate of the late major general Green, for certain bonds entered into by him, during the late war, upon the principles of the act of Congreſs for that purpoſe, dated 27th April, 1792		

	Dols.	Dols.
For a balance ſtated by the Auditor of the Treaſury to be due to ſaid eſtate, in which is included intereſt due on bonds from their dates, to 12th April, 1793		33,187
To defray the expences incident to the ſtating and printing the public accounts for the year 1793, in compliance with the order of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, of 30th Dec. 1791	800	
For the diſcharge of ſuch demands againſt the United States, not otherwiſe provided for, as ſhall have been aſcertained and admitted in due courſe of ſettlement at the treaſury, and which are of a nature according to the uſage thereof to require payment in ſpecie	5,000	
		5,800
Total		147,689,78

Eſtimate of the Expences of the War Department, for the year, 1794.

AMOUNT OF PAY.

	Dols.	Cts.
General Staff	14,772	
The firſt ſub-legion	72,228	
ſecond ſub-legion	72,228	
third ſub-legion	72,228	
fourth ſub-legion	72,228	
Subſiſtence	312,567	75
Forage	31,632	
Cloathing	112,000	
Equipments for the Cavalry	7,314	5
Horſes for the Cavalry	16,000	
Bounty	5,000	
Hoſpital department	20,000	

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

For the ſalaries of ſtore-keepers at the different Arſenals	3,912
Rents	1,083
Labourers, &c.	1,720
The expences of new carriages for 230 pieces of braſs field artillery, at the different arſenals of the United States, averaged at 140 dollars each	32,100

The

	Dols.	Cts.
The expences of new carriages for 134 iron cannon, with garriſon carriages, averaged at 50 dollars each	6,700	
The expence of 20 mortar beds, at 40 dollars each	800	
Repairs of 14,000 arms at two dollars each -	28,000	
Clearing of 12,000 do. at 25 cents, in the different arſenals	3,000	
Repairs of fortifications at Weſt Point -	10,000	
The expence of caſting 50 braſs field pieces out of the uſeleſs mortars - - -	2,500	
One hundred tons of lead, at 8. 2-3 dollars per hundred	17,333	34
Seventy-five tons of gun-powder, at 20 dollars per hundred	30,000	
One thouſand rifled muſkets, at 12 dollars each -	12,000	
Equipments for Cavalry - -	8,250	
Ten thouſand knapſacks, at 50 cents each -	5,000	
Ten thouſand cartridge boxes, at one dollar each -	10,000	
Two thouſand tents, at 10 dollars each -	20,000	
One hundred horſeman's tents, at 20 dollars each -	2,000	
Twenty officers marquees, at 150 dollars each -	3,000	
For a magazine and buildings proper to conſtitute a magazine and arſenal above Albany, in the ſtate of New York	5,000	
For the purchaſe of ground for ditto - -	1,000	
For the ſame objects in a ſuitable poſition above the falls of Delaware - - -	6,000	
Defenſive protection of the frontiers - -	130,000	
For defraying the expences of the Indian department	50,000	
Quarter Maſter's department - -	150,000	
Contingencies of War Department - -	30,000	
Invalid Penſioners - - -	80,239	55
Total. Dollars	1,457,835	69

Circumſtances having rendered it neceſſary to attend to the defence of the frontiers, as well as the fortification of the principal ports of the United States, a conſiderable addition muſt be made to this eſtimate for the preſent year.

TOTAL EXPENDITURE.

On the firſt of theſe eſtimates relating to the civil liſt, or expenditure for the ſupport of government during the year 1794, including the incidental and contingent expences of the ſeveral departments and offices -	397,201	6

	Dols. Cts.
On the ſecond relating to certain deficiencies in former appropriations for the ſupport of government, to a proviſion in aid of the fund heretofore eſtabliſhed for the compenſation of certain officers of the courts, jurors, witneſſes, &c. to the maintenance of light-houſes, beacons, buoys and public piers, and to certain other purpoſes therein ſpecified— - -	147,689 78
The third relating to the department of war, comprehending the probable expenditure of that department for the year 1794, including certain extraordinaries for buildings, repairs, arms and military ſtores, amounting to 202,783 dollars and 34 cents, and a ſum of 80,239 dollars and 55 cents, for penſions to invalids -	1,457,835 69
Total amount	2, 32,741 53

FINANCES.

The funds, out of which appropriations may be made for the foregoing purpoſes, are—1ſt. The ſum of 600,000 dollars reſerved annually for the ſupport of government, out of the duties on imports and tonnage, by the act making proviſion for the debt of the United States, and which will accrue in the year 1794.—2d. The ſurplus of revenue and income beyond the appropriations heretofore charged thereupon, to the end of the ſame year 1794. The ſtatement herewith ſubmitted, ſhews a ſurplus to the end of 1793, of 2,534,212 dollars, and 82 cents, which it is believed may be relied upon.

Statement of the Revenue of the United States, and Appropriations charged thereon to the end of the year 1793.

REVENUE.

	Dols. Cts.
Proceeds of the duties on imports and tonnage, and of fines, penalties and forfeitures, from the commencement of the preſent government to the 31ſt of Dec. 1791 - - -	6,534,263 84
Proceeds of duties on ſpirits diſtilled within the United States, for a half year, ending the 31ſt of Dec. 1791, agreeable to accounts ſettled at the treaſury -	141,649 98

Proceeds

	Dols. Cts.
Proceeds of duties on imports and tonnage, and of fines, penalties, and forfeitures for the year 1792, agreeable to accounts ſettled at the treaſury - -	4,615,559
Proceeds of duties on ſpirits diſtilled within the United States in the year 1792, agreeable to accounts ſettled at the Treaſury 294,344 35, to which add the difference between the ſaid ſum, and the amount eſtimated for 1792, for accounts remaining to be ſettled 105,655 dollars and 65 cents - -	400,000
Proceeds of duties on imports and tonnage, and of fines penalties and forfeitures for the year 1793, eſtimated at nearly the ſame as for the year 1792 -	4,617,510
Proceeds of duties on ſpirits diſtilled within the United States, in the year 1793, eſtimated at the ſame as for the year 1792 - - -	400,000
Caſh received in the Treaſury to the end of the year 1791, from fines, penalties and forfeitures, and for balances - - -	11,335 98
Caſh received into the Treaſury to the end of the year 1792, for arms and accoutrements ſold, fines and penalties, balance of accounts ſettled, and on account of the dividend declared by the bank of the United States to June 30, 1792 - -	21,860 87
Caſh received into the Treaſury during the year 1793, on account of patents, 630 dollars of cents and half cents coined at the mint 1,154 3-100 dollars, balances due under the government 8,448, 58-100 dollars; and on account of dividends declared by the bank of the United States, from the 1ſt of July, 1792, to the 30th June, 1793, 38,500 dollars : -	48,732 61
Eſtimated product of the dividend to be declared from the 1ſt of July to the 31ſt of Dec. 1793, beyond the intereſt payable to the bank on the loan of two millions	10,000
	16,801,112 23

APPROPRIATIONS.

Dates of Acts.		Dols. Cts.
1789, Aug. 20.	For treaties with the Indians -	20,000
Sept. 29.	For the ſervice of the year 1789	693,000
1790, Mar. 26.	For the ſupport of government for the year 1790 - -	754,658 99

		Dols.	Cts.
1790, July 1.	For intercourſe with foreign nations, for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792	120,000	
	For ſatisfying the claims of John M'Cord	1,309	71
July 22.	For treaties with certain Indian tribes	20,000	
Aug. 4.	For intereſt on the debts, foreign and domeſtic, for the year 1791, eſtimated at -	2,060,861	40
	For ditto ditto 1792 -	2,849,194	73
	For ditto ditto 1793 -	2,849,194	73
	For the eſtabliſhment of cutters	10,000	
10.	For finiſhing the light-houſe on Portland-head - -	1,500	
	For the relief of diſabled ſoldiers and ſeamen, and certain other perſons	548	57
12.	For ſundry objects -	233,219	97
	For the reduction of the public debt, being ſurplus of revenue to the end of the year 1790 -	1,374,656	40
1791, Feb. 11.	For the ſupport of government during the year 1791, and for other purpoſes	740,232	60
March 3.	For a recognition of the treaty with Morocco - -	20,000	
	For compenſations to the officers of the judicial courts, jurors, and witneſſes, and for other purpoſes; being net proceeds of fines, penalties and forfeitures to the end of the year 1791	4,055	33
	For raiſing and adding another regiment to the military eſtabliſhment, and for making farther proviſion for the protection of the frontiers	312,686	20
Dec. 23.	For the ſupport of government for the year 1792 - -	1,059,222	81
1792, April 2.	For finiſhing the light-houſe on Baldhead - -	4,000	
	For the mint eſtabliſhment -	7, 000	
13.	For compenſating the corporation of truſtees of the public grammar ſchool and academy of Wilmington -	2,533	64

		Dols.	Cts.
May 2.	For the protection of the frontiers, and other purpoſes -	673,500	
	For intereſt on 400,000 dollars received on account of a loan from the bank of the United States of 523,500 dollars, to Dec. 31, 1793 -	28,753	41
8.	For ſundry objects -	84,497	90
	For compenſating the ſervices of the late Col. George Gibſon -	1,000	
	For an advance on account of the claim of John Brown Cutting -	2,000	
1793, Feb. 9.	For intercourſe with foreign nations for the year 1793 - -	40,000	
28.	For the ſervice of the year 1793	1,589,044	72
	For intereſt on a loan of 800,000 dollars from the bank of the United States, to 31ſt Dec. 1793 -	18,333	
	For defraying the expence of clerks of courts, jurors and witneſſes, being the net proceeds of fines, penalties and forfeitures, to the end of the year 1792	301	46
March 2.	For treaties with the Indian tribes north weſt of the river Ohio -	100,000	
	For the relief of Elijah Boſtwick	145	42
	For defraying certain ſpecific demands	59,107	41
		14,266,899	41
	Balance being the eſtimated ſurplus of revenue to the end of the year 1793, collected and to be collected, beyond the appropriations charged thereon	2,534,212	82
	Dols.	16,801,112	23

The product of the duties on imports and tonnage, for the preſent year, is eſtimated, according to the aſcertained amount, in the preceding year. This eſtimate is juſtified by the abſtract herewith alſo ſubmitted, exhibiting the product for the two firſt quarters of the preſent year, as founded on returns received at the treaſury, being 2,568, 870 dollars and

and 22 cents. The product for the two remaining quarters is not computed as high as that of the two first, because circumstances and information render it probable, that it will be less, and that the drawbacks payable within the last, will be more considerable than those payable within the first half year. The ascertained product of 1792, the rates of duty being the same, is deemed the safest guide. Some savings upon the sum appropriated for different purposes may render this estimated surplus more considerable than is stated: but while the extent of these savings cannot be deemed very great, their amount (these purposes not being yet fully satisfied) cannot be pronounced. If the product of the year 1794, should equal that of the present year, the fund will be more than sufficient for the appropriation proposed to be charged upon it. If this cannot entirely be counted upon, it is hoped that a reliance may be entertained of its proving at least adequate.

Abstract of the New Amount of Duties on Imports and Tonnage, which have accrued in the United States during the first and second Quarters of the Year 1793.

STATES.	*1st Qr. Ending 31st March 1793.* Dolls.	Cents.	*2d Qr. ending 30th June.* Dolls.	Cents.	*Total amount.* Dolls.	Cents.
N. Hampshire	-		26,393	26	26,393	26
Massachusetts	7,823	52 3-4	340,621	5 3-4	348,444	58 1-2
Rhode Island	1,665	52	67,078	93	68,744	45
Connecticut	26,394	47	70,507	84	96,902	31
Vermont	-		-		-	
New York	122,419	49	532,542	45	654,961	94
New Jersey	924	31	1,879	4	2,803	35
Pennsylvania	157,523	93	586,000		743,523	93
Delaware	129	7	2,319	71	2,448	78
Maryland	49,512	54 3-4	161,987	28 3-4	211,499	83 1-2
Virginia	40,993	15	104,182	62 1-2	145,175	77 1-2
Kentucky	-		-		-	
N. Carolina	25,371	75 3-4	16,696	93	42,068	68 3-4
S. Carolina	91,040	54	106,547	64	197,588	18
Georgia	27,923	23	2,367	67	30,290	90
	551,721	54 1-4	2,019,124	44	2,570,845	98 1-4
Deduct N. Hamp.	1,893	42 1-2	-		-	
Vermont.	-		82	33	1,975	75 1-22
Net amount	549,828	11 3-4	2,019,042	11	2,568,870	22 3-4

But there is a provision also to be made for the payment of interest on the balances found by the commissioners for settling accounts between the

the United and individual States, in favour of certain ſtates. The annual ſum of intereſt upon thoſe balances, is 128,978 dollars and 8 cents, computed according to the proportions by which intereſt is adjuſted on the aſſumed debt. If Congreſs ſhall think proper to make the requiſite proviſion out of the duties on imports and tonnage, it will be neceſſary to its efficacy, that a priority be ſecured to it: an object which will require attention in making the appropriations above contemplated. It is conſidered, that there will be ſtill no hazard of deficiency; and if there ſhould be any, it would ſeem moſt proper, that it ſhould fall on the appropriation for the current ſervice, to be ſupplied, till further proviſion can be made, by a loan.

A proviſion for paying, during the year 1794, intereſt on ſuch part of the domeſtic debt, as may remain unſubſcribed, will come under a like conſideration.

It appears proper, likewiſe, to notice, that no proviſion has yet been made, for paying the yearly intereſt, on the two million loan had of the bank of the United States. The bank has hitherto diſcounted the amount of that intereſt out of its dividends on the ſtock belonging to the United States, but for want of an approbation the buſineſs cannot receive a regular adjuſtment at the treaſury. An appropriation of ſo much of the dividends as may be neceſſary towards the payment of the intereſt will obviate the difficulty.—The ſecond inſtalment of that loan has been compriſed in the foregoing view; becauſe it is imagined that Congreſs may judge it expedient to provide for its payment out of the foreign fund, as they did with regard to the firſt inſtalment. The ſtatement herewith alſo communicated, exhibits the preſent ſituation of that fund, ſhewing a balance unexpended of five hundred and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand, two hundred and eighty-four dollars, and fifty-ſix cents, liable to the obſervation at the bottom thereof.

STATE OF MONIES *transferred to the United States, out of the proceeds of Foreign Loans.*

	Dr.
To this ſum paid to France for the uſe of St. Domingo - - - - Dols.	726,020
Payment to France of 3 millions of livres, purſuant to an agreement with M. Ternaat -	544,500
Ditto for miſcellaneous purpoſes paid to M. Tenant - - - - -	49,400
Inſtalment due to France, September 3d, 1793, 1,500,000 livres - - -	272,250

Inſtalment due to France November 5th, 1793, 1,000,000 livres.			
On which there has been paid	Dols.	178,879 35	
Balance to be paid - -		2,620 65	
			181,500
Payment made to foreign officers - - -	Dols.	66,089 77	
Reſerved to be paid -		125,227 13	
			191,316 90
This ſum expended in purchaſes of the public debt, viz.			
1793, Feb. 4,	Dols.	50,000	
Ditto 19,		234,901 89	
Sept. 2,		5,000	
			334,901 89
Inſtalment to the bank of the United States			200,000
Balance ſubject to further diſpoſition			577,284 56
		Dols.	3,077,373 35

By this ſum drawn by the treaſurer on the commiſſioners in Amſterdam.

Cr.

Florins	5,649,621 8	—2,305,769 13	
From which deduct the amount of bills ſold to the bank of the United States, afterwards ſurrendered	495,000	— 200,000	
	5,154,621 2-8		1,105,769 13

By this ſum applied in Europe to the payment of intereſt, for which proviſion was made out of domeſtic funds, and thereby virtually drawn to the United States, viz.

Intereſt from the 1ſt of Feb. 1791, to the 1ſt of Dec. 1793, paid and to

be

be paid, Florins	2,940,790 13		
From which deduct			
this ſum remitted from hence	536,565 4		
Florins	2,404,225 9* at 36 4-11		971,404, 22
		Dols.	3,077,173, 35

But in judging of the expediency of making the proviſion intimated, it is neceſſary to take into conſideration, that on the firſt of June 1794, a ſecond inſtalment of 1,000,000 of florins, of the capital of the Dutch debt, became payable; for which, by the laſt advices, it appeared problematical, owing to the ſituation of the affairs of Europe, whether proviſion could be made by a further loan. This circumſtance is an obſtacle to the immediate application of the reſidue of the foreign fund according to its deſtination—that being the only reſource yet provided, out of which the inſtalment of the Dutch debt can be paid, if a farther loan cannot be procured in time. More deciſive information on the point may every day be expected.

In the mean time, no inconvenience can enſue from applying a portion of that reſidue to the payment of the inſtalment of the two million loan—the degree in which it will intrench upon the means in poſſeſſion for ſatisfying the enſuing inſtalment of the Dutch debt, being eaſily ſuſceptible of a ſubſtitute, And there will be time enough for providing one, if a loan ſhould not be obtained.

By an arrangement made with the bank, the intereſt of the firſt inſtalment ceaſed the laſt of December 1792, though the payment could not legally be conſummated till July following.

A proviſion for payment on the ſecond inſtalment at the end of the preſent year will continue this deſirable courſe, and work a public ſaving; though, owing to the long credits given for the duties, anticipations of their proceeds, by temporary loans, may be neceſſary to the being prepared for the exigences of the current ſervice.

Thus the preſent eligible ſituation of the United States, compared to that of Great Britain, or Europe at large, as it reſpects taxes or contributions, for the payment of all public charges, appears manifeſt.

* The preciſe account of ſums thus paid for intereſt, cannot be definitively pronounced till the completion of the ſettlement of foreign accounts, now going on at the treaſury.

In the United States, the average proportion of his earnings, which each citizen pays per annum, for the ſupport of the civil, military, and naval eſtabliſhments, and for the diſcharge of the intereſt of the public debts of his country, &c. is about one dollar and a quarter. In Great Britain, the taxes of theſe objects, on an average, amount to above two guineas per annum to each perſon. Hence it appears, that in the United States they enjoy the bleſſings of a free government and mild laws, of perſonal liberty, and protection of property, for nearly one tenth part of the ſum which is paid in England for the purchaſe of ſimilar benefits, too generally without the attainment of them. The American citizen likewiſe has the proſpect of the taxes, which he pays, ſmall as they are, being leſſened, while the ſubjects of all the old European governments can have no expectation but of their burdens being increaſed.

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

This ſociety, inſtituted immediately on the cloſe of the war, in 1783, has made ſo much noiſe both in Europe and America, and has derived ſuch dignity and importance from the characters who compoſe it, that it is thought proper to inſert the inſtitution at large, for the information of the uninformed, and for the gratification of the reſpectable members of the Cincinnati, who wiſh to have their friendly and charitable intentions fully underſtood by all claſſes of their fellow citizens.

It originated with General Knox, who, with the good intention of reconciling the minds of his military brethren to the private life on which they were ſoon to enter, projected the plan. Knox imparted his propoſals to certain officers. They were afterward communicated to the ſeveral regiments of the reſpective lines, and an officer from each was appointed, who, with the generals, ſhould take the ſame into conſideration at a meeting to be held on the 10th of May, at which Baron Stuben, the ſenior officer preſent, preſided. At their next meeting on the 13th, the plan, having been reviſed, was accepted. The ſubſtance of it was—"The officers of the American army do hereby, in the moſt ſolemn manner, aſſociate, conſtitute, and combine themſelves, into one *Society of Friends*, to endure as long as they ſhall endure, or ANY OF THEIR ELDEST MALE POSTERITY; and in failure thereof, THE COLLATERAL BRANCHES, WHO MAY BE JUDGED WORTHY OF BECOMING ITS SUPPORTERS AND MEMBERS.—The officers of the American army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, poſſeſs high veneration for the character of that illuſtrious Roman,

LUCIUS

LUCIUS QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, and being reſolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenſhip, they think they may with propriety denominate themſelves The Society of the Cincinnati. The following principles ſhall be immutable—an inceſſant attention to preſerve inviolate the exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they have fought and bled—An unalterable determination to promote and cheriſh between the reſpective ſtates, union and national honour—To render permanent, cordial affection, and the ſpirit of brotherly kindneſs among the officers—and to extend acts of beneficence toward thoſe officers and their families, who may unfortunately be under the neceſſity of receiving it. The general ſociety will, for the ſake of frequent communications, be divided into ſtate ſocieties; and thoſe again into ſuch diſtricts as ſhall be directed by the ſtate ſocieties. The ſtate ſocieties ſhall meet on the fourth of July annually, and the general ſociety on the firſt Monday in May annually, ſo long as they ſhall deem it neceſſary, and afterward at leaſt once in every three years. The ſtate ſocieties are to have a preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary, treaſurer, and aſſiſtant-treaſurer. The meeting of the general ſociety ſhall conſiſt of its officers, and a repreſentation from each ſtate ſociety, in number not exceeding five, whoſe expences ſhall be borne by their reſpective ſtate ſocieties. In the general meeting, the preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary, aſſiſtant-ſecretary, treaſurer, and aſſiſtant-treaſurers-general, ſhall be choſen to ſerve until the next meeting. Thoſe officers who are foreigners, are to be conſidered as members in the ſocieties of any of the ſtates in which they may happen to be. As there are and will at all times be men in the reſpective ſtates eminent for their abilities and patriotiſm, whoſe views may be directed to the ſame laudable objects with thoſe of the Cincinnati, it ſhall be a rule to admit ſuch characters, as honorary members of the ſociety for their own lives only: provided that the number of the honorary members do not exceed a ratio of one to four of the officers and their deſcendants. The ſociety ſhall have an *order*, by which its members ſhall be known and diſtinguiſhed, which ſhall be a medal of gold, of a proper ſize to receive the propoſed emblems, and to be ſuſpended by a deep blue ribbon, two inches wide, edged with white, deſcriptive of the union of America and France."

The ſociety at the ſaid meeting directed, that the preſident-general ſhould tranſmit, as ſoon as might be, to each of the following characters, a medal containing the order of the ſociety, viz, the chevalier de la Luzerne, the Sieur Gerard, the count d'Eſtaing, the count de Graſſe, the count de Barras, the chevalier d'Eſtouches, the count

de

de Rochambeau, and the generals and colonels in the army; and ſhould acquaint them, that "the ſociety do themſelves the honor to conſider them as members." They alſo reſolved, that the members of the ſeveral ſtate ſocieties ſhould aſſemble as ſoon as might be for the choice of their officers; "that general Heath, baron Steuben, and general Knox, be a committee to wait on the commander in chief, with a copy of the inſtitution, and requeſt him to honor the ſociety by placing his name at the head of it." They likewiſe deſired general Heath, to tranſmit copies of the inſtitution with the proceedings thereon, to the commanding officer of the ſouthern army, the ſenior officer in each ſtate, from Pennſylvania to Georgia incluſive, and to the commanding officer of the Rhode Iſland line, requeſting them to take ſuch meaſures as may appear to them neceſſary for expediting the eſtabliſhment of their ſtate ſocieties. Circular letters were accordingly written; and the plan of the Cincinnati carried into execution, without the leaſt oppoſition being given to it by any one ſtate, or body of men in any.

A pamphlet was at length publiſhed, ſigned CASSIUS, dated Charleſton, October 10, 1783, entitled, Conſiderations on the Society or order of Cincinnati; with this motto, "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion." It was thought to have been written by Ædanus Burke, Eſq. one of the chief juſtices of South Carolina; and is well executed. The author undertook to prove that the Cincinnati erected two diſtinct orders among the Americans—1ſt, A race of hereditary nobles, founded on the military, together with the powerful families, and firſt-rate leading men in the ſtate, whoſe view it would ever be, *to rule:* and 2dly, The people or plebeians, whoſe only view was, not to be oppreſſed; but whoſe fate it would be to ſuffer oppreſſion under the inſtitution. Remarking upon the reaſon for the members being called the *Cincinnati*, he exclaims—"As they were taken from the citizens, why in the name of God not be contented to return to citizenſhip, without uſurping an hereditary order? or with what propriety can they denominate themſelves from Cincinnatus, with an ambition ſo rank as to aim at nothing leſs, than *Otium cum Dignitate*, retirement and a peerage? Did that virtuous Roman, having ſubdued the enemies of his country, and returned home to tend his vineyards and plant his cabbages, confer an hereditary order of peerage on himſelf and his fellow ſoldiers? I anſwer, No; it was more than he dared to do. When near the end he ſays,—With regard to myſelf, I will be candid to own, that although I am morally certain the inſtitution will entail upon us the evils I have mentioned; yet I have not the

moſt

moſt diſtant idea, that it will come to a diſſolution. The firſt claſs, or leading gentry in the ſtate [of South Carolina], and who will always hold the government, will find their intereſt in ſupporting a diſtinction that will gratify their ambition, by removing them far above their fellow citizens. The middling order of our gentry, and ſubſtantial landholders, may ſee its tendency; but they can take no ſtep to oppoſe it, having little to do with government. And the lower claſs, with the city populace, will never reaſon on it till they feel the ſmart, and then they will have neither the power nor capacity for a reformation."

The alarm became general, the extreme jealouſy of the new republics, ſuſpected danger from the union of the leaders of their late army, and eſpecially from a part of the inſtitution which held out to their poſterity the honour of being admitted members of the ſame ſociety. To obviate all grounds of jealouſy and fear, the general meeting of the ſociety recommended an alteration of their inſtitution to the ſtate ſocieties, which has been adopted. By this recommendation it was propoſed to expunge EVERY THING THAT WAS HEREDITARY, and to retain little elſe than their original name, and a ſocial charitable inſtitution for perpetuating their perſonal friendſhip, and relieving the wants of their indigent brethren.

The INSTITUTION *of the* SOCIETY, *as altered and amended at their firſt General Meeting at* PHILADELPHIA, *May*, 1784.

'IT having pleaſed the ſupreme governor of the univerſe to give ſucceſs to the arms of our country, and to eſtabliſh the United ſtates free and independent: Therefore, gratefully to commemorate this event—to inculcate to the lateſt ages the duty of laying down in peace, arms aſſumed for public defence, by forming an inſtitution which recognizes that moſt important principle—to continue the mutual friendſhips which commenced under the preſſure of common danger, and to effectuate the acts of beneficence, dictated by the ſpirit of brotherly kindneſs, towards thoſe officers and their families, who unfortunately may be under the neceſſity of receiving them; the officers of the American army do hereby conſtitute themſelves into *A ſociety of friends:* and, poſſeſſing the higheſt veneration for the character of that illuſtrious Roman, *Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus*, denominate themſelves THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

SECT. I. 'The perſons who conſtitute this ſociety, are all the commiſſioned and brevet officers of the army and navy of the United States, who have ſerved three years, and who left the ſervice with reputation;

reputation; all officers who were in actual ſervice at the concluſion of the war; all the principle ſtaff-officers of the continental army; and the officers who have been deranged by the ſeveral reſolutions of Congreſs, upon the different reforms of the army.

SECT. II. 'There are alſo admitted into this ſociety, the late and preſent miniſters of his moſt chriſtian majeſty to the United States; all the generals and colonels of regiments and legions of the land forces; all the admirals and captains of the navy, ranking as colonels, who have co-operated with the armies of the United States in their exertions for liberty; and ſuch other perſons as have been admitted by the reſpective ſtate-meetings.

SECT. III. 'The ſociety ſhall have a preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary, and aſſiſtant ſecretary.

SECT. IV. 'There ſhall be a meeting of the ſociety, at leaſt once in three years, on the firſt Monday in May, at ſuch place as the preſident ſhall appoint.

'The ſaid meeting ſhall conſiſt of the aforeſaid officers, whoſe expences ſhall be equally born by the ſtate funds, and a repreſentation from each ſtate.

'The buſineſs of this general meeting ſhall be—to regulate the diſtribution of ſurplus funds; to appoint officers for the enſuing term—and to conform the bye-laws of ſtate meetings to the general objects of the inſtitution.

SECT. V. 'The ſociety ſhall be divided into ſtate-meetings: each meeting ſhall have a preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary and treaſurer, reſpectively to be choſen by a majority of votes annually.

SECT. VI. 'The ſtate meetings ſhall be on the anniverſary of independence. They ſhall concert ſuch meaſures as may conduce to the benevolent purpoſes of the ſociety; and the ſeveral ſtate-meetings ſhall, at ſuitable periods, make application to their reſpective legiſlatures for grants of charters.

SECT. VII. 'Any member removing from one ſtate to another, is to be conſidered, in all reſpects, as belonging to the meeting of the ſtate in which he ſhall actually reſide.

SECT. VIII. 'The ſtate-meeting ſhall judge of the qualification of its members, admoniſh, and, if neceſſary, expel any one who may conduct himſelf unworthily.

SECT. IX. 'The ſecretary of each ſtate-meeting ſhall regiſter the names of the members reſident in each ſtate, and tranſmit a copy thereof to the ſecretary of the ſociety.

SECT. X. 'In order to form funds for the relief of unfortunate members,

members, their widows and orphans, each officer ſhall deliver to the treaſurer of the ſtate-meeting, one month's pay.

SECT. XI. 'No donation ſhall be received but from the citizens of the United States.

SECT. XII. 'The funds of each ſtate-meeting ſhall be loaned to the ſtate, by permiſſion of the legiſlature, and the intereſt only, annually be applied for the purpoſes of the ſociety; and if, in proceſs of time, difficulties ſhould occur in executing the intentions of this ſociety, the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates ſhall be entitled to make ſuch equitable diſpoſition as may be moſt correſpondent with the original deſign of the conſtitution.

SECT. XIII. 'The ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, members of this ſociety, may hold meetings at their pleaſure, and form regulations for their police, conformable to the objects of the inſtitution, and to the ſpirit of their government.

SECT. XIV. 'The ſociety ſhall have an order; which ſhall be an eagle of gold, ſuſpended by a deep blue ribbon, edged with white, deſcriptive of the union of America and France, bearing on its breaſt the emblems deſcribed, as follows.

'The principal figure to be CINCINNATUS, three ſenators preſenting him with a ſword and other military enſigns: On a field in the back ground his wife ſtanding at the door of the cottage; near it a plough, and other inſtruments of huſbandry. Round the whole, *omnia reliquit ſervare rempublicam.* On the reverſe, the ſun riſing, a city with open gates, and veſſels entering the port; Fame crowning *Cincinnatus* with a wreath, inſcribed, *virtutis præmium.* Below, hands joining, ſupporting a heart, with the motto, *eſto perpetua.* Round the whole, *Societas Cincinnatorum, inſtituta A. D.* 1783.

AGRICULTURE.

The three important objects of attention in the United States are agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. The richneſs of the ſoil, which amply rewards the induſtrious huſbandman; the temperature of the climate, which admits of ſteady labour; the cheapneſs of land, which tempts the foreigner from his native home, lead us to conſider agriculture as the preſent great leading intereſt of that country. This furniſhes outward cargoes, not only for all their own ſhips, but for thoſe alſo which foreign nations ſend to their ports; or in other words, it pays for all their importations; it ſupplies a great part of the clothing of the inhabitants, and food for them and their cattle. What is con-

fumed at home, including the materials, for manufacturing, is four or five times the value of what is exported.

The number of people employed in agriculture, is at leaſt three parts in four of the inhabitants of the United States; ſome ſay more. It follows of courſe that they form the body of the militia, who are the bulwark of the nation. The value of their property occupied by agriculture, is many times greater than the property employed in every other way. The ſettlement of waſte lands, the ſubdiviſion of farms, and the numerous improvements in huſbandry, annually increaſe the pre-eminence of the agricultural intereſt. The reſources they derive from it, are at all times certain and indiſpenſably neceſſary: beſides, the rural life promotes health, by its active nature; and morality, by keeping the people from the luxuries and vices of the populous towns. In ſhort, agriculture is the ſpring of their commerce, and the parent of manufactures.

COMMERCE.

The vaſt extent of ſea-coaſt, which ſpreads before the confederated ſtates; the number of excellent harbours and ſea-port towns they poſſeſs; the numerous creeks and immenſe bays, which indent the coaſt; and the rivers, lakes, and canals, which peninſulate the whole country; added to its agricultural advantages and improvements, give this part of America ſuperior advantages for trade. Their commerce, including their exports, imports, ſhipping, manufactures, and fiſheries, may properly be conſidered as forming one intereſt. This has been conſidered as the great object, and the moſt important intereſt of the New England States

Since commerce has ever been conſidered as the handmaid of agriculture, particularly in America, where the agricultural intereſt ſo greatly predominates; and ſince neither can flouriſh without the other, policy and intereſt point out the neceſſity of ſuch a ſyſtem of commercial and agricultural regulations, as will originate and effectually preſerve a proper connection and balance between them.

The conſumption of fiſh, oil, whale-bone, and other articles obtained through the fiſheries, in the towns and counties that are convenient for navigation, has become much greater than is generally ſuppoſed. It is computed that no leſs than five thouſand barrels of mackarel, ſalmon, and pickled codfiſh, are vended annually in the city of Philadelphia: add to them the dried fiſh, oil, ſpermaceti candles, whale-bone, &c. and it will be found that a little fleet of ſloops and ſchooners are employed in the buſineſs.

The

The demand for the forementioned articles is proportionably great in the other parts of the Union, eſpecially in Boſton and the large commercial towns that lie along the coaſt north-eaſtward, which enter largely into the fiſhing trade, and the veſſels employed in tranſporting them proportionably numerous. The increaſe of their towns and manufactures will increaſe the demand for theſe articles, and of courſe the number of coaſting veſſels. In the preſent ſtate of their navigation, they can be in no doubt of procuring theſe ſupplies by means of their own veſſels. This will afford encouragement to the buſineſs of ſhip-building, and increaſe the number of their ſeamen, who muſt hereafter form an important part of the defence of their country. Add to theſe, their proſpects from the fur trade of Canada; the vaſt ſettlements which are making at Pittſburg, Geneſſe, and in other parts in the neighbourhood of Canada; the advantages of their inland navigation, by means of the lakes, the northern branches of the Ohio, the Potomack, the Suſquehannah, and the Hudſon, with many other circumſtances depending not only on the ſituation, but likewiſe on the climate, proximity, &c. muſt, in a few years, put a large ſhare of this trade into their hands, and procure them, at leaſt, a proportionable ſhare of the large profits thence ariſing, which Canada, ſince the year 1763, has enjoyed almoſt excluſively. Theſe advantages, however, are ſtill but in proſpect; and muſt remain ſo until the Britiſh, agreeable to the treaty of peace, ſhall have evacuated the forts at Niagara, the large ſettlements of the Heights, that of Michilimakinak, &c. And although the Britiſh, by the treaty of peace, are to enjoy with the Americans the portages of the navigation of the lakes, yet, ſhould a diſpute ariſe, it will not be convenient for the former to conteſt it; for the northern and north-eaſtern parts of the continent, included in the Britiſh limits, are much colder, more mountainous and poorer than the United States, and have no rivers, but ſuch as are full of rapids and falls; conſequently, this trade cannot be carried on by the Canadians with the ſame facility nor advantage as by the Americans. Still England will have left the excluſive right to the communication from Montreal with the High-lands, through the large river of the Ottawas, which flows into the river St. Lawrence at the lake of the Two Mountains, nine miles from that city; but its rapids and falls render this way, if not impracticable, at leaſt always very expenſive and precarious.

The quantity of furs, deer and elk ſkins, annually imported from the northern parts of America to England, is prodigious. In 1784, the amount of ſales for furs was more than two hundred and forty-

five thouſand pounds. It has not equalled this ſum every year ſince, but has ſeldom varied more than from ten to twenty thouſand pounds, and this often on the favourable ſide. When we conſider the number of animals deſtroyed to furniſh ſuch extenſive products, the mind feels itſelf loſt in contemplating the vaſt tract of country that could afford an habitation for them.

The following is a ſtatement of the number of furs, &c. expoſed to ſale at the New-York coffee-houſe, in London, in the preſent year, 1794, by the regular brokers:

209,892 racoon	10,090 wolf	304,130 deer
25,674 bear	18,930 fox	1,085 elk
34,300 martin	780 wolverin	6,890 ſeals
145,830 beaver	31,370 muſquaſh	983 lamb
29,845 otter	7,798 { rabbit and white hare	4,820 ſquirrel
5,840 oppoſſum		8,300 fiſher
13,220 cat	10,785 kidd	22,600 coney.
57,580 mink		

To theſe muſt be added a ſmall quantity of furs, and deer not yet ſold; thoſe ſold in private trade, and a quantity ſold public by another hand, amounting to more than ſix thouſand pounds. In this enumeration, the quantity imported by the Hudſon's Bay Company is not noticed. The chief of theſe furs are paid for in Engliſh manufactures.—Not more than a fourth part of them, beaver, rabbit, and deer ſkins excepted, if ſo much, are done any thing more to in England, than beat, ſorted, and re-packed; a great portion are reſhipped to Germany, and diſperſed through the various parts of the empire, France, &c. ſome are ſhipped from London direct for France, and ſome to Ruſſia, China, &c. at immenſe profits.

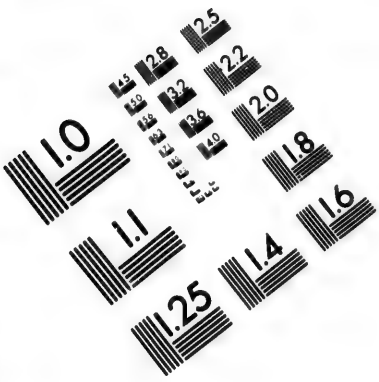
This valuable trade, which is carried on through Quebec, will a great part of it fall into the hands of the Americans, as ſoon as the fortifications, which the Britiſh poſſeſs in their northern territories, ſhall be reſtored. To this conſideration, rather than to the pretended compaſſion for the Royaliſts, may be attributed the delay of that reſtitution. The period when this reſtitution *muſt* be made, is however arrived: a period which the Britiſh government have long anticipated with ſorrow. Such are ſome of the commercial reſources and proſpects of the United States.

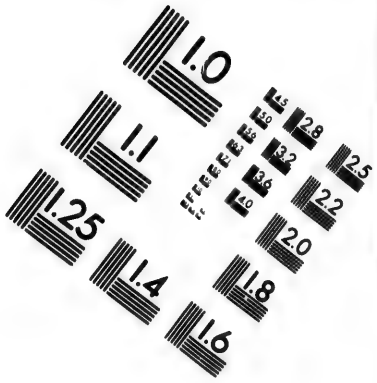
But for various reaſons, the advantages for trade which nature has ſo liberally given the Americans, have never, till ſince the eſtabliſhment of the preſent government, been properly improved. Before the revolution, Great-Britain claimed an excluſive right to the trade of her

American colonies. This right, which ſhe inflexibly maintained, enabled her to fix her own price, as well on the articles which ſhe purchaſed from them, as upon thoſe of her own manufactures exported for their conſumption. The carrying trade, too, was preſerved almoſt excluſively in her own hands, which afforded a temptation to the carriers, that was often too powerful to be withſtood, to exact exorbitant commiſſions and freights. Although we will not even hazard a conjecture how much Great Britain enriched herſelf by this excluſive trade with her colonies, yet this we may ſay, that by denying them the privilege of carrying their own produce to foreign markets, ſhe deprived them of the opportunity of realizing, in their full extent, the advantages for trade which nature has given them.

The late war, which brought about the ſeparation from Great Britain, threw the commercial affairs of America into great confuſion. The powers of the old confederation were unequal to the comp[illegible] execution of any meaſures, calculated effectually to recover them from their deranged ſituation. Through want of power in the old Congreſs to collect a revenue for the diſcharge of their foreign and domeſtic debt, their credit was deſtroyed, and trade of conſequence greatly embarraſſed. Each State, in her deſultory regulations of trade, regarded her own intereſt, while that of the union was neglected. And ſo different were the intereſts of the ſeveral States, that their laws reſpecting trade often claſhed with each other, and were productive of unhappy conſequences. The large commercial States had it in their power to oppreſs their neighbours; and in ſome inſtances this power was directly or indirectly exerciſed. Theſe impolitic and unjuſtifiable regulations, formed on the impreſſion of the moment, and proceeding from no uniform or permanent principles, excited unhappy jealouſies between the claſhing States, and occaſioned frequent ſtagnations in their trade, and in ſome inſtances, a ſecrecy in their commercial policy. But the wiſe meaſures which have been adopted by Congreſs, under the preſent efficient government of the United States, have extricated them almoſt entirely from theſe embarraſſments, and put a new and pleaſing face upon their public affairs. Inveſted with the adequate powers, Congreſs have formed a ſyſtem of commercial regulations, which enable them to meet the oppoſers of their trade upon their own ground; a ſyſtem which has placed their commerce on a reſpectable, uniform, and intelligible footing, adapted to promote the general intereſts of the union, with the ſmalleſt injury to the individual States.

The countries with which the United States have had their chief commercial intercourſe are Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, the United





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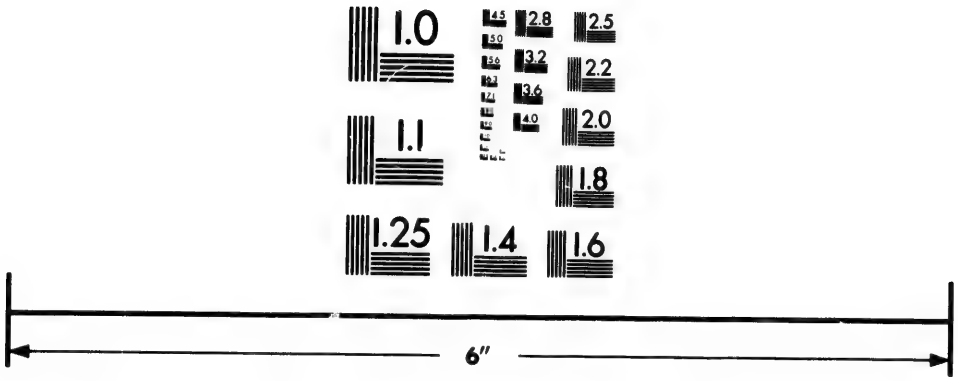

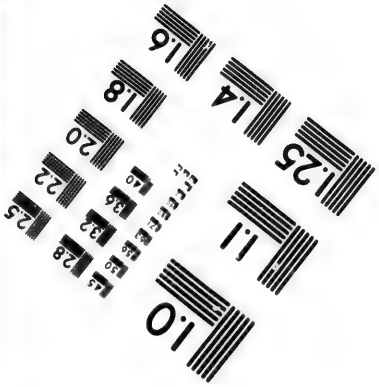

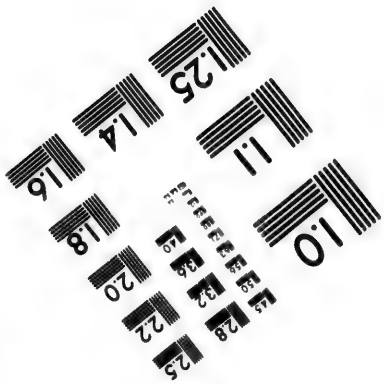

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23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

United Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and their American poſſeſſions, Ruſſia, &c. &c. &c. and the articles of export which conſtitute, at preſent, the baſis of that commerce are as follows:

ORES, METALS, &c.

Copper Ore
Pig
Sheet
Manufactured
Iron, the ton
Pig
Shot for cannon
Bar
Nail rods, &c.
Hoops
Axes
Hoes
Drawing knives
Scythes
Locks and bolts
Shovels
Skimmers and ladles
Anchors
Grapnails
Muſkets
Cutlaſſes
Knives and forks
Cheſts of carpenters' tools
Nails
Waggon boxes
Pots, kettles, and other caſtings
Cannon
Swivels
Shot for cannon
Lead, Sheet
Pig
Shot

NAVAL STORES.

Hemp
Cables and cordage
Pitch
Tar
Roſin
Turpentine
Sail cloth

PROVISIONS.

Rice
Flour
Ship ſtuff
Rye meal
Indian meal
Buckwheat meal
Oat meal
Muſtard
Bread
Beef
Pork
Crackers
Hams and bacon
Veniſon and mutton hams
Dried fiſh
Pickled fiſh
Cheeſe
Lard
Butter
Sauſages
Carcaſes of mutton
Neats tongues
Oyſters pickled
Potatoes
Onions
Other vegetables.
Reeds

SPIRITS,

SPIRITS, WINES, &c.

Molaſſes
Rum, American
Rum, Weſt India
Brandy
Brandy, Peach
Gin
Ditto
Ditto
Cordials
Madeira and other wine
Bottled ditto
Vinegar
Eſſence of Spruce
Beer
Ale
Porter
Ditto bottled

LIVE STOCK.

Horned Cattle
Horſes
Mules
Sheep
Deer
Hogs
Poultry

DRUGS, MEDICINES, &c.

Glauber ſalts
Pink, China and ſnake root
Saſſafras bark
Saſſafras wood or root
Genſang, &c. &c.

GROCERIES.

Caſſia and cinnamon
Cloves
Pimento
Pepper
Sago
Teas
Coffee
Cocoa
Chocolate
Brown ſugar
Loaf ſugar
Other ſugars
Raiſins

GRAIN SEEDS AND PULSE.

Wheat
Rye
Barley
Indian corn
Oats
Buck wheat
Peas and Beans
Madder
Garden ſeeds
Hay ſeed
Muſtard ſeed
Cotton ſeed
Flax ſeed

SKINS AND FURS.

Buffalo and cow hides
Morocco
Calf in hair
Mooſe and elk
Beaver
Martin
Mink
Muſquaſh

Deer

(Skins and Furs continued).

Deer ſkins	Cat
Seals	Fox
Bear, wolfe, and tyger	Wolveren
Otter	Squirrel, and
Raccoon	Sundry other ſkins and furs

SADLERY, AND OTHER ARTICLES IN LEATHER.

Saddles, mens'	Shoes, mens' and womens'
Bridles	Boots
Whips	Boot legs
Coach and other carriage harneſs	Leather tanned and dreſſed
Waggon and cart geers	

TIMBER WORK.

Frames of veſſels	Frames of houſes
ſnows	windows and doors
boats	

HOUSE FURNITURE.

Tables	Clocks
Bedſteads	Clock caſes
Deſks	Cheſts
Bureaus	Chairs, Windſor
Sophas and ſettees	ChairsRuſh

CARRIAGES.

Coaches,	Phaetons, &c.
Chariots,	Waggons and carts

WOOD.

Staves and heading	Boxes and brakes
Shingles	Blocks
Shook caſks	Oars
Caſks	Oar rafters
Laths	Trunnels
Hoops	Cedar and oak knees
Hoop-poles	Breaſt hooks
Maſts	Carlings
Bowſprits	Anchor ſtocks
Booms	Cedar poſts
Spars	Oak boards and plank
Hand ſpikes	Pine balk
Pumps	Pine boards and plank

Other

(Wood continued.)

Other boards and plank	Maſt hoops
Scantling	Axe helves
Timber. Oak, pine, &c.	Truſs hoops
Timber. Ditto, ditto	Yokes and bowes for oxen
Timber. Mahogany	Lock ſtocks
Lignum vitæ	Worm tubs
Logwood and nicaragua	Wheel barrows
Mahogany, logwood, &c.	Waggon and cart wheels
Oak, pine, &c.	Spokes and Fellies
Cords of oak, pine, hickory, &c.	Spinning wheels
Ditto of oak bark	Tubs, pails, &c.
Oak bark, ground	Bowls, diſhes, platters, &c.

SUNDRIES.

Aſhes, pot	Nutts
Aſhes, pearl	Oil whale
Apples	Oil ſpermaceti
Bricks	Oil linſeed
Boats	Spirits of turpentine
Bellows for ſmiths	Porcelain or China ware
Brimſtone	Powder, gun
Blacking or lampblack	Powder, hair
Bayberries	Pomatum
Cider	Paints
Ditto bottled	Pipes
Chalk	Printing preſſes
Cotton	Printing types
Candles, myrtle wax	Plaiſter of Paris
Wax	Soap
Tallow	Starch
Spermaceti	Snuff
Coals	Steel
Craneberries	Silk, raw
Corks	Silver, old
Corn-fans	Salt
Duck Ruſſia	Stone ware
Canes and walking-ſticks	Feathers
American cotton and wool-cards	Flints
Flax	Grindſtones

(Sundries continued.)

Glaſs ware	Nankeens
Ditto for windows	Ditto manufactured
Honey	Tallow
Hops	Twine
Hay	Towcloth
Hats	Toys for children
Horns	Tin
Horntips	Ditto manufactured
Indigo	Varniſh
Lime	Whalebone, &c.
Yellow or queen's ware	Wax, Bees
Tobacco	Myrtle, &c.

The proportion of their exports, and their value to the nations before mentioned, and to their dominions reſpectively, as they ſtood in the year 1791 is as follows.

SUMMARY OF EXPORTS.

	Dols. Cts.
To the dominions of Ruſſia - - -	3,570
To the dominions of Sweden - - -	21,866. 2
To the dominions of Denmark - - -	277,273. 53
To the dominions of the United Netherlands -	1,634,825. 6
To the dominions of Great Britain - -	7,953,418. 21
To the Imperial ports of the Auſtrian Netherlands and Germany - - - -	362,010. 21
To Hamburg, Bremen, and other Hanſe towns -	64,259. 25
To the dominions of France - - -	4,298,762. 26
To the dominions of Spain - - -	1,301,286. 95
To the dominions of Portugal - -	1,039,696. 47
To the Italian Ports - - -	31,726. 90
To Morocco - - - -	3,660. 50
To the Eaſt Indies, generally - - -	318,628. 46
To Africa, generally - - -	168,477. 92
To the Weſt Indies, generally - -	59,434. 36
To the North Weſt Coaſt of America - -	3,380
To Europe and the Weſt Indies for a market -	29,274. 5
Total Dollars	17,571,551. 45

The

The exports of the year ending September 31, 1792, amounted in value to twenty-one millions, five thoufand five hundred and fixty-eight pounds, from which time they have been gradually on the increafe.

The imports of America, conſiſt moſtly of articles on which European induſtry has been exhauſted, an idea of their extent, as well as of that of the American navigation, depending on their commerce, will appear by the following tables, containing abſtracts of duties on the imports, and on the tonnage of veſſels entered into the different ports of the United States, in the year 1791.

ABSTRACT OF DUTIES

Arising on GOODS, WARES, and MERCHANDIZE, imported into the UNITED STATES; commencing on the 1st October 1790, and ending the 30th of September 1791.

STATES.	Gross Amount of Duties.	Discount of 10 per cent. on Goods imported in American Vessels.	Addition of 10 per cent. on Goods imported in Foreign Vessels.	Total Amount of Duties.	Expence of Collection.	Drawbacks.	Bounties.	Nett Amount of Duties.
	Dol. Cts.	*Dol. Cts.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Dol. Cts.*
New Hampshire	29,429.44	455.24	36.49 3/4	29,010.69 1/2	1,553.81 1/2	144.91	311.68	27,000.29
Massachusetts -	480,129.47 1/2	10,528.97 1/2	1,448.95 1/2	471,049.45 1/4	25,953.83 1/2	11,130.43 1/4	13,258.00 3/4	420,707.17 1/2
Rhode Island - -	115,350.42 1/4	1,906.37 1/2	15.68	113,459.72 3/4	4,924.88 1/2	389.10	1,043.39	107,102.35 1/4
Connecticut - -	112,728.47	1,762.49	1,653.04	112,619.02	5,593.29 1/4	- -	674.19 1/4	106,351.53 1/4
New York - -	639,165.53 1/2	5,202.65	15,565.50	649,528.38 1/2	13,460.45	16,416.33	117.44	619,534.16 1/2
New Jersey - -	7,162.56	214.49	- -	6,948.07	349.38 1/2	- -	- -	6,598.68 1/2
Pennsylvania - -	727,133.37	10,162.19	13,179.85	730,151.03	15,280.48	6,915.26	- -	707,955.29
Delaware - -	20,036.52 1/2	571.05	203.67	19,669.14 1/2	1,246.96 1/2	138.32	- -	18,289.86
Maryland - -	338,035.25	4,798.02	6,009.70	339,246.93 1/2	11,223.62 1/4	5,058.38 1/2	- -	322,964.92 1/2
Virginia - - -	340,303.03 2/12	5,143.70 1/2	11,502.56	346,661.88 3/4	11,176.49 1/2	461.66	27.90	334,995.83 2/12
North Carolina -	62,065.11 1/2	781.97	1,788.52	63,071.66 1/2	4,180.78 3/4	29.45 1/4	- -	58,861.42 1/2
South Carolina -	239,912.99	3,118.33	8,166.95	244,961.61	10,879.38	- -	- -	234,082.23
Georgia - - -	43,634.91 1/2	334.87	1,796.59	45,096.63 1/2	2,692.77	18.77	- -	42,285.09 1/2
Total -	3,155,087.09 2/3	44,980.35 1/2	61,367. 5 1/4	3,171,474.25 5/12	108,516.16 7/12	40,802.62	15,432.61 1/4	3,006,722.85 7/12

JOSEPH NOURSE, Register.

	43,034.91½	334.87	1,796.59	45,096.63½	10,879.38	- -	- -			
Total -	3,155,087.09⅔	44,980.35½	61,367. 5¼	3,171,474.25⅝	2,692.77	18.77	- -	234,082.23		
					108,516.16⅞	40,802.62	15,432.61¼	42,285.09½		
								3,006,722.85⅞		

JOSEPH NOURSE, Register.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF DUTIES

Arising on the TONNAGE of Veſſels entering into the UNITED STATES, from the 1ſt of October 1790, to 30th of September 1791.

STATES.	UNITED STATES VESSELS.		UNITED STATES COASTERS.		UNITED STATES FISHERIES.		FRANCE.		GREAT BRITAIN.	
	Tons. 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*
New Hampſhire	10,839.	650. 34	1,560.	93. 60	629.	37. 74	264.	132.	1,386.	693.
Maſſachuſetts -	96,564. 25	5,822. 98½	46,063. 94	2,767. 56	29,560. 27	1,774. 70½	404. 57	202. 28	22,495. 93	11,251. 21½
Rhode Iſland - -	19,196. 70	1,151. 84¼	9,103. 18	546. 25½	810, 87	48. 65½	88. 18	26. 46	280. 71	140. 37½
Connecticut - -	19,728. 63	1,183. 72	8,098. 48	487. 70½	913. 32	54. 80	-	-	3,966. 71	1,983. 23½
New York - -	40,334. 47	2,720. 85	5,725.	343. 38	567. 24	34. 3	1,503. 24	751. 60	35,154. 47	17,576. 56
New Jerſey - -	1,213. 24	72. 79	4,567. 92	274. 34	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennſylvania - -	50,327. 64	3,234. 34	3,923. 40	235. 43	-	-	967.	483. 50	27,327. 48	13,664. 12
Delaware - -	4,610. 23	276. 61½	1,187.	71. 22	-	-	-	-	1,913. 24	956. 62
Maryland - -	33,375. 11	2,029. 34	7,836. 16	470. 12½	537. 47	32. 25	714. 48	357. 25	18,215. 55	9,107. 78¾
Virginia - -	32,041. 6	1,922. 36½	10,636. 60	638. 77	72. 71	4. 36½	2,414. 31	1,207. 18	44,812. 9	22,406. 70
North Carolina -	23,962. 75	1,437. 80½	6,796. 31	428. 56¾	-	-	436. 79	218. 42	13,662. 59	6,831. 31¼
South Carolina -	22,497. 55	1,349. 75	4,675. 38	280. 77	25.	1. 50	339. 5	169. 52	20,827. 80	10,413. 47
Georgia - - -	7,063. 40	423. 80	733. 20	43. 96	-	-	391. 60	195. 82	16,165. 75	8,082. 88
Total -	361,754. 28	22,276. 54½	110,906. 77	6,691. 67½	33,116. 3	1,988. 4½	7,523. 40	3,744. 3	206,208. 62	103,107. 27½

GENERAL ABSTRACT

CONTINUED.

STATES.	SPAIN.		PORTUGAL.		UNITED NETHERLANDS.		GERMANY.		HANSE TOWNS.	
	Tons. 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*
New Hampshire	-	-	162.	81	-	-	-	-	-	-
Massachusetts -	-	-	248. 69	124. 37	121.	65. 50	-	-	-	-
Rhode Island -	47.	23. 50	-	-	100. 31	50. 26½	-	-	-	-
Connecticut - -	59. 59	29. 80	-	-	100. 21	50. 11	-	-	-	-
New York - -	243. 24	121. 62	1,563. 71	781. 85	1,079. 71	539. 85	-	-	-	-
New Jersey - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania -	2,062. 79	1,025. 90	2,533. 14	1,266. 61	251. 88	125. 98	-	-	-	-
Delaware - -	-	-	-	-	163.	81. 50	-	-	-	-
Maryland - -	503.	251. 50	589.	294. 50	1,372. 47	686. 25	463.	231. 50	-	-
Virginia - -	65.	32. 50	-	-	180.	90.	-	-	-	-
North Carolina -	-	-	-	-	73.	36. 50	-	-	-	-
South Carolina -	1,670. 32	835. 14	56. 21	28. 11	194. 68	97. 36	-	-	2,603. 9	1,301. 50
Georgia - - -	102. 53	51. 26	-	-	243. 88	121. 96	-	-	218. 54.	109. 28
Total -	4,753. 57	2,371. 22	5,152. 80	2,576. 44	3,890. 54	1,945. 27½	463.	321. 50	2,821. 63	1,410. 78

GENERAL ABSTRACT
CONTINUED.

			5,152. 80	2,576. 44	3,890. 54	1,945. 27½	463.		321. 50	2,821. 63	1,410. 78	

GENERAL ABSTRACT

CONTINUED.

STATES.	DENMARK.		SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.		TOTAL AMERICAN TONNAGE.		TOTAL FOREIGN TONNAGE.		TOTAL FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.	
	Tons. 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*	*Tons.* 95*ths.*	*Dol. Cts.*
New Hampſhire	-	-	-	-	13,028.	781. 68	1,812.	888. 40	14,840.	1,670. 8
Maſſachuſetts	531. 16	265. 68	319. 92	160.	172,084. 51	10,359. 13	24,131. 42	12,046. 60⅓	196,215. 93	22,405. 72⅓
Rhode Iſland	-	-	-	-	20,110. 80	1,729. 90	516. 45	240. 60	29,627. 30	1,970. 50
Connecticut	-	-	-	-	28,740. 48	1726. 22½	4,126. 56	2,063. 14½	32,867. 9	3,789. 37
New York	-	-	-	-	46,626. 71	3,098. 26	39,544. 47	19,488. 8	86,171. 23	22,546. 34
New Jerſey	-	-	-	-	5,234. 69	302. 94	—	—	5,234. 69	302. 94
Pennſylvania	219.	109. 50	225. 32	112. 67	53,186. 24	3,405. 87	33,586. 71	16,686. 86	86,773	20,092. 73
Delaware	-	-	-	-	5,797. 23	347. 83⅓	2,076. 24	1,038. 12	7,873. 47	1,385. 95⅔
Maryland	497.	248. 50	-	-	41,748. 74	2,531. 23½	22,254. 55	10,699. 22⅔	64,103. 34	13,230. 46⅔
Virginia	194. 43	97. 25	-	-	42,750. 42	2,565. 50	47,665. 86	22,947. 59	90,416. 33	25,513. 9
North Carolina	-	-	136, 59	68. 31	30,759. 11	1,876. 37	14,309. 7	7,019. 54½	45,068. 18	8,895. 91½
South Carolina	-	-	76, 54	38. 28	27,197. 93	1,632. 2	25,767. 79	12,883. 38	52,965. 77	14,515. 40
Georgia	-	-	-	-	7,796. 60	467. 76	17,122. 45	8,561. 20	24,919. 10	9,028. 96
Total	1,441. 59	720. 93	758. 47	379. 26	504,061. 76	30,824. 72½	233,013. 82	114,522. 75	737,075. 63	145,347. 47½

JOSEPH NOURSE, Regiſter.

N. B. To this Statement of Tonnage of the ſhipping of the United States an addition muſt be made in proportion to the increaſe of the Exports, which will give an addition to the Tonnage for 1792 of more than 70,000 tons, and which we have reaſon to believe has increaſed, and will annually increaſe in a like proportion.

It may be neceſſary here to notice the principal reſtrictions, impoſitions, and prohibitions ſuſtained by the United States in their trade with the different European kingdoms, in contraſt with thoſe ſuſtained by them in their trade with the United States.

Of their commercial objects, SPAIN receives favorably, their bread, ſtuff, ſalted fiſh, wood, ſhips, tar, pitch, and turpentine. On their meals, however, as well as on thoſe of other foreign countries, when re-exported to their colonies, they have lately impoſed duties, of from half a dollar to two dollars the barrel, the duties being ſo proportioned to the current price of their own flour, as that both together are to make the conſtant ſum of nine dollars per barrel.

They do not diſcourage the rice, pot and pearl aſh, ſalted proviſions, or whale oil of the United States; but theſe articles being in ſmall demand at their markets, are carried thither but in a ſmall degree. Their demand for rice, however, is increaſing. Neither tobacco, nor indigo are received there. American commerce is permitted with their Canary Iſlands, under the ſame conditions.

The Spaniards, and their colonies, are the actual conſumers of what they receive from the United States.

The navigation of the United States is free with the kingdom of Spain; foreign goods being received there in their ſhips, on the ſame conditions as if carried in their own, or in the veſſels of the country of which ſuch goods are the manufacture or produce.

PORTUGAL receives favourably American grain, bread, ſalted fiſh, and other ſalted proviſions, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine.

For flax-ſeed, pot and pearl-aſh, though not diſcouraged, there is little demand.

American ſhips pay 20 per cent. on being ſold to Portugueſe ſubjects, and are then free bottoms.

Foreign goods, except thoſe of the Eaſt Indies, are received on the ſame footing in American veſſels, as in their own, or any others; that is to ſay, on general duties of from twenty to twenty-eight per cent. and conſequently their navigation is unobſtructed by them. —Tobacco, rice and meals are prohibited.

The Portugueſe and their colonies conſume what they receive from the American States.

Theſe regulations extend to the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape de Verd iſlands, except that in theſe, meals and rice are received freely.

FRANCE receives favourably American bread ſtuff, rice, wood, pot and pearl aſhes.

A duty of five ſous the kental, or nearly four and an half cents is

paid on American tar, pitch, and turpentine. Whale oils pay ſix livres the kental, and are the only foreign whale oils admitted. Of the ſtates, indigo pays five livres on the kental; their own two and an half: but a difference of quality, ſtill more than a difference of duty, prevents its ſeeking that market.

Salted beef is received freely for re-exportation, but if for home conſumption, it pays five livres the kental. Other ſalted proviſions pay that duty in all caſes, and ſalted fiſh is made lately to pay the prohibitory one of twenty livres in the kental.

American ſhips are free to carry to France all foreign goods which may be carried in their own or any other veſſels, except tobaccoes not the growth of the ſtates; and they participate with the French ſhips in the excluſive carriage of whale oils and tobaccoes.

During their former government, the tobacco was under a monopoly; but paid no duties, and American ſhips were freely ſold in their ports, and converted into national bottoms. The firſt national aſſembly took from American ſhips this privilege: they emancipated tobacco from its monopoly, but ſubjected it to duties of eighteen livres fifteen ſous the kental, carried in their own, and twenty-five livres if carried in American veſſels, a difference more than equal to the freight of the article.

The French nation have however offered to enter into a new treaty of commerce with the United States on more liberal terms and in the mean time have relaxed ſome of the above reſtraints and ſeverities.

Great Britain receives from the ſtates pot and pearl aſhes free, while thoſe of other nations pay a duty of two ſhillings and three-pence the kental. There is an equal diſtinction in favour of their bar iron, of which article, however, they do not produce enough for their own uſe. Woods are free from America, whilſt they pay ſome ſmall duty from other countries. Their tar and pitch pay 11d. ſterling the barrel; from other alien countries they pay about a penny and a third more.

Their tobacco, for Britiſh conſumption, pays 1s. 3d. ſterling the pound, cuſtom and exciſe, beſides heavy expences of collection. And rice, in the ſame caſe, pays 7s. 4d. ſterling the hundred weight; which, rendering it too dear as an article of common food, it is conſequently uſed in very ſmall quantity.

The ſalted fiſh, and other ſalted proviſions of the United States, except bacon, are prohibited. Bacon and whale oil are under prohibitory duties; ſo are their grains, meals, and bread, as to our internal conſumptions unleſs in times of ſuch ſcarcity as may raiſe the price of wheat to 30s. ſterling the quarter, and other grains and meals in proportion.

American ships, though purchased and navigated by British [illegible], are not permitted to be used, even in our trade with them.

While the vessels of other nations are secured by standing laws, [illegible]ch cannot be altered, but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the British legislature, in bringing hither any produce or manufacture of the country to which they belong, which may be lawfully carried in any vessels, American ships with the same prohibition of what is foreign, are further prohibited by a standing law (12 Car. II. 28. §. 3,) from bringing hither all and any of their own domestic productions and manufactures. A subsequent act, indeed, has authorised the executive power to permit the carriage of their productions in their own bottoms, at its sole discretion; and the permission has been given from year to year by proclamation, but subject every moment to be withdrawn on its single will, in which event, American vessels having any thing of the kind on board, stand interdicted from the entry of all British ports. The disadvantage of a tenure which may be so suddenly discontinued was experienced by the American merchants on a late occasion, when an official notification that this law would be strictly enforced, gave them just apprehensions for the fate of their vessels and cargoes which they had dispatched or destined to the ports of Great Britain. The minister indeed, frankly expressed his personal conviction that the words of the order went farther than was intended, and so he afterwards officially informed them; but the embarrassments of the moment were real and great, and the possibility of their renewal lays their commerce to this country under the same species of discouragement as to other countries, where it is regulated by a single legislator; and the distinction is too remarkable not to be noticed, that the navigation of the American States is excluded from the security of fixed laws, while that security is given to the navigation of others.

American vessels pay in our ports 1s. 9d. sterling per ton, light and trinity dues, more than is paid by our *own* ships, except in the port of London, where they pay the same as British.

The greater part of what we receive from them is re-exported to other countries, under the useless charges of an intermediate deposit and double voyage. From tables published in London, and composed from the books of our custom-houses, it appears that of the indigo imported here in the years 1773—4—5, one third was re-exported; and from a document of authority, we learn that of the rice and tobacco imported here before the war, four-fifths were re-exported. The quantities sent here for re-exportation since the war, are considerablydiminished, yet less so than reason and national interest would dictate. The whole of their grain

grain is re-exported when wheat is below 50s. the quarter, and other grains in proportion.

The principal facts, relative to the queſtion of reciprocity of commercial regulations, between Great Britain and the United States of America, have, by a gentleman who had acceſs to every neceſſary information for the purpoſe, been thrown into the form of a table, which we will inſert, in order that the citizens of one country, and the ſubjects of the other, may have a clear and diſtinct view of the ſubject.

GREAT BRITAIN	THE UNITED STATES
Prohibits American veſſels from entering into the ports of ſeveral parts of her dominions, viz. the Weſt Indies, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunſwick, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Hudſon's Bay, Honduras Bay, and her Eaſt India ſpice-market.	Admit Britiſh veſſels into *all* their ports, ſubject to a tonnage duty of 44 cents, or 24 ſterling pence, more than American veſſels and an addition of one tenth to the amount of the impoſt accruing on their cargoes.
She impoſes double light money on American veſſels in moſt of her ports.	They do not impoſe extra light money on Britiſh veſſels in any of their ports.
She prohibits the navigating *ad libitum*, of American veſſels by native or other ſeamen.	They admit the navigating of Britiſh veſſels by native or other ſeamen, *ad libitum*.
She prohibits the employment of American built ſhips by her own citizens, in many branches of trade, upon any terms.	They admit the employment of Britiſh built ſhips by Engliſh ſubjects, in every branch of trade, upon the terms of 44 cents extra per ton, and one tenth extra on the impoſt ariſing from their cargoes.
She charges a duty on American ſail cloth, made up in the United States for Britiſh ſhips.	They do not charge a duty on Britiſh ſail cloth, made up in Great Britain for American ſhips.
She prohibits the importation of goods from ſeveral parts of her dominions into others, in American veſſels, upon any terms.	They admit the importation of goods from any part of their dominions into another, in Britiſh veſſels, on the terms of 44 cents per ton extra on the veſſel.
She prohibits the importation of	They admit the importation of

GREAT BRITAIN	THE UNITED STATES
goods into Great Britain, by American veſſels, from any other country than the United States.	goods into the United States, in Britiſh veſſels, from *every* country whatever.
She prohibits the importation into Great Britain from the United States, by American veſſels, of all goods not produced by the United States.	They do not prohibit the importation into the United States from Great Britain, by Britiſh veſſels, of any goods not produced by Great Britain.
She prohibits the importation of any goods previouſly brought into the United States, from the ſaid States into Great Britain, even in Britiſh veſſels.	They do not prohibit the importation of any goods previouſly brought into Great Britain, from that kingdom into the United States, in either Britiſh or American bottoms.
She prohibits the exportation of ſeveral articles from Great Britain to the United States.	They do not prohibit the exportation of any article from the United States to Great Britain.
She lays duties of various rates upon the exportation of many articles to the United States.	They do not lay a duty on the exportation of any article whatever to Great Britain.
She prohibits the importation of all manufactures from the United States, into her European dominions, and her colonies, unleſs it be ſome very ſimple preparations and decoctions, requiſite to her navy, ſhipping, and manufactures.	They do not prohibit the importation of any manufacture whatever from Great Britain.
She impoſes very conſiderable duties upon ſome of the *agricultural* productions of the United States, and excludes others by duties equal to their value.	They impoſe moderate duties, lower than any other foreign nation by 2, 3, and 4 for one, on the *produce and manufactures* of Great Britain, except in a very few inſtances, and exclude ſcarcely any articles by duties equal to their value.
She prohibits, for conſiderable terms of time, ſome of the principal *agricultural* productions of the United States, and others at all times.	They prohibit none of the agricultural productions, of Great Brirain or her dominions.

GREAT BRITAIN	THE UNITED STATES
It is underſtood that by treaty ſhe grants ſome favours, which are not extended to the United States.	They treat Great Britain as favourable as any nation whatever as to ſhips, imports, and exports, and in all other reſpects.
She prohibits the importation of ſome American articles, in American ſhips, or any but Britiſh ſhips, into her European dominions.	They do not prohibit the importation of any Britiſh article in Britiſh veſſels, or any but American veſſels.
She does not permit an American citizen to import goods into ſome of her dominions, and to ſell them there, even in Britiſh veſſels. In other parts of her dominions, ſhe lays an extra tax on him, or his ſales.	They permit a Britiſh ſubject to import goods into all their ports, in any veſſels, and to ſell them there without any extra tax on him, or his ſales.
She impoſes heavy duties on certain articles of the produce of the American fiſheries, and inſupportable duties on others, in ſome parts of her dominions: and in other parts, ſhe prohibits their importation.	They impoſe only five per cent. on the produce of the Britiſh fiſheries, which duty is drawn back on exportation and admit, every article derived from them.
She prohibits the conſumption of ſome American articles, of which ſhe permits the importation.	They do not prohibit the conſumption of any Britiſh article whatever.
She prohibits the importation of American articles from foreign countries into the Britiſh dominions, even in her own ſhips.	They do not prohibit the importation of Britiſh articles from foreign countries in any ſhips.

Beſides theſe advantages, which Great Britain derives from the commerce of America, there is no country that contributes ſo much to the ſupport of her navy as the United States, by the employment they give to her ſhips. From Auguſt 1789, to Auguſt 1790, no leſs than 230,000 tons of Britiſh veſſels cleared from theſe States; which much exceed the quantity of veſſels ſhe employed the ſame year in the Ruſſian trade. —The whole Baltic trade of Great Britain, with all the countries of the various powers that lie within the Sound, important as it is to her, does not fill more. Her trade with Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal does not altogether employ as many veſſels.—Her whole fiſheries

fiſheries, American colonial trade, and Weſt India trade, do not employ and load more. And how, it may be aſked, are the United States requited for thus ſtrengthening the acknowledged bulwark of Great Britain, by annually giving a complete lading to the unequalled quantity of 230,000 tons of her private veſſels? Their ſhips are ſeized, and detained, in the regular courſe of her trade; and their ſeamen are impreſſed from their ſervice, in order to fight againſt their friends and allies!

THE UNITED NETHERLANDS prohibit the pickled beef, pork, meal, and bread of all ſorts, coming from the United States, and lay prohibitory duty on their ſpirits diſtilled from grain.

All other of their productions are received on varied duties, which may be reckoned on a medium at about three per cent.

The United Netherlands conſume but a ſmall proportion of what they receive from America: the reſidue is partly forwarded for conſumption to the inland parts of Europe, and partly re-ſhipped to the other maritime countries. On the latter portion they intercept between the Americans and the conſumer, ſo much of the value as is abſorbed by the charges attending an intermediate depoſit.

Foreign goods, except ſome Eaſt India articles, are received by them in veſſels of any nation.

American ſhips may be ſold and naturalized there with exceptions of one or two privileges, which ſomewhat leſſen their value.

DENMARK lays conſiderable duties on the tobacco and rice of the United States, even if carried in their own veſſels, and half as much more if carried in theirs, but the exact amount of theſe duties is not perfectly known here. They lay ſuch as amount to prohibitions on American indigo and corn.

SWEDEN receives favourably grains and meals, ſalted proviſions, indigo, and whale oil, from the United States.

They ſubject their rice to duties of ſixteen mills the pound weight, carried in their own veſſels, and of forty per cent. additional on that, or 22,410 mills, carried in American or any others. Being thus rendered too dear as an article of common food, little of it is conſumed with them. They conſume more of their tobaccoes, which they take circuitouſly through Great Britain, levying heavy duties on them alſo; their duties of entry, town duties, and exciſe, being four dollars, thirty-four cents the hundred weight, if carried in their own veſſels, and of forty per cent. on that additional, if carried in American or any other veſſels.

They prohibit altogether, American bread, fiſh, pot and pearl aſhes, flax-ſeed, tar, pitch, and turpentine, wood, except oak timber and maſt, and all foreign manufactures.

Under

Under ſo many reſtrictions and prohibitions, the navigation of America with them, is reduced almoſt to nothing.

With the neighbours of the States, an order of things much harder preſents itſelf.

SPAIN and PORTUGAL refuſe to thoſe parts of America which they govern, all direct intercourſe with any people but themſelves. The commodities in mutual demand between them and their neighbours muſt be carried to be exchanged in ſome port of the dominant country, and the tranſportation between that and the ſubject ſtate, muſt be in a domeſtic bottom.

FRANCE, by a ſtanding law, permitted her Weſt India poſſeſſions, prior to the war, to receive directly, vegetables, live proviſions, horſes, wood, tar, pitch, turpentine, rice and maize, from the States, and prohibited their other bread ſtuff; but a ſuſpenſion of this prohibition having been left to the colonial legiſlatures in times of ſcarcity, it was ſuſpended occaſionally, but latterly without interruption.

American freſh and ſalted proviſions, except pork, was received in their iſlands under a duty of three colonial livres the kental, and their veſſels were as free as their own to carry their commodities thither, and to bring away rum and molaſſes.

GREAT BRITAIN admits in her iſlands, American vegetables, live proviſions, horſes, wood, tar, pitch, turpentine, rice, and bread ſtuff, by a proclamation of the executive power, limited always to the term of a year. She prohibits their ſalted fiſh, and other ſalted proviſions: ſhe does not permit their veſſels to carry thither their own produce. Her veſſels alone may take it from them, and bring in exchange, rum, molaſſes, ſugar, coffee, cocoa nuts, ginger, and pimento. There are, indeed, ſome freedoms in the iſland of Dominica, but under ſuch circumſtances as to be little uſed by the Americans. In the Britiſh continental colonies, and in Newfoundland, all their productions are prohibited, and their veſſels forbidden to enter the ports; the governors however, in times of diſtreſs, have power to permit a temporary importation of certain articles in their own bottoms, but not in thoſe of the Americans.

American citizens cannot reſide as merchants or factors within any of the Britiſh plantations, this being expreſsly prohibited by the ſame ſtatute of 12 Car. II. c. 18, commonly called the Navigation act.

In the Daniſh-American poſſeſſions, a duty of five per cent. is levied on the corn, corn-meal, rice, tobacco, wood, ſalted fiſh, indigo, horſes, mules, and live ſtock of the United States, and of ten per cent. on their flour, ſalted pork, and beef, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

In the American iſlands of the UNITED NETHERLANDS and SWEDEN, their veſſels and produce are received, ſubject to duties, not ſo heavy as to have been complained of; but they are heavier in the Dutch poſſeſſions on the continent.

To ſum up theſe *Reſtrictions*, ſo far as they are important:

IN EUROPE.

American bread ſtuff is at moſt times under prohibitory duties in England, and conſiderably dutied on exportation from Spain to her colonies.

Their tobaccoes are heavily dutied in England, Sweden, and France, and prohibited in Spain and Portugal.

Their rice is heavily dutied in England and Sweden, and prohibited in Portugal.

Their fiſh and ſalted proviſions are prohibited in England, and under prohibitory duties in France.

Their whale-oils are prohibited in England and Portugal.

And their veſſels are denied naturalization in England, and of late in France.

IN THE WEST INDIES.

All intercourſe is prohibited with the poſſeſſions of Spain and Portugal.

Their ſalted proviſions and fiſh are prohibited by England.

Their ſalted pork, and bread ſtuff, except maize, are received under temporary laws only, in the dominions of France, and their ſalted fiſh pays there a weighty duty.

IN THE ARTICLE OF NAVIGATION.

The carriage of their own tobacco is heavily dutied in Sweden, and lately in France.

They can carry no article, not of their own production, to the Britiſh ports in Europe.

Nor even their own produce to her American poſſeſſions.

Such being the reſtrictions on the commerce and navigation of the United States, the queſtion is, in what way they may beſt be removed, modified, or counteracted?

As to commerce, two methods occur, By friendly arrangements with the ſeveral nations with whom theſe reſtrictions exiſt: or, By the ſeparate act of their own legiſlatures for countervailing their effects.

There can be no doubt, but that of theſe two, friendly arrangement is the moſt eligible. Inſtead of embarraſſing commerce under piles of regulating

regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, could it be relieved from all its shackles in all parts of the world—could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual surpluſſes for mutual wants, the greateſt maſs poſſible would then be produced of thoſe things which contribute to human life and human happineſs; the numbers of mankind would be increaſed, and their condition bettered.

Would even a ſingle nation begin with the United States this ſyſtem of free commerce, it would be adviſeable to begin it with that nation; ſince it is one by one only that it can be extended to all. Where the circumſtances of either party render it expedient to levy a revenue, by way of impoſt, on commerce, its freedom might be modified, in that particular, by mutual and equivalent meaſures, preſerving it entire in all others.

Some nations, not yet ripe for free commerce, in all its extent, might ſtill be willing to mollify its reſtrictions and regulations for them in proportion to the advantages which an intercourſe with them might offer. Particularly they might concur with them in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each ſide, or in compenſating any exceſs of duty, by equivalent advantages of another nature. Their commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to favour in moſt countries. The commodities they offer, are either neceſſaries of life, or materials for manufacture; or convenient ſubjects of revenue; and they take in exchange, either manufactures, when they have received the laſt finiſh of art and induſtry, or mere luxuries. Such cuſtomers may reaſonably expect welcome, and friendly treatment at every market; cuſtomers too, whoſe demands, increaſing with their wealth and population, muſt very ſhortly give full employment to the whole induſtry of any nation whatever, in any line of ſupply they may get into the habit of calling for, from it.

But ſhould any nation, contrary to their wiſhes, ſuppoſe it may better find its advantage by continuing its ſyſtem of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behoves them to proteſt their citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter-prohibitions, duties, and regulations alſo. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for reſtrictions and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them.

Their navigation involves ſtill higher conſiderations. As a branch of induſtry, it is valuable; but, as a reſource, eſſential.

Its value, as a branch of induſtry, is enhanced by the dependence of ſo many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in tranſportation, and ſo keeps that at its proper

level; and in times of war, that is to say, when those nations who may be their principal carriers, shall be at war with each other, if they have not within themselves the means of transportation, their produce must be exported in belligerent vessels, at the increased expence of war-freight and insurance, and the articles which will not bear that, must perish on their hands.

But it is as a resource for defence that their navigation will admit neither neglect nor forbearance. The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land, and nothing to desire beyond their present rights. But on the sea they are open to injury, and they have there, too, a commerce which must be protected. This can only be done by possessing a respectable body of CITIZEN-SEAMEN, and of artists and establishments in readiness for ship-building.

Were the ocean, which is the common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not set the example of appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprize and activity of their citizens for a due participation of the benefits of the seafaring business, and for keeping the marine class of citizens equal to their object. But if particular nations grasp at undue shares, and more especially if they seize on the means of the United States to convert them into aliment for their own strength, and withdraw them entirely from the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded, or it will be disarmed of its defence; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its politics may be influenced by those who command its commerce. The carriage of their own commodities, if once established in another channel, cannot be resumed in the moment they may desire. If they lose the seamen and artists whom it now occupies, they lose the present means of marine defence, and time will be requisite to raise up others, when disgrace or losses shall bring home to their feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining their due share of navigation are theirs in abundance; and, as to the mode of using them, they have only to adopt the principles of those who thus put them on the defensive, or others equivalent and better fitted to their circumstances.

The following principles being founded in reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and offer no cause of complaint to any nation.

1st. Where

1ſt. Where a nation impoſes high duties on their productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for them to do the ſame by theirs, firſt burthening or excluding thoſe productions which they carry there in competition with their own of the ſame kind; ſelecting next ſuch manufactures as they take from them in greateſt quantity, and which at the ſame time they could the ſooneſt furniſh to themſelves, or obtain from other countries; impoſing on them duties lighter at firſt, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of ſupply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domeſtic manufactures of the ſame kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himſelf into theſe ſtates; where cheaper ſubſiſtence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may enſure him the higheſt profits from his ſkill and induſtry. And here it would be in the power of the ſtate governments to co-operate eſſentially, by opening the reſources of encouragement which are under their controul, extending them liberally to artiſts in thoſe particular branches of manufacture, for which their ſoil, climate, population, and other circumſtances have matured them, and foſtering the precious efforts and progreſs of houſehold manufacture by ſome patronage ſuited to the nature of its objects, guided by the local informations they poſſeſs, and guarded againſt abuſe by their preſence and attentions. The oppreſſions on their agriculture in foreign ports would thus be made the occaſion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures, and population among themſelves.

2d. Where a nation refuſes permiſſion to their merchants and factors to reſide within certain parts of their dominions, they may, if it ſhould be thought expedient, refuſe reſidence to theirs, in any and every part of the ſtates, or modify their tranſactions,

3d. Where a nation refuſes to receive in their veſſels any productions but their own, they may refuſe to receive, in theirs, any but their own productions.

4th. Where a nation refuſes to conſider any veſſel as belonging to the United States, which has not been built within their territories, they ſhould refuſe to conſider as belonging to them, any veſſel not built within their territories.

5th. Where a nation refuſes to their veſſels the carriage even of their own productions to certain countries under their domination, they might refuſe to theirs, of every deſcription, the carriage of the ſame productions to the ſame countries. But as juſtice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that thoſe who have no part in impoſing the reſtriction on them, ſhould not be the victims of the meaſures adopted to defeat its

effect, it may be proper to confine the reſtrictions to veſſels owned or navigated by any ſubjects of the ſame dominant power, other than the inhabitants of the country to which the ſaid productions are to be carried.—And to prevent all inconvenience to the ſaid inhabitants, and to their own, by too ſudden a check on the means of tranſportation, they may continue to admit the veſſels marked for future excluſion, on an advanced tonnage, and for ſuch length of time only, as may be ſuppoſed neceſſary to provide againſt that inconvenience.

The eſtabliſhment of ſome of theſe principles by Great Britain alone, has already loſt the Americans, in their commerce with that country and its poſſeſſions, between eight and nine hundred veſſels of near 40,000 tons burthen, according to ſtatements from official materials. This involves a proportional loſs of ſeamen, ſhipwrights, and ſhip building, and is too ſerious a loſs to admit forbearance of ſome effectual remedy.

It is true they muſt expect ſome inconvenience in practice, from the eſtabliſhment of diſcriminating duties. But in this, as in ſo many other caſes, they are left to chuſe between two evils. Theſe inconveniences are nothing when weighed againſt the loſs of wealth and loſs of force, which will follow their perſeverance in the plan of indiſcrimination.—When once it ſhall be perceived that they are either in the ſyſtem or the habit of giving equal advantages to thoſe who extinguiſh their commerce and navigation, by duties and prohibitions, as to thoſe who treat both with liberality and juſtice, liberality and juſtice will be converted by all into duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and juſtice of others that they are to truſt for fair and equal acceſs to market with their productions, or for their due ſhare in the tranſportation of them; but to their means of independence, and the firm will to uſe them. Nor do the inconveniences of diſcrimination merit conſideration. Not one of the nations beforementioned, perhaps, not a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In their caſe, one diſtinction alone will ſuffice, that is to ſay, between nations who favour their productions and navigation, and thoſe who do not favour them. One ſet of moderate duties, ſay the preſent duties, for the firſt, and a fixed advance on theſe as to ſome article, and prohibitions as to others, for the laſt.

Still muſt it be repeated, that friendly arrangements are preferable with all who will come into them; and that they ſhould carry into ſuch arrangements, all the liberality and ſpirit of accommodation, which the nature of the caſe will admit.

France has, of her own accord, propoſed negociations for improving, by a new treaty, on fair and equal principles, the commercial relations of the two countries. But her internal diſturbances have hitherto prevented

vented the profecution of them to effect, though America has had repeated aſſurances of a continuance of the diſpoſition.

Propoſals of friendly arrangement have been made on the part of the United States, by the preſent government, to that of Great Britain, but being already on as good a footing in law, and a better in fact, than the moſt favoured nation, they have not as yet diſcovered any diſpoſition to attend to thoſe overtures.

We have no reaſon to conclude that friendly arrangements will be declined by the other nations, with whom they have ſuch commercial intercourſe as may render them important. In the mean while, it will reſt with the wiſdom of Congreſs to determine whether, as to thoſe nations, they will not furceaſe *exparte* regulations, on the reaſonable preſumption that they will concur in doing whatever juſtice and moderation dictate ſhould be done.

MANUFACTURES.

WE now come to the ſubject of manufactures, the expediency of encouraging of which in the United States, was not long ſince deemed very queſtionable, but the advantages of which, appear at this time to be generally admitted. The embarraſſments which have obſtructed the progreſs of their external trade with European nations, have led them to ſerious reflections on the neceſſity of enlarging the ſphere of their domeſtic commerce: the reſtrictive regulations which in foreign markets have abridged the vent of the increaſing ſurplus of their agricultural produce, have ſerved to beget in them an earneſt deſire, that a more extenſive demand for that ſurplus may be created at home: And the complete ſucceſs which has rewarded manufacturing enterpriſe, in ſome valuable branches, conſpiring with the promiſing ſymptoms which attend ſome leſs mature eſſays in others, juſtify a hope, that the obſtacles to the growth of this ſpecies of induſtry are leſs formidable than they were apprehended to be; and that it is not difficult to find, in its further extenſion, a full indemnification for any external diſadvantages, which are or may be experienced, as well as an acceſſion of reſources, favourable to national independence and ſafety.

There ſtill are, nevertheleſs, among the Americans, many reſpectable patrons of opinions unfriendly to the encouragement of manufactures.—The following are, ſubſtantially, the arguments by which theſe opinions are defended:

"In every country, ſay thoſe who entertain them, agriculture is the moſt beneficial and *productive* object of human induſtry. This poſition, generally,

generally, if not univerſally true, applies with peculiar emphaſis to the United States, on account of their immenſe tracts of fertile territory, uninhabited and unimproved. Nothing can afford ſo advantageous an employment for capital and labour, as the converſion of this extenſive wilderneſs into cultivated farms. Nothing, equally with this, can contribute to the population, ſtrength, and real riches of the country."

"To endeavour, by the extraordinary patronage of government, to accelerate the growth of manufactures, is, in fact, to endeavour, by force and art, to transfer the natural current of induſtry, from a more to a leſs beneficial channel. Whatever has ſuch a tendency muſt neceſſarily be unwiſe: Indeed it can hardly ever be wiſe in a government to attempt to give a direction to the induſtry of its citizens. This, under the quick-ſighted guidance of private intereſt, will, if left to itſelf, infallibly find its own way to the moſt profitable employment; and it is by ſuch employment that the public proſperity will be moſt effectually promoted. To leave induſtry to itſelf, therefore, is, in almoſt every caſe, the ſoundeſt as well as the ſimpleſt policy."

"This policy is not only recommended to the United States, by conſiderations which affect all nations; it is in a manner dictated to them by the imperious force of a very peculiar ſituation. The ſmallneſs of their population, compared with their territory, the conſtant allurements to emigration from the ſettled to the unſettled parts of the country; the facility with which the leſs independent condition of an artiſan can be exchanged for the more independent condition of a farmer; theſe, and ſimilar cauſes, conſpire to produce, and for a length of time muſt continue to occaſion, a ſcarcity of hands for manufacturing occupation, and dearneſs of labour generally. To theſe diſadvantages for the proſecution of manufactures, a deficiency of pecuniary capital being added, the proſpect of a ſucceſsful competition with the manufacturers of Europe muſt be regarded as little leſs than deſperate. Extenſive manufactures can only be the offspring of a redundant, at leaſt of a full population. Till the latter ſhall characteriſe the ſituation of this country, 'tis vain to hope for the former."

"If, contrary to the natural courſe of things, an unſeaſonable and premature ſpring can be given to certain fabrics, by heavy duties, prohibitions, bounties, or by other forced expedients, this will only be to ſacrifice the intereſts of the community to thoſe of particular claſſes. Beſides the miſdirection of labour, a virtual monopoly will be given to the perſons employed on ſuch fabrics; and an enhancement of price, the inevitable conſequence of every monopoly, muſt be defrayed at the expence of the other parts of the ſociety. It is far preferable that thoſe perſons

ſhould be engaged in the cultivation of the earth, and that we ſhould procure, in exchange for its productions, the commodities with which foreigners are able to ſupply us in greater perfection, and upon better terms."

This mode of reaſoning is founded upon facts and principles, which have certainly reſpectable pretenſions. If it had governed the conduct of nations more generally than it has done, there is room to ſuppoſe, that it might have carried them faſter to proſperity and greatneſs than they have attained by the purſuit of maxims too widely oppoſite. Moſt general theories, however, admit of numerous exceptions, and there are few, if any, of the political kind, which do not blend a conſiderable portion of error with the truths they inculcate.

In order to form an accurate judgement, how far that which has been juſt ſtated ought to be deemed liable to a ſimilar imputation, it is neceſſary to advert carefully to the conſiderations which plead in favour of manufactures, and which appear to recommend the ſpecial and poſitive encouragement of them, in certain caſes, and under certain reaſonable limitations.

It ought readily to be conceded, that the cultivation of the earth, as the primary and moſt certain ſource of national ſupply; as the immediate and chief ſource of ſubſiſtence to man; as the principal ſource of thoſe materials which conſtitute the nutriment of other kinds of labour; as including a ſtate moſt favourable to the freedom and independence of the human mind; one, perhaps, moſt conducive to the multiplication of the human ſpecies; has intrinſically a ſtrong claim to pre-eminence over every other kind of induſtry.

But that it has a title to any thing like an excluſive predilection in any country, ought to be admitted with great caution. That it is even more productive than every other branch of induſtry, requires more evidence than has yet been given in ſupport of the poſition. That its real intereſts, precious and important as, without the help of exaggeration, they truly are, will be advanced, rather than injured, by the due encouragement of manufactures, may be ſatisfactorily demonſtrated. And the expediency of ſuch encouragement, in a general view, may be ſhewn to be recommended by the moſt cogent and perſuaſive motives of national policy.

It has been maintained, that agriculture is not only the moſt productive, but the only productive ſpecies of induſtry. The reality of this aſſertion, in either reſpect, has, however, not been verified by any accurate detail of facts and calculations; and the general arguments, which are adduced to prove it, are rather ſubtle and paradoxical, than ſolid or convincing.

Thoſe

Thoſe which maintain its exclusive productiveneſs are to this effect:—Labour beſtowed upon the cultivation of land produces enough, not only to replace all the neceſſary expences incurred in the buſineſs, and to maintain the perſons who are employed in it, but to afford, together with the *ordinary profit* on the ſtock or capital of the farmer, a nett ſurplus, or *rent* for the landlord or proprietor of the ſoil. But the labour of artificers does nothing more than replace the ſtock which employs them, or which furniſhes materials, tools, and wages, and yield the *ordinary profit* upon that ſtock. It yields nothing equivalent to the *rent* of land; neither does it add any thing to the *total value* of the *whole annual produce* of the land and labour of the country. The additional value given to thoſe parts of the produce of land, which are wrought into manufactures, is counterbalanced by the value of thoſe other parts of that produce which are conſumed by the manufacturers. It can therefore only be by ſaving, or *parſimony*, not by the poſitive *productiveneſs* of their labour, that the claſſes of artificers can in any degree augment the revenue of ſociety.

To this it has been anſwered, that inaſmuch as it is acknowledged that manufacturing labour re-produces a value equal to that which is expended or conſumed in carrying it on, and continues in exiſtence the original ſtock or capital employed, it ought on that account alone to eſcape being conſidered as wholly unproductive: that though it ſhould be admitted, as alledged, that the conſumption of the produce of the ſoil, by the claſſes of artificers or manufacturers is exactly equal to the value added by their labour to the materials upon which it is exerted; yet it would not thence follow, that it added nothing to the revenue of the ſociety, or the aggregate value of the annual produce of its land and labour. If the conſumption for any given period amounted to a *given ſum*, and the *increaſed* value of the produce manufactured in the ſame period to a *like ſum*, the total amount of the conſumption and production during that period would be equal to the *two ſums*, and conſequently double the value of the agricultural produce conſumed. And though the increment of value produced by the claſſes of artificers ſhould at no time exceed the value of the produce of the land conſumed by them, yet there would be at every moment, in conſequence of their labour, a greater value of goods in the market than would exiſt independent of it.

The poſition, that artificers can augment the revenue of a ſociety only by parſimony, is true in no other ſenſe than in one, which is equally applicable to huſbandmen or cultivators. It may be alike affirmed of all theſe claſſes, that the fund acquired by their labour, and

deſtined

deſtined for their ſupport, is not, in an ordinary way, more than equal to it. And hence it will follow, that augmentations of the wealth or capital of the community, except in the inſtance of ſome extraordinary dexterity or ſkill, can only proceed, with reſpect to any of them, from the ſavings of the more thrifty and parſimonious.

The annual produce of the land and labour of a country can only be increaſed in two ways—by ſome improvement in the *productive powers* of the uſeful labour, which actually exiſts within it, or by ſome increaſe in the quantity of ſuch labour: that with regard to the firſt, the labour of artificers being capable of greater ſubdiviſion and ſimplicity of operation than that of cultivators, it is ſuſceptible, in a proportionably greater degree, of improvement in its *productive powers*, whether to be derived from an acceſſion of ſkill, or from the application of ingenious machinery; in which particular, therefore, the labour employed in the culture of land can pretend to no advantage over that engaged in manufactures: that with regard to an augmentation of the quantity of uſeful labour, this, excluding adventitious circumſtances, muſt depend eſſentially upon an increaſe of *capital*, which again muſt depend upon the ſavings made out of the revenues of thoſe who furniſh or manage *that*, which is at any time employed, whether in agriculture, or in manufactures, or in any other way.

But while the *excluſive* productiveneſs of agricultural labour has been thus denied and refuted, the ſuperiority of its productiveneſs has been conceded without heſitation. As this conceſſion involves a point of conſiderable magnitude, in relation to maxims of public adminiſtration, the grounds on which it reſts are worthy of a diſtinct and particular examination.

One of the arguments made uſe of, in ſupport of the idea, may be pronounced both quaint and ſuperficial: it amounts to this—that in the productions of the ſoil, nature co-operates with man; and that the effect of their joint labour muſt be greater than that of the labour of man alone.

This, however, is far from being a neceſſary inference. It is very conceivable, that the labour of man alone laid out upon a work requiring great ſkill and art to bring it to perfection, may be more productive *in value*, than the labour of nature and man combined, when directed towards more ſimple operations and objects: and when it is recollected to what an extent the agency of nature, in the application of the mechanical powers, is made auxiliary to the proſecution of manufactures, the ſuggeſtion which has been noticed loſes even the appearance of plauſibility.

It might alſo be obſerved, with a contrary view, that the labour employed in agriculture is in a great meaſure periodical and occaſional, depending on ſeaſons, liable to various and long intermiſſions; while that occupied in many manufactures is conſtant and regular, extending through the year, embracing in ſome inſtances, night as well as day. It is alſo probable, that there are among the cultivators of land more examples of remiſſneſs than among artificers. The farmer, from the peculiar fertility of his land, or ſome other favourable circumſtances, may frequently obtain a livelihood, even with a conſiderable degree of careleſſneſs in the mode of cultivation; but the artiſan can with great difficulty effect the ſame object, without exerting himſelf pretty equally with all thoſe who are engaged in the ſame purſuit. And if it may likewiſe be aſſumed as a fact, that manufactures open a wider field to exertions of ingenuity than agriculture, it would not be a ſtrained conjecture, that the labour employed in the former, being at once more conſtant, more uniform, and more ingenious, than that which is employed in the latter, will be found at the ſame time more productive.

But it is not meant to lay ſtreſs on obſervations of this nature; they ought only to ſerve as a counterbalance to thoſe of a ſimilar complexion. Circumſtances ſo vague and general, as well as ſo abſtract, can afford little inſtruction in a matter of this kind.

Another, and that which ſeems to be the principal argument offered for the ſuperior productiveneſs of agricultural labour, turns upon the allegation, that labour employed on manufactures yields nothing equivalent to the rent of land; or to that nett ſurplus, as it is called, which accrues to the proprietor of the ſoil.

But this diſtinction, important as it has been deemed, appears rather *verbal* than *ſubſtantial*.

It is eaſily diſcernible, that what in the firſt inſtance is divided into two parts under the denomination of the *ordinary profit* of the ſtock of the farmer and *rent* to the landlord, is in the ſecond inſtance united under the general appellation of the *ordinary profit* on the ſtock of the undertaker; and that this formal or verbal diſtribution conſtitutes the whole difference in the two caſes. It ſeems to have been overlooked, that the land is itſelf a ſtock or capital, advanced or lent by its owner to the occupier or tenant, and that the rent he receives is only the ordinary profit of a certain ſtock in land, not managed by the proprietor himſelf, but by another to whom he lends or lets it, and who, on his part, advances a ſecond capital to ſtock and improve the land, upon which he alſo receives the uſual profit. The rent of the landlord and the profit of the farmer are therefore nothing more than the *ordinary profits* of

of *two* capitals belonging to *two* different perſons, and united in the cultivation of a farm: as in the other caſe, the ſurplus which ariſes upon any manufactory, after replacing the expences of carrying it on, anſwers to the ordinary profits of *one* or *more* capitals engaged in the proſecution of ſuch manufactory. It is ſaid *one* or *more* capitals; becauſe in fact, the ſame thing which is contemplated in the caſe of the farm, ſometimes happens in that of a manufactory. There is one who furniſhes part of the capital, or lends a part of the money, by which it is carried on, and another who carries it on with the addition of his own capital. Out of the ſurplus which remains, after defraying expences, an intereſt is paid to the money lender for the portion of the capital furniſhed by him, which exactly agrees with the rent paid to the landlord; and the reſidue of that ſurplus conſtitutes the profit of the undertaker or manufacturer, and agrees with what is denominated the ordinary profits of the ſtock of the farmer. Both together make the ordinary profits of two capitals employed in a manufactory; as in the other caſe the rent of the landlord and the revenue of the farmer compoſe the ordinary profits of two capitals, employed in the cultivation of a farm.

The rent therefore accruing to the proprietor of the land, far from being a criterion of *excluſive* productiveneſs, as has been argued, is no criterion even of ſuperior productiveneſs. The queſtion muſt ſtill be, whether the ſurplus, after defraying expences of a *given capital*, employed in the *purchaſe* and *improvement* of a piece of land, is greater or leſs than that of a like capital employed in the proſecution of a manufactory; or whether the *whole value produced* from a *given capital* and a given quantity of labour, employed in one way, be greater or leſs than the whole value produced from an equal capital and an equal quantity of labour employed in the other way; or rather, perhaps, whether the buſineſs of agriculture or that of manufactures will yield the greateſt product, according to a compound ratio of the quantity of the capital and the quantity of labour which are employed in the one or in the other.

The ſolution of either of theſe queſtions is not eaſy; it involves numerous and complicated details, depending on an accurate knowledge of the objects to be compared. It is not known that the compariſon has ever yet been made upon ſufficient data properly aſcertained and analyſed. To be able to make it with ſatisfactory preciſion would demand much previous inquiry and cloſe inveſtigation.

Some eſſays, however, have been made towards acquiring the requiſite information, which have rather ſerved to throw doubt upon, than to

confirm the hypotheſis under examination. But it ought to be acknowledged, that they have been too little diverſified, and are too imperfect to authoriſe a definitive concluſion either way, leading rather to probable conjecture than to certain deduction. They render it probable that there are various branches of manufactures in which a given capital will yield a greater total product, and a conſiderably greater nett product than an equal capital inveſted in the purchaſe and improvement of lands; and that there are alſo ſome branches, in which both the groſs and the nett produce will exceed that of agricultural induſtry, according to a compound ratio of capital and labour. But it is on this laſt point that there appears to be the greateſt room for doubt. It is far leſs difficult to infer generally that the nett produce of capital engaged in manufacturing enterpriſes is greater than that of capital engaged in agriculture.

The foregoing ſuggeſtions are not deſigned to inculcate an opinion that manufacturing induſtry is more productive than that of agriculture. They are intended rather to ſhew that the reverſe of this propoſition is not aſcertained; that the general arguments which are brought to eſtabliſh it are not ſatisfactory; and, conſequently, that a ſuppoſition of the ſuperior productiveneſs of tillage ought to be no obſtacle to liſtening to any ſubſtantial inducement to the encouragement of manufactures, which may be otherwiſe perceived to exiſt, through an apprehenſion that they may have a tendency to divert labour from a more to a leſs profitable employment.

It is extremely probable, that on a full and accurate developement of the matter, on the ground of fact and calculation, it would be diſcovered that there is no material difference between the aggregate productiveneſs of the one, and of the other kind of induſtry; and that the propriety of the encouragements, which may in any caſe be propoſed to be given to either, ought to be determined upon conſiderations irrelative to any compariſon of that nature.

But without contending for the ſuperior productiveneſs of manufacturing induſtry, it may conduce to a better judgement of the policy, which ought to be purſued by the United States reſpecting its encouragement, to contemplate the ſubject under ſome additional aſpects, tending not only to confirm the idea, that this kind of induſtry has been improperly repreſented as unproductive in itſelf; but to evince in addition, that the eſtabliſhment and diffuſion of manufactures will have the effect of rendering the total maſs of uſeful and productive labour, in a community, greater than it would otherwiſe be. In proſecuting this diſcuſſion, it may be neceſſary briefly to reſume and review ſome of the topics which have been already touched.

To

To affirm that the labour of the manufacturer is unproductive, becauſe he conſumes as much of the produce of land as he adds value to the raw materials which he manufactures, is not better founded, than it would be to affirm, that the labour of the farmer, which furniſhes materials to the manufacturer, is unproductive, becauſe he conſumes an equal value of manufactured articles. Each furniſhes a certain portion of the produce of his labour to the other, and each deſtroys a correſpondent portion of the produce of the labour of the other. In the mean time the maintenance of two citizens, inſtead of one, is going on; the ſtate has two members inſtead of one; and they together conſume twice the value of what is produced from the land.

If inſtead of a farmer and artificer, there was a farmer only, he would be under the neceſſity of devoting a part of his labour to the fabrication of cloathing and other articles, which he would procure of the artificer, in the caſe of there being ſuch a perſon; and of courſe, he would be able to devote leſs labour to the cultivation of his farm, and would draw from it a proportionably leſs product. The whole quantity of production, in this ſtate of things, in proviſions, raw materials and manufactures, would certainly not exceed in value the amount of what would be produced in proviſions and raw materials only, if there were an artificer as well as a farmer.

Again—If there were both an artificer and a farmer, the latter would be left at liberty to purſue excluſively the cultivation of his farm. A greater quantity of proviſions and raw materials would of courſe be produced, equal, at leaſt, as has been already obſerved, to the whole amount of the proviſions, raw materials, and manufactures, which would exiſt on a contrary ſuppoſition. The artificer, at the ſame time, would be going on in the production of manufactured commodities, to an amount ſufficient not only to repay the farmer, in thoſe commodities, for the proviſions and materials which were procured from him, but to furniſh the artificer himſelf with a ſupply of ſimilar commodities for his own uſe. Thus, then, there would be two quantities or values in exiſtence inſtead of one; and the revenue and conſumption would be double in one caſe, what it would be in the other.

If in place of both theſe ſuppoſitions, there were ſuppoſed to be two farmers and no artificer, each of whom applied a part of his labour to the culture of land, and another part to the fabrication of manufactures; in this caſe, the portion of the labour of both beſtowed upon land would produce the ſame quantity of proviſions and raw materials only, as would be produced by the entire ſum of the labour of one applied in the ſame manner

manner, and the portion of the labour of both beſtowed upon manufactures, would produce the ſame quantity of manufactures only, as would be produced by the entire ſum of the labour of one applied in the ſame manner. Hence the produce of the labour of the two farmers would not be greater than the produce of the labour of the farmer and the artificer; and hence it reſults, that the labour of the artificer is as poſitively productive as that of the farmer, and, as poſitively, augments the revenue of the ſociety.

The labour of the artificer replaces to the farmer that portion of his labour with which he provides the materials of exchange with the artificer, and which he would otherwiſe have been compelled to apply to manufactures; and while the artificer thus enables the farmer to enlarge his ſtock of agricultural induſtry, a portion of which he purchaſes for his own uſe, *he alſo ſupplies himſelf with the manufactured articles of which he ſtands in need.* He does ſtill more—Beſides this equivalent which he gives for the portion of agricultural labour conſumed by him, and this ſupply of manufactured commodities for his own conſumption, he furniſhes ſtill a ſurplus, which compenſates for the uſe of the capital advanced either by himſelf or ſome other perſon, for carrying on the buſineſs. This is the ordinary profit of the ſtock employed in the manufactory, and is, in every ſenſe, as effective an addition to the income of the ſociety as the rent of land.

The produce of the labour of the artificer, conſequently, may be regarded as compoſed of three parts; one by which the proviſions for his ſubſiſtence and the materials for his work are purchaſed of the farmer; one by which he ſupplies himſelf with manufactured neceſſaries; and a third which conſtitutes the profit on the ſtock employed. The two laſt portions ſeem to have been overlooked in this ſyſtem, which repreſents manufacturing induſtry as barren and unproductive.

In the courſe of the preceding illuſtrations, the products of equal quantities of the labour of the farmer and artificer have been treated as if equal to each other. But this is not to be underſtood as intending to aſſert any ſuch preciſe equality. It is merely a manner of expreſſion adopted for the ſake of ſimplicity and perſpicuity. Whether the value of the produce of the labour of the farmer be ſomewhat more or leſs than that of the artificer, is not material to the main ſcope of the argument, which hitherto has aimed at ſhewing, that the one, as well as the other, occaſions a poſitive augmentation of the total produce and revenue of the ſociety.

It is now proper to proceed a ſtep farther, and to enumerate the principal circumſtances, from which it may be inferred, That manufacturing eſtabliſhments

eſtabliſhments not only occaſion a poſitive augmentation of the produce and revenue of the ſociety, but that they contribute eſſentially to rendering them greater than they could poſſibly be, without ſuch eſtabliſhments. Theſe circumſtances are,

1. The diviſion of labour.
2. An extenſion of the uſe of machinery.
3. Additional employment to claſſes of the community not ordinarily engaged in the buſineſs.
4. The promoting of emigration from foreign countries.
5. The furniſhing greater ſcope for the diverſity of talents and diſpoſitions which diſcriminate men from each other.
6. The affording a more ample and various field for enterprize.
7. The creating, in ſome inſtances, a new, and ſecuring in all, a more certain and ſteady demand for the ſurplus produce of the ſoil.

Each of theſe circumſtances has a conſiderable influence upon the total maſs of induſtrious effort in a community: together, they add to it a degree of energy and effect, which are not eaſily conceived. Some comments upon each of them, in the order in which they have been ſtated, may ſerve to explain their importance.

I. *As to the diviſion of labour.*——

It has juſtly been obſerved, that there is ſcarcely any thing of greater moment in the economy of a nation, than the proper diviſion of labour.—The ſeparation of occupations cauſes each to be carried to a much greater perfection than it could poſſibly acquire, if they were blended. This ariſes principally from three circumſtances.

1ſt. The greater ſkill and dexterity naturally reſulting from a conſtant and undivided application to a ſingle object.—It is evident, that theſe properties muſt increaſe in proportion to the ſeparation and ſimplification of objects, and the ſteadineſs of the attention devoted to each; and muſt be leſs, in proportion to the complication of objects, and the number among which the attention is diſtracted.

2d. The economy of time, by avoiding the loſs of it, incident to a frequent tranſition from one operation to another of a different nature.—This depends on various circumſtances; the tranſition itſelf, the orderly diſpoſition of the implements, machines, and materials employed in the operation to be relinquiſhed, the preparatory ſteps to the commencement of a new one, the interruption of the impulſe, which the mind of the workmen acquires, from being engaged in a particular operation; the diſtractions, heſitations, and reluctances, which attend the paſſage from one kind of buſineſs to another.

3d. An

3d. An extenſion of the uſe of machinery.—A man occupied on a ſingle object, will have it more in his power, and will be more naturally led to exert his imagination in deviſing methods to facilitate and abridge labour, than if he were perplexed by a variety of independent and diſſimilar operations. Beſides this, the fabrication of machines, in numerous inſtances, becoming itſelf a diſtinct trade, the artiſt who follows it, has all the advantages which have been enumerated, for improvement in his particular art; and in both ways the invention and application of machinery are extended.

And from theſe cauſes united, the mere ſeparation of the occupation of the cultivator, from that of the artificer, has the effect of augmenting the productive powers of labour, and with them, the total maſs of the produce or revenue of a country. In this ſingle view of the ſubject, therefore, the utility of artificers of manufactures, towards promoting an increaſe of productive induſtry, is apparent.

II. *As to an extenſion of the uſe of machinery, a point which, though partly anticipated, requires to be placed in one or two additional lights.*

The employment of machinery forms an item of great importance in the general maſs of national induſtry. 'Tis an artificial force brought in aid of the natural force of man; and, to all the purpoſes of labour, is an increaſe of hands; an acceſſion of ſtrength, unincumbered too by the expenſe of maintaining the labourer. May it not therefore be fairly inferred, that thoſe occupations, which give greateſt ſcope to the uſe of this auxiliary, contribute moſt to the general ſtock of induſtrious effort, and, in conſequence, to the general product of induſtry?

It will be taken for granted, and the truth of the poſition referred to obſervation, that manufacturing purſuits are ſuſceptible in a greater degree of the application of machinery, than thoſe of agriculture. If ſo, all the difference is loſt to a community, which, inſtead of manufacturing for itſelf, procures the fabrics requiſite to its ſupply from other countries. The ſubſtitution of foreign for domeſtic manufactures, is a transfer to foreign nations of the advantages accruing from the employment of machinery, in the modes in which it is capable of being employed, with moſt utility and to the greateſt extent.

The cotton mill invented in England, within the laſt twenty years, is a ſignal illuſtration of the general propoſition which we have advanced. In conſequence of it, all the different proceſſes for ſpinning cotton are performed by means of machines, which are put in motion by water, and attended chiefly by women and children; and by a ſmaller number of perſons, in the whole, than are requiſite in the ordinary mode of ſpinning. And it is an advantage of great moment that the operations

of

of this mill continue with convenience, during the night, as well as through the day. The prodigious effect of ſuch a machine is eaſily conceived. To this invention is to be attributed eſſentially, the immenſe progreſs which has been ſo ſuddenly made in this country in the various fabrics of cotton.

III. *As to the additional employment of claſſes of the community, not ordinarily engaged in the particular buſineſs.*

This is not among the leaſt valuable of the means, by which manufacturing inſtitutions contribute to augment the general ſtock of induſtry and production. In places where thoſe inſtitutions prevail, beſides the perſons regularly engaged in them, they afford occaſional and extra employment to induſtrious individuals and families, who are willing to devote the leiſure reſulting from the intermiſſions of their ordinary purſuits to collateral labours, as a reſource for multiplying their acquiſitions or their enjoyments. The huſbandman himſelf experiences a new ſource of profit and ſupport from the increaſed induſtry of his wife and daughters; invited and ſtimulated by the demands of the neighbouring manufactories.

Beſide this advantage of occaſional employment to claſſes having different occupations, there is another of a nature allied to it and of a ſimilar tendency.—This is the employment of perſons who would otherwiſe be idle, and in many caſes a burthen on the community, either from the bias of temper, habit, infirmity of body, or ſome other cauſe, indiſpoſing or diſqualifying them for the toils of the country. It is worthy of particular remark, that, in general, women and children are rendered more uſeful, and the latter more early uſeful, by manufacturing eſtabliſhments, than they would otherwiſe be. Of the number of perſons employed in the cotton manufactories of Great Britain, it is computed that four ſevenths nearly are women and children; of whom the greateſt proportion are children, and many of them of a tender age.

Thus it appears to be one of the attributes of manufactures, and one of no ſmall conſequence, to give occaſion to the exertion of a greater quantity of induſtry, even by the ſame number of perſons, where they happen to prevail, than would exiſt if there were no ſuch eſtabliſhments.

IV. *As to the promoting of emigration from foreign countries.*

Men reluctantly quit one courſe of occupation and livelihood for another, unleſs invited to it by very apparent and proximate advantages. Many, who would go from one country to another, if they had a proſpect of continuing, with more benefit, the callings to which they have been educated, will often not be tempted to change their ſituation by the hope of doing better in ſome other way. Manufacturers who, liſtening to

the powerful invitations of a better price for their fabrics, or their labour; of greater cheapneſs of proviſions and raw materials; of an exemption from the chief part of the taxes, burthens, and reſtraints, which they endure in Europe; of greater perſonal independence and conſequence, under the operation of a more equal government; and of what is far more precious than mere religious toleration, a perfect equality of religious privileges; will probably flock from Europe to the United States to purſue their own trades or profeſſions, if they are once made ſenſible of the advantages they will enjoy, and are inſpired with an aſſurance of encouragement and employment.

If it be true then, that it is the intereſt of the United States to open every poſſible avenue to emigration from abroad, it affords a weighty argument for their encouragement of manufactures; which, for the reaſons juſt aſſigned, will have the ſtrongeſt tendency to multiply the inducements to it.

Here is perceived an important reſource, not only for extending the population, and with it the uſeful and productive labour of the country, but likewiſe for the proſecution of manufactures, without deducting from the number of hands, which might otherwiſe be drawn to tillage; and even for the indemnification of agriculture for ſuch as may happen to be diverted from it. Many whom manufacturing views may induce to emigrate, will afterwards yield to the temptations, which the particular ſituation of the United States hold out to agricultural purſuits. And while agriculture will in other reſpects derive many ſignal and unmingled advantages from the growth of manufactures, it is a problem whether it will gain or loſe, as to the article of the number of perſons employed in carrying it on.

V. *As to the furniſhing greater ſcope for the diverſity of talents and diſpoſitions, which diſcriminate men from each other.*

This is a much more powerful mean of augmenting the fund of national induſtry, than may at firſt ſight appear. It is a juſt obſervation, that minds of the ſtrongeſt and moſt active powers for their proper objects fall below mediocrity, and labour without effect if confined to uncongenial purſuits: and it is thence to be inferred, that the reſults of human exertion may be immenſely increaſed by diverſifying its objects. When all the different kinds of induſtry obtain in a community, each individual can find his proper element, and can call into activity the whole vigour of his nature. And the community is benefitted by the ſervices of its reſpective members, in the manner in which each can ſerve it with moſt effect.

If

If there be any thing in a remark often to be met with, namely, that there is, in the genius of the people of America, a peculiar aptitude for mechanical improvements, it will operate as a forcible reaſon for giving opportunities to the exerciſe of that ſpecies of talent by the propagation of manufactures.

VI. *As to the affording a more ample and various field for enterprize.*

This alſo is of greater conſequence in the general ſcale of national exertion, than might, perhaps, on a ſuperficial view be ſuppoſed, and has effects not altogether diſſimilar from thoſe of the circumſtances laſt noticed. To cheriſh and ſtimulate the activity of the human mind, by multiplying the objects of enterpriſe, is not among the leaſt conſiderable of the expedients by which the wealth of a nation may be promoted.—Even things in themſelves, not poſitively advantageous, ſometimes become ſo by their tendency to provoke exertion. Every new ſcene which is opened to the buſy nature of man to rouſe and exert itſelf, is the addition of a new energy to the general ſtock of effort.

The ſpirit of enterpriſe, uſeful and prolific as it is, muſt neceſſarily be contracted or expanded in proportion to the ſimplicity or variety of the occupations and productions which are to be found in a ſociety. It muſt be leſs in a nation of mere cultivators, than in a nation of cultivators and merchants; leſs in a nation of cultivators, and merchants, than in a nation of cultivators, artificers, and merchants.

VII. *As to the creating, in ſome inſtances, a new, and ſecuring in all a more certain and ſteady demand for the ſurplus produce of the ſoil.*

This is among the moſt important of the circumſtances which have been indicated. It is a principal mean by which the eſtabliſhment of manufactures contributes to an augmentation of the produce or revenue of a country, and has an immediate and direct relation to the proſperity of agriculture.

It is evident that the exertions of the huſbandman will be ſteady or fluctuating, vigorous or feeble, in proportion to the ſteadineſs or fluctuation, adequateneſs, or inadequateneſs of the markets, on which he muſt depend, for the vent of the ſurplus, which may be produced by his labour; and that ſuch ſurplus in the ordinary courſe of things will be greater or leſs in the ſame proportion.

For the purpoſe of this vent, a domeſtic market is greatly to be preferred to a foreign one; becauſe it is in the nature of things far more to be relied upon.

It is a primary object of the policy of nations to be able to ſupply themſelves with ſubſiſtence from their own ſoil; and manufacturing

nations, as far as circumſtances permit, endeavour to procure from the ſame ſource, the raw materials neceſſary for their own fabrics. This diſpoſition, urged by the ſpirit of monopoly, is ſometimes even carried to an injudicious extreme. It ſeems not always to be recollected, that nations, who have neither mines nor manufactures, can only obtain the manufactured articles, of which they ſtand in need, by an exchange of the products of their ſoils; and that if thoſe who can beſt furniſh them with ſuch articles are unwilling to give a due courſe to this exchange, they muſt of neceſſity make every poſſible effort to manufacture for themſelves; the effect of which is, that the manufacturing nations abridge the natural advantages of their ſituation, through an unwillingneſs to permit the agricultural countries to enjoy the advantages of theirs, and ſacrifice the intereſts of a mutually beneficial intercourſe to the vain project of ſelling every thing and buying nothing.

But it is alſo a conſequence of the policy, which has been noted, that the foreign demand for the products of agricultural countries, is, in a great degree, rather caſual and occaſional, than certain or conſtant. To what extent injurious interruptions of the demand for ſome of the ſtaple commodities of the United States, may have been experienced from that cauſe, muſt be referred to the judgement of thoſe who are engaged in carrying on the commerce of the country; but it may be ſafely affirmed, that ſuch interruptions are at times very inconveniently felt, and that caſes not unfrequently occur, in which markets are ſo confined and reſtricted, as to render the demand very unequal to the ſupply.

Independent likewiſe of the artificial impediments, which are created by the policy in queſtion, there are natural cauſes tending to render the external demand for the ſurplus of agricultural nations a precarious reliance. The differences of ſeaſons in the countries which are the conſumers, make immenſe differences in the produce of their own ſoils, in different years, and conſequently in the degrees of their neceſſity for foreign ſupply. Plentiful harveſts with them, eſpecially if ſimilar ones occur at the ſame time in the countries which are the furniſhers, occaſion of courſe a glut in the markets of the latter.

Conſidering how faſt and how much the progreſs of new ſettlements in the United States muſt increaſe the ſurplus produce of the ſoil, and weighing ſeriouſly the tendency of the ſyſtem which prevails among moſt of the commercial nations of Europe, whatever dependence may be placed on the force of natural circumſtances to counteract the effects of an artificial policy, there appear ſtrong reaſons to regard the foreign demand

mand for that ſurplus as too uncertain a reliance, and to deſire a ſubſtitute for it, in an extenſive domeſtic market.

To ſecure ſuch a market, there is no other expedient than for the United States to promote manufacturing eſtabliſhments. Manufacturers, who conſtitute the moſt numerous claſs, after the cultivators of land, are for that reaſon the principal conſumers of the ſurplus of their labour.

This idea of an extenſive domeſtic market for the ſurplus produce of the ſoil, is of the firſt conſequence to the United States. It is of all things that which moſt effectually conduces to a flouriſhing ſtate of agriculture. If the effect of manufactories were to be the detaching a portion of the hands which would be otherwiſe engaged in tillage, it might poſſibly cauſe a ſmaller quantity of lands to be under cultivation: but by their tendency to procure a more certain demand for the ſurplus produce of the ſoil, they at the ſame time, cauſe the lands which are in cultivation to be better improved, and more productive. And while, by their influence, the condition of each individual farmer is meliorated, the total maſs of agricultural production will probably be increaſed: for this muſt evidently depend as much, if not more, upon the degree of improvement, than upon the number of acres under culture.

It merits particular obſervation, that the multiplication of manufactories not only furniſhes a market for thoſe articles which have been accuſtomed to be produced in abundance in a country, but it likewiſe creates a demand for ſuch as were either unknown, or produced in inconſiderable quantities. The bowels, as well as the ſurface of the earth, are ranſacked for articles which were before neglected. Animals, plants, and minerals acquire a utility and value, which were before unexplored.

The foregoing conſiderations ſeem ſufficient to eſtabliſh, as general propoſitions, that it is the intereſt of nations, and particularly of the United States, to diverſify the induſtrious purſuits of the individuals who compoſe them—that the eſtabliſhment of manufactures is calculated not only to increaſe the general ſtock of uſeful and productive labour, but even to improve the ſtate of agriculture in particular; certainly to advance the intereſt of thoſe who are engaged in it. There are other views, that we ſhall hereafter take of the ſubject, which, it is conceived, will ſerve to confirm theſe inferences.

Previous to a farther diſcuſſion of the objections to the encouragement of manufactures; which have been ſtated, it will be of uſe to ſee what can be ſaid in reference to the particular ſituation of the United States againſt the concluſions appearing to reſult from what has been already offered.

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It may be obſerved, and the idea is of no inconſiderable weight, that however true it may be, that a ſtate, which poſſeſſes large tracts of vacant and fertile territory, and at the ſame time ſecluded from foreign commerce, would find its intereſt, and the intereſt of agriculture, in diverting a part of its population from tillage to manufactures; yet it will not follow that the ſame is true of a ſtate, which, having ſuch vacant and fertile territory, has at the ſame time ample opportunities of procuring from abroad, on good terms, all the fabrics of which it ſtands in need for the ſupply of its inhabitants. The power of doing this at leaſt ſecures the great advantage of a diviſion of labour, leaving the farmer free to purſue excluſively the culture of his land, and enabling him to procure with its products the manufactured ſupplies requiſite either to his wants or to his enjoyments. And though it ſhould be true, that in ſettled countries the diverſification of induſtry is conducive to an increaſe in the productive powers of labour, and to an augmentation of revenue and capital, yet it is ſcarcely conceivable that there can be any thing of ſo ſolid and permanent advantage to an uncultivated and unpeopled country, as to convert its waſtes into cultivated and inhabited diſtricts, If the revenue, in the mean time, ſhould be leſs, the capital, in the event, muſt be greater.

To theſe obſervations, the following appears to be a ſatisfactory anſwer, at leaſt ſo far as they concern the American States.

If the ſyſtem of perfect liberty to induſtry and commerce were the prevailing ſyſtem of nations, the arguments which diſſuade a country in the predicament of the United States, from the zealous purſuit of manufactures, would doubtleſs have great force. It will not be affirmed, that they might not be permitted, with few exceptions, to ſerve as a rule of national conduct. In ſuch a ſtate of things, each country would have the full benefit of its peculiar advantages to compenſate for its deficiencies or diſadvantages. If one nation were in condition to ſupply manufactured articles on better terms than another, that other might find an abundant indemnification in a ſuperior capacity to furniſh the produce of the ſoil. And a free exchange, mutually beneficial, of the commodities which each was able to ſupply, on the beſt terms, might be carried on between them, ſupporting in full vigour the induſtry of each. And though the circumſtances which have been mentioned, and others which will be unfolded hereafter, render it probable, that nations merely agricultural, would not enjoy the ſame degree of opulence, in proportion to their numbers, as thoſe which united manufactures with agriculture; yet the progreſſive improvement of the lands of the former might, in the end, atone for an inferior de-

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gree of opulence in the mean time; and in a caſe in which oppoſite conſiderations are pretty equally balanced, the option ought perhaps always to be, in favour of leaving induſtry to its own direction.

But the ſyſtem which has been mentioned is far from characterizing the general policy of nations. The prevalent one has been regulated by an oppoſite ſpirit. The conſequence of it is, that the United States are to a certain extent in the ſituation of a country precluded from foreign commerce. They can indeed, without difficulty, obtain from abroad the manufactured ſupplies of which they are in want; but they experience numerous and very injurious impediments to the emiſſion and vent of their own commodities. Nor is this the caſe in reference to a ſingle foreign nation only. The regulations of ſeveral countries, with which they have the moſt extenſive intercourſe, throw ſerious obſtructions in the way of the principal ſtaples of the United States.

In ſuch a poſition of things, the United States cannot exchange with Europe on equal terms; and the want of reciprocity would render them the victim of a ſyſtem, which would induce them to confine their views to agriculture, and refrain from manufactures. A conſtant and increaſing neceſſity, on their part, for the commodities of Europe, and only a partial and occaſional demand for their own, in return, could not but expoſe them to a ſtate of impoveriſhment, compared with the opulence to which their political and natural advantages authoriſe them to aſpire.

Remarks of this kind are not made in the ſpirit of complaint. 'Tis for the nations, whoſe regulations are alluded to, to judge for themſelves, whether by aiming at too much, they do not loſe more than they gain. 'Tis for the United States to conſider by what means they can render themſelves leaſt dependent on the combinations, right or wrong, of European policy.

It can be no ſmall conſolation to them, that already the meaſures which have embarraſſed their trade have accelerated their internal improvements, which, upon the whole, have bettered their affairs. To diverſify and extend theſe improvements is the ſureſt and ſafeſt method of indemnifying themſelves for any inconveniencies which thoſe or ſimilar meaſures have a tendency to beget. If Europe will not take from them the products of their ſoil, upon terms conſiſtent with their intereſt, the natural remedy is for them to contract as faſt poſſible their wants of her.

The converſion of their waſte into cultivated land is certainly a point of great moment in the political calculations of the United States. But the

the degree in which this may poſſibly be retarded by the encouragement of manufactories, does not appear to countervail the powerful inducements to affording that encouragement.

An obſervation made in another place is of a nature to have great influence upon this queſtion—If it cannot be denied that the intereſts even of agriculture may be advanced more by having ſuch of the lands of a ſtate as are occupied under good cultivation, than by having a greater quantity occupied under a much inferior cultivation; and if manufactories, for the reaſons aſſigned, muſt be admitted to have a tendency to promote a more ſteady and vigorous cultivation of the lands occupied, than would happen without them, then it will follow, that they are capable of indemnifying a country for a diminution of the progreſs of new ſettlements; and may ſerve to increaſe both the capital value and the income of its lands, even though they ſhould abridge the number of acres under tillage.

But it does by no means follow, that the progreſs of new ſettlements will be retarded by the extenſion of manufactures. The deſire of being an independent proprietor of land is founded on ſuch ſtrong principles in the human breaſt, that where the opportunity of becoming ſo is as great as it is in the United States, the proportion will be ſmall of thoſe, whoſe ſituations would otherwiſe lead to it, who will be diverted from it towards manufactures. And it is highly probable, as already intimated, that the acceſſion of foreigners, who, originally drawn over by manufacturing views, will afterwards abandon them for agricultural, will be more than equivalent for thoſe of her own citizens, who may happen to be detached from them.

The remaining objections to a *particular* encouragement of manufactures in the United States now require to be examined.

One of theſe turns on the poſition, that induſtry, if left to itſelf, will naturally find its way to the moſt uſeful and profitable employment: whence it is inferred, that manufactures, without the aid of government, will grow up as ſoon and as faſt, as the natural ſtate of things, and the intereſt of the community may require.

Againſt the ſolidity of this hypotheſis, in the full latitude of the terms, very cogent reaſons may be offered. Theſe have relation to the ſtrong influence of habit and the ſpirit of imitation, the fear of want of ſucceſs in untried enterpriſes, the intrinſic difficulties incident to firſt eſſays towards a competition with thoſe who have previouſly attained to perfection in the buſineſs to be attempted, the bounties, premiums, and other artificial encouragements, with which European nations ſecond

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the exertions of their own ſubjects in the branches in which they are to be rivalled.

Experience teaches, that men are often ſo much governed by what they are accuſtomed to ſee and practiſe, that the ſimpleſt and moſt obvious improvements, in the moſt ordinary occupations, are adopted with heſitation, reluctance, and by ſlow gradations. The ſpontaneous tranſition to new purſuits, in a community long habituated to different ones, may be expected to be attended with proportionably greater difficulty. When former occupations ceaſe to yield a profit adequate to the ſubſiſtence of their followers, or when there is an abſolute deficiency of employment in them, owing to the ſuperabundance of hands, changes will enſue; but theſe changes will be likely to be more tardy than may conſiſt with the intereſt either of individuals, or of the ſociety. In many caſes they will not happen, while a bare ſupport can be enſured by an adherence to ancient courſes, though a reſort to a more profitable employment might be practicable. To produce the deſirable changes, as early as may be expedient, may therefore require the incitement and patronage of government.

The apprehenſion of failing in new attempts is perhaps a more ſerious impediment. There are diſpoſitions apt to be attracted by the mere novelty of an undertaking; but theſe are not always the beſt calculated to give it ſucceſs. To this it is of importance that the confidence of cautious, ſagacious capitaliſts, both citizens and foreigners, ſhould be excited. And to inſpire this deſcription of perſons with confidence, it is eſſential that they ſhould be made to ſee in any project, which is new, and for that reaſon alone, if for no other, precarious, the proſpect of ſuch a degree of countenance and ſupport from government, as may be capable of overcoming the obſtacles inſeparable from firſt experiments.

The ſuperiority antecedently enjoined by nations, who have preoccupied and perfected a branch of induſtry, conſtitutes a more formidable obſtacle, than either of thoſe which have been mentioned, to the introduction of the ſame branch into a country in which it did not before exiſt. To maintain between the recent eſtabliſhments of one country and the long-matured eſtabliſhments of another country, a competition upon equal terms, both as to quality and price, is in moſt caſes impracticable. The diſparity in the one or in the other, or in both, muſt neceſſarily be ſo conſiderable as to forbid a ſucceſsful rivalſhip, without the extraordinary aid and protection of government.

But the greateſt obſtacle of all to the ſucceſsful proſecution of a new branch of induſtry in a country in which it was before unknown, conſiſts, as far as the inſtances apply, in the bounties, premiums, and other

aids which are granted, in a variety of cafes, by the nations in which the eſtabliſhments to be imitated are previouſly introduced. It is well known, that certain nations grant bounties on the exportation of particular commodities, to enable their own workmen to underſell and ſupplant all competitors, in the countries to which thoſe commodities are ſent. Hence the undertakers of a new manufacture have to contend not only with the natural diſadvantages of a new undertaking, but with the gratuities and remunerations which other governments beſtow. To be enabled to contend with ſucceſs, it is evident that the interference and aid of their own government are indiſpenſable.

Combinations by thoſe engaged in a particular branch of buſineſs in one country to fruſtrate the firſt efforts to introduce it into another, by temporary ſacrifices, recompenſed perhaps by extraordinary indemnifications of the government of ſuch country, are believed to have exiſted, and are not to be regarded as deſtitute of probability. The exiſtence or aſſurance of aid from the government of the country in which the buſineſs is to be introduced, may be eſſential to fortify adventurers againſt the dread of ſuch combinations—to defeat their effects, if formed, and to prevent their being formed, by demonſtrating that they muſt in the end prove fruitleſs.

Whatever room there may be for an expectation that the induſtry of a people, under the direction of private intereſt, will upon equal terms find out the moſt beneficial employment for itſelf, there is none for a reliance that it will ſtruggle againſt the force of unequal terms, or will of itſelf ſurmount all the adventitious barriers to a ſucceſsful competition, which may have been erected either by the advantages naturally acquired from practice and previous poſſeſſion of the ground, or by thoſe which may have ſprung from poſitive regulations and an artificial policy. This general reflection might alone ſuffice as an anſwer to the objection under examination, excluſively of the weighty conſiderations which have been particularly urged.

The objections to the purſuit of manufactures in the United States, which next preſent themſelves to diſcuſſion, repreſent an impracticability of ſucceſs, ariſing from three cauſes—ſcarcity of hands, dearneſs of labour, want of capital.

The two firſt circumſtances are to a certain extent real, and, within due limits, ought to be admitted as obſtacles to the ſucceſs of manufacturing enterpriſe in the United States. But there are various conſiderations which leſſen their force, and tend to afford an aſſurance that they are not ſufficient to prevent the advantageous proſecution of many very uſeful and extenſive manufactories.

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With regard to ſcarcity of hands, the fact itſelf muſt be applied with no ſmall qualification to certain parts of the United States. There are large diſtricts which may be conſidered as pretty fully peopled, and which, notwithſtanding a continual drain for diſtant ſettlements, are thickly interſperſed with flouriſhing and increaſing towns. If theſe diſtricts have not already reached the point at which the ſcarcity of hands ceaſes, they are not remote from it, and are approaching faſt towards it: and having, perhaps, fewer attractions to agriculture than ſome other parts of the union, they exhibit a proportionably ſtronger tendency towards other kinds of induſtry. In theſe diſtricts may be diſcerned no inconſiderable maturity for manufacturing eſtabliſhments.

But there are circumſtances, which have been already noticed with another view, that materially diminiſh every where the effect of a ſcarcity of hands. Theſe circumſtances are—the great uſe which can be made of women and children; on which point a very pregnant and inſtructive fact has been mentioned; the vaſt extenſion given by late improvements to the employment of machines, which, ſubſtituting the agency of fire and water, has prodigiouſly leſſened the neceſſity for manual labour; the employment of perſons ordinarily engaged in other occupations, during the ſeaſons, or hours of leiſure; which, beſides giving occaſion to the exertion of a greater quantity of labour by the ſame number of perſons, and thereby increaſing the general ſtock of labour, as has been elſewhere remarked, may alſo be taken into the calculation, as a reſource for obviating the ſcarcity of hands—laſtly, the attraction of foreign emigrants. Whoever inſpects with a careful eye the compoſition of their towns, will be made ſenſible to what an extent this reſource may be relied upon. Theſe exhibit a large proportion of ingenious and valuable workmen, in different arts and trades, who, by expatriating from Europe, have improved their own condition, and added to the induſtry and wealth of the United States. It is a natural inference from the experience they have already had, that in proportion as the United States ſhall preſent the countenance of a ſerious proſecution of manufactures, in proportion as foreign artiſts ſhall be made ſenſible that the ſtate of things there affords a moral certainty of employment and encouragement, competent numbers of European workmen will tranſplant themſelves, effectually to enſure the ſucceſs of the deſign. How indeed can it otherwiſe happen, conſidering the various and powerful inducements which the ſituation of America offers, addreſſing themſelves to ſo many ſtrong paſſions and feelings, to ſo many general and particular intereſts?

It may be affirmed, therefore, in reſpect to hands for carrying on manufactures, that they will in a great meaſure trade upon a foreign ſtock; reſerving their own for the cultivation of their lands and the manning of their ſhips, as far as character and circumſtances ſhall incline. It is not unworthy of remark, that the objection to the ſucceſs of manufactures, deduced from the ſcarcity of hands, is alike applicable to trade and navigation, and yet theſe are perceived to flouriſh, without any ſenſible impediment from that cauſe.

As to the dearneſs of labour, another of the obſtacles alledged, this has relation principally to two circumſtances; one, that which has been juſt diſcuſſed, the ſcarcity of hands; the other, the greatneſs of profits.

As far as it is a conſequence of the ſcarcity of hands, it is mitigated by all the conſiderations which have been adduced as leſſening that deficiency. It is certain too, that the diſparity in this reſpect between ſome of the moſt manufacturing parts of Europe and a large proportion of the United States, is not nearly ſo great as is commonly imagined. It is alſo much leſs in regard to artificers and manufacturers than in regard to country labourers; and while a careful compariſon ſhews that there is, in this particular, much exaggeration, it is alſo evident, that the effect of the degree of diſparity which does truly exiſt, is diminiſhed in proportion to the uſe which can be made of machinery.

To illuſtrate this laſt idea—Let it be ſuppoſed, that the difference of price, in two countries, of a given quantity of manual labour requiſite to the fabrication of a given article is as ten, and that ſome MECHANIC POWER is introduced into both countries, which performing half the neceſſary labour, leaves only half to be done by hand, it is evident, that the difference in the coſt of the fabrication of the article in queſtion, in the two countries, as far as it is connected with the price of labour, will be reduced from ten to five, in conſequence of the introduction of that POWER.

This circumſtance is worthy of the moſt particular attention. It diminiſhes immenſely one of the objections, moſt ſtrenuouſly urged, againſt the ſucceſs of manufactures in the United States.

For the United States to procure all ſuch machines as are known in any part of Europe can only require a proper proviſion and due pains. The knowledge of ſeveral of the moſt important of them they already poſſeſs. The preparation of them there is in moſt caſes practicable on nearly equal terms. As far as they depend on water, ſome ſuperiority of advantages may be claimed, from the uncommon variety and greater cheapneſs of ſituations adapted to mill ſeats, with which different parts of the United States abound.

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So far as the dearneſs of labour may be a conſequence of the greatneſs of profits in any branch of buſineſs, it is no obſtacle to its ſucceſs. The undertaker can afford to pay the price.

There are grounds to conclude, that undertakers of manufactures in America, can at this time afford to pay higher wages to the workmen they employ than are paid to ſimilar workmen in Europe. The price of foreign fabrics in the markets of the United States, which will for a long time regulate the prices of the domeſtic ones, may be conſidered as compounded of the following ingredients:—The firſt coſt of materials, including the taxes, if any, which are paid upon them where they are made; the expence of grounds, buildings, machinery, and tools; the wages of the perſons employed in the manufactory; the profits on the capital or ſtock employed; the commiſſions of agents to purchaſe them where they are made; the expence of tranſportation to the United States, including inſurance and other incidental charges; the taxes or duties, if any, and fees of office which are paid on their exportation; the taxes or duties, and fees of office which are paid on their importation.

As to the firſt of theſe items, the coſt of materials, the advantage, upon the whole, is at preſent on the ſide of the United States, and the difference in their favour muſt increaſe, in proportion as a certain and extenſive domeſtic demand ſhall induce the proprietors of land to devote more of their attention to the production of thoſe materials. It ought not to eſcape obſervation, in a compariſon on this point, that ſome of the principal manufacturing countries of Europe are much more dependent on foreign ſupply for the materials of their manufactures, than the United States, who are capable of ſupplying themſelves with a greater abundance, as well as a greater variety, of the requiſite materials.

As to the ſecond item, the expence of grounds, buildings, machinery, and tools, an equality at leaſt may be aſſumed; ſince advantages in ſome particulars will counterbalance temporary diſadvantages in others.

As to the third item, or the article of wages, the compariſon certainly turns againſt the United States; though, as before obſerved, not in ſo great a degree as is commonly ſuppoſed.

The fourth item is alike applicable to the foreign and to the domeſtic manufacture. It is indeed more properly a reſult than a particular to be compared.

But with reſpect to all the remaining items, they are alone applicable to the foreign manufacture, and, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, extraordinaries; conſtituting a ſum of extra charge on the foreign fabric, which cannot be eſtimated at leſs than from 15 to 30 per cent. on the coſt of it at the manufactory.

The ſum of extra charge may confidently be regarded as more than a counter-

counterpoiſe for the real difference in the price of labour, and is a ſatisfactory proof that manufactures may proſper in defiance of it in the United States.

To the general allegation, connected with the circumſtances of ſcarcity of hands and the dearneſs of labour, that extenſive manufactures can only grow out of a redundant or full population, it will be ſufficient to anſwer generally, that the fact has been otherwiſe.—That the ſituation alledged to be an eſſential condition of ſucceſs, has not been that of ſeveral nations, at periods when they had already attained to maturity in a variety of manufactures.

The ſuppoſed want of capital for the proſecution of manufactures in the United States is the moſt indefinite of the objections which are uſually oppoſed to it.

It is very difficult to pronounce any thing preciſe concerning the real extent of the monied capital of a country, and ſtill more concerning the proportion which it bears to the objects that invite the employment of capital. It is not leſs difficult to pronounce, how far the effect of any given money, as capital, or, in other words, as a medium for circulating the induſtry and property of a nation, may be increaſed by the very circumſtance of the additional motion which is given to it by new objects of employment. That effect, like the momentum of deſcending bodies, may not improperly be repreſented, as in a compound ratio to maſs and velocity. It ſeems pretty certain, that a given ſum of money, in a ſituation in which the quick impulſes of commercial activity are little felt, will appear inadequate to the circulation of as great a quantity of induſtry and property as in one in which their full influence is experienced.

It is not obvious why the ſame objection might not as well be made to external commerce as to manufactures, ſince it is manifeſt that the immenſe tracts of land, occupied and unoccupied, are capable of giving employment to more capital that is actually beſtowed upon them. IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE UNITED STATES OFFER A VAST FIELD FOR THE ADVANTAGEOUS EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL, but it does, not follow that there will not be found, in one way or another, a ſufficient fund for the ſucceſsful proſecution of any ſpecies of induſtry which is likely to prove truly beneficial.

The following conſiderations are of a nature to remove all inquietude on the ſcore of want of capital.

The introduction of banks, as has been ſhewn on another occaſion, has a powerful tendency to extend the active capital of a country. Experience of the utility of theſe inſtitutions is multiplying them in the United States. It is probable that they will be eſtabliſhed wherever they can exiſt with advantage; and wherever they can be ſupported, if adminiſtered

miniſtered with prudence, they will add new energies to all pecuniary operations.

The aid of foreign capital may ſafely, and with conſiderable latitude, be taken into calculation. Its inſtrumentality has been long experienced in their external commerce; and it has begun to be felt in various other modes. Not only their funds, but their agriculture and other internal improvements have been animated by it. It has already, in a few inſtances, extended even to their manufactures.

It is a well known fact, that there are parts of Europe, which have more capital than profitable domeſtic objects of employment. Hence, among other proofs, the large loans continually furniſhed to foreign ſtates. And it is equally certain, that the capital of other parts may find more profitable employment in the United States, than at home. And notwithſtanding there are weighty inducements to prefer the employment of capital at home, even at leſs profit, to an inveſtment of it abroad, though with greater gain, yet theſe inducements are over-ruled, either by a deficiency of employment, or by a very material difference in profit. Both theſe cauſes operate to produce a tranſfer of foreign capital to the United States. It is certain, that various objects in America hold out advantages, which are with difficulty to be equalled elſewhere; and under the increaſingly favourable impreſſions, which are entertained of its government, the attractions will become more and more ſtrong. Theſe impreſſions will prove a rich mine of proſperity to the country, if they are confirmed and ſtrengthened by the progreſs of their affairs. And to ſecure this advantage, little more is neceſſary, than to foſter induſtry, and cultivate order and tranquility at home and abroad.

It is not impoſſible, that there may be perſons diſpoſed to look with a jealous eye on the introduction of foreign capital, as if it were an inſtrument to deprive their own citizens of the profits of their induſtry: but perhaps there never could be a more unreaſonable jealouſy. Inſtead of being viewed as a rival, it ought to be conſidered as a moſt valuable auxiliary; conducing to put in motion a greater quantity of productive labor, and a greater portion of uſeful enterpriſe, than could exiſt without it. It is at leaſt evident, that in a country ſituated like the United States, with an infinite fund of reſources, yet to be unfolded, every farthing of foreign capital, which is laid out in internal ameliorations, and in induſtrious eſtabliſhments of a permanent nature, is a precious acquiſition.

And whatever be the objects which originally attract foreign capital, when once introduced, it may be directed towards any purpoſe of bene-

ficial exertion, which is deſired. And to detain it in the United States, there can be no expedient ſo effectual as to enlarge the ſphere, within which it may be uſefully employed; though introduced merely with views to ſpeculations in the funds, it may afterwards be rendered ſubſervient to the intereſts of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

But the attraction of foreign capital for the direct purpoſe of manufactures ought not to be deemed a chimerical expectation. There are already examples of it, as remarked in another place. And the examples, if the diſpoſition be cultivated, can hardly fail to multiply. There are alſo inſtances of another kind, which ſerve to ſtrengthen the expectation; enterpriſes for improving the public communications, by cutting canals, opening the obſtructions in rivers, and erecting bridges, have received very material aid from the ſame ſource.

When the manufacturing capitaliſt of Europe ſhall advert to the many important advantages which have been intimated in the courſe of theſe remarks, he cannot but perceive very powerful inducements to a tranſfer of himſelf and his capital to the United States. Among the reflections which a moſt intereſting peculiarity of ſituation is calculated to ſuggeſt, it cannot eſcape his obſervation, as a circumſtance of moment in the calculation, that the progreſſive population and improvement of the United States, enſure a continually increaſing domeſtic demand for the fabrics which he ſhall produce, not to be affected by any external caſualties or viciſſitudes.

But while there are circumſtances ſufficiently ſtrong to authoriſe a conſiderable degree of reliance on the aid of foreign capital, towards the attainment of the object in view, it is ſatisfactory to have good grounds of aſſurance, that there are domeſtic reſources of themſelves adequate to it. It happens, that there is a ſpecies of capital, actually exiſting within the United States, which relieves from all inquietude on the ſcore of want of capital—This is the funded debt.

The effect of a funded debt, as a ſpecies of capital, has been noticed upon a former occaſion; but a more particular elucidation of the point ſeems to be required by the ſtreſs which is laid upon it.

Public funds anſwer the purpoſe of capital, from the eſtimation in which they are uſually held by monied men; and conſequently from the eaſe and diſpatch with which they can be turned into money. This capacity of prompt controvertibility into money, cauſes a tranſfer of ſtock to be in a great number of caſes equivalent to a payment in coin.—And where it does not happen to ſuit the party who is to receive, to accept a tranſfer of ſtock, the party who is to pay, is never at a loſs to find elſe-

where

where a purchaſer of his ſtock, who will furniſh him in lieu of it, with the coin of which he ſtands in need.

Hence in a ſound and ſettled ſtate of the public funds, a man poſſeſſed of a ſum in them can embrace any ſcheme of buſineſs which offers, with as much confidence as if he were poſſeſſed of an equal ſum in coin.

This operation of public funds, as capital, is too obvious to be denied; but it is objected to the idea of their operating as an augmentation of the capital of the community, that they ſerve to occaſion the deſtruction of ſome other capital to an equal amount.

The capital which alone they can be ſuppoſed to deſtroy, muſt conſiſt of—The annual revenue, which is applied to the payment of intereſt on the debt, and to the gradual redemption of the principal—The amount of the coin, which is employed in circulating the funds, or in other words, in effecting the different alienations which they undergo.

But the following appears to be the true and accurate view of the matter—

As to the point of the annual revenue requiſite for payment of intereſt and redemption of principal:

As a determinate proportion will tend to perſpicuity in the reaſoning, let it be ſuppoſed, that the annual revenue to be applied, correſponding with the modification of the 6 per cent. ſtock of the United States, is in the ratio, of eight upon the hundred; that is, in the firſt inſtance, ſix on account of intereſt, and two on account of principal.

Thus far it is evident, that the capital deſtroyed to the capital created, would bear no greater proportion than 8 to 100. There would be withdrawn from the total maſs of other capitals a ſum of eight dollars to be paid to the public creditor; while he would be poſſeſſed of a ſum of one hundred dollars, ready to be applied to any purpoſe, to be embarked in any enterpriſe, which might appear to him eligible—Here then the augmentation of capital, or the exceſs of that which is produced, beyond that which is deſtroyed, is equal to ninety-two dollars.

To this concluſion it may be objected, that the ſum of eight dollars is to be withdrawn annually, until the whole hundred is extinguiſhed, and it may be inferred, that in proceſs of time a capital will be deſtroyed equal to that which is at firſt created.

But it is nevertheleſs true, that during the whole of the interval, between the creation of the capital of 100 dollars, and its reduction to a ſum not greater than that of the annual revenue appropriated to its redemption—there will be a greater active capital in exiſtence than if no debt had been contracted. The ſum drawn from other capitals in any one year will not exceed eight dollars; but there will be at every inſtant

of time during the whole period in queſtion, a ſum correſponding with ſo much of the principal as remains unredeemed in the hands of ſome perſon or other, employed, or ready to be employed, in ſome profitable undertaking. There will therefore conſtantly be more capital in capacity to be employed, than capital taken from employment. The exceſs for the firſt year has been ſtated to be ninety two dollars; it will diminiſh yearly; but there will always be an exceſs, until the principal of the debt is brought to a level with the redeeming annuity, that is, in the caſe which has been aſſumed by way of example, to eight dollars. The reality of this exceſs becomes palpable, if it be ſuppoſed, as often happens, that the citizen of a foreign country imports into the United States 100 dollars for the purchaſe of an equal ſum of public debt—here is an abſolute augmentation of the maſs of circulating coin to the extent of 100 dollars. At the end of a year, the foreigner is preſumed to draw back eight dollars on account of his principal and intereſt, but he ſtill leaves ninety-two of his original depoſit in circulation, as he in like manner leaves eighty-four at the end of the ſecond year, drawing back then alſo the annuity of eight dollars: And thus the matter proceeds; the capital left in circulation diminiſhing each year, and coming nearer to the level of the annuity drawn back. There are, however, ſome differences in the ultimate operation of the part of the debt, which is purchaſed by foreigners, and that which remains in the hands of citizens. But the general effect in each caſe, though in different degrees, is to add to the active capital of the country.

Hitherto the reaſoning has proceeded on a conceſſion of the poſition, that there is a deſtruction of ſome other capital, to the extent of the annuity appropriated to the payment of the intereſt and the redemption of the principal of the debt; but in this too much has been conceded. There is at moſt a temporary transfer of ſome other capital, to the amount of the annuity, from thoſe who pay to the creditor who receives; which he again reſtores to the circulation to reſume the offices of a capital. This he does either immediately by employing the money in ſome branch of induſtry, or mediately by lending it to ſome other perſon who does ſo employ it, or by ſpending it on his own maintenance. In either ſuppoſition, there is no deſtruction of capital: there is nothing more than a ſuſpenſion of its motion for a time, that is, while it is paſſing from the hands of thoſe who pay into the public coffers, and thence through the public creditor into ſome other channel of circulation. When the payments of intereſt are periodical and quick, and made by the inſtrumentality of banks, the diverſion or ſuſpenſion of capital may

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almoſt be denominated momentary. Hence the deduction on this account is far leſs than it at firſt ſight appears to be.

There is evidently, as far as regards the annuity, no deſtruction nor transfer of any other capital, than that portion of the income of each individual, which goes to make up the annuity. The land which furniſhes the farmer with the ſum which he is to contribute remains the the ſame; and the like may be obſerved of other capitals. Indeed, as far as the tax, which is the object of contribution (as frequently happens when it does not oppreſs by its weight) may have been a motive to greater exertion in any occupation; it may even ſerve to increaſe the contributory capital. This idea is not without importance in the general view of the ſubject.

It remains to ſee, what further deduction ought to be made from the capital which is created, by the exiſtence of the debt, on account of the coin which is employed in its circulation. This is ſuſceptible of much leſs preciſe calculation than the article which has been juſt diſcuſſed. It is impoſſible to ſay, what proportion of coin is neceſſary to carry on the alienations which any ſpecies of property uſually undergoes. The quantity, indeed, varies according to circumſtances. But it may ſtill without heſitation be pronounced, from the quickneſs of the rotation, or rather of the tranſitions, that the medium of circulation always bears but a ſmall proportion to the amount of the property circulated. And it is thence ſatisfactorily deducible, that the coin employed in the negociations of the funds, and which ſerves to give them activity as capital, is incomparably leſs than the ſum of the debt negociated for the purpoſe of buſineſs.

It ought not, however, to be omitted, that the negociation of the funds becomes itſelf a diſtinct buſineſs, which employs, and by employing, diverts a portion of the circulating coin from other purſuits. But making due allowance for this circumſtance, there is no reaſon to conclude, that, the effect of the diverſion of coin in the whole operation bears any conſiderable proportion to the amount of the capital to which it gives activity. The ſum of the debt in circulation is continually at the command of any uſeful enterpriſe; the coin itſelf, which circulates it, is never more than momentarily ſuſpended from its ordinary functions. It experiences an inceſſant and rapid flux and reflux to and from the channels of induſtry to thoſe of ſpeculations in the funds.

There are ſtrong circumſtances in confirmation of this theory. The force of monied capital which has been diſplayed in Great Britain, and the height to which every ſpecies of induſtry has grown up under

it, defy a ſolution from the quantity of coin which that kingdom has ever poſſeſſed. Accordingly it has been co-eval with its funding ſyſtem, the prevailing opinion of the men of buſineſs, and of the generality of the moſt ſagacious theoriſts of that country, that the operation of the public funds as capital has contributed to the effect in queſtion. Among the Americans appearances thus far favour the ſame concluſion. Induſtry in general ſeems to have been re-animated. There are ſymptoms indicating an extenſion of their commerce. Their navigation has certainly of late had a conſiderable ſpring, and there appears to be in many parts of the Union a command of capital, which, till lately, ſince the revolution at leaſt, was unknown. But it is at the ſame time to be acknowledged, that other circumſtances have concurred, and in a great degree, in producing the preſent ſtate of things, and that the appearances are not yet ſufficiently deciſive to be entirely relied upon.

In the queſtion under diſcuſſion, it is important to diſtinguiſh between an abſolute increaſe of capital, or an acceſſion of real wealth and an artificial increaſe of capital, as an engine of buſineſs, or as an inſtrument of induſtry and commerce. In the firſt ſenſe, a funded debt has no pretenſions to being deemed an increaſe of capital; in the laſt, it has pretenſions which are not eaſy to be controverted. Of a ſimilar nature is bank credit, and, in an inferior degree, every ſpecies of private credit.

But though a funded debt is not in the firſt inſtance, an abſolute increaſe of capital, or an augmentation of real wealth; yet, by ſerving as a new power in the operations of induſtry, it has within certain bounds a tendency to increaſe the real wealth of a community; in like manner as money borrowed by a thrifty farmer, to be laid out in the improvement of his farm, may, in the end, add to his ſtock of real riches.

There are reſpectable individuals, who, from a *juſt* averſion to an accumulation of public debt, are unwilling to concede to it any kind of utility, who can diſcern no good to alleviate the ill with which they ſuppoſe it pregnant; who cannot be perſuaded, that it ought in any ſenſe to be viewed as an increaſe of capital, leſt it ſhould be inferred, as it has erroneouſly been in Great Britain, that the more *debt* the more *capital*, the *greater the burthen the greater the bleſſings* of the community.

But it intereſts the public to have eſtimated every object as it truly is; to appreciate how far the good in any meaſure is compenſated by the ill; or the ill by the good; either of them is ſeldom unmixed.

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But it will not follow, that an accumulation of debt is desirable, because a certain degree of it operates as a capital. There may be a plethora in the political, as in the natural body; there may be a state of things in which any such artificial capital is unnecessary. The debt too may be swelled to such a size, as that the greatest part of it may cease to be useful as a capital, serving only, as it does in England, to burden the labouring mechanic, and pamper the dissipation of idle and dissolute individuals; as that the sums required to pay the interest upon it may become oppressive, and beyond the means which a government can employ, consistently with its tranquillity, to raise them—as that the resources of taxation to face the debt may have been strained too far to admit of extensions adequate to exigencies, which regard the public safety.

Where this critical point is, we cannot pronounce with precision, but it is impossible to believe, that there is not such a point, and almost equally difficult to doubt, but that most of the old governments of Europe are nearly arrived at it.

And as the vicissitudes of nations beget a perpetual tendency to the accumulation of debt, there ought to be in every government a perpetual, anxious, and unceasing effort to reduce that, which at any time exists, as fast as shall be practicable, consistently with integrity and good faith.

Reasonings on a subject comprehending ideas so abstract and complex, so little reducible to precise calculation as those which enter into the question just discussed, are always attended with a danger of running into fallacies. Due allowance ought therefore to be made for this possibility—But as far as the nature of the subject admits of, it there appears to be satisfactory ground for a belief that the public funds operate as a resource of capital to the citizens of the United States, and if they are a resource at all, it is an extensive one.

To all the arguments which are brought to evince the impracticability of success in manufacturing establishments in the United States, it might have been a sufficient answer to have referred to the experience of what has been already done—It is certain that several important branches have grown up and flourished with a rapidity and success which surprises not only us but the Americans themselves; affording an encouraging assurance of success in future attempts; of these it may not be improper to enumerate the most considerable.

I. Tanned and tawed leather, dressed skins, shoes, boots and slippers, harness, and sadlery of all kinds, portmanteaus and trunks, leather breeches, gloves, muffs and tippets, parchment and glue.

II. Bar

II. Bar and ſheet iron, ſteel, nail rods, and nails, implements of huſbandry, ſtoves, pots and other houſehold utenſils, the ſteel and iron work for carriages, and ſhip-building, anchors, ſcale-beams and weights, various tools of artificers, arms of different kinds, the manufacture of theſe laſt has of late diminiſhed for want of demand.

III. Ships, cabinet wares and turnery, wool and cotton cards, and other machinery for manufactures and huſbandry, mathematical inſtruments, cooper's wares of every kind.

IV. Cables, ſail-cloth, cordage, twine and packthread.

V. Bricks and coarſe tiles, and potters wares.

VI. Ardent ſpirits and malt liquors.

VII. Writing and printing paper, ſheathing and wrapping paper, paſteboards, fullers or preſs papers, paper hangings.

VIII. Hats of fur and wool, and of mixtures of both.—Woollen ſtuff and ſilk ſhoes.

IX. Refined ſugars.

X. Oils of animals and ſeeds, ſoap, ſpermaceti and tallow candles.

XI. Copper and braſs wares, particularly utenſils for diſtillers, ſugar refiners and brewers, and irons and other articles for houſehold uſe philoſophical apparatus, &c.

XII. Tin wares for moſt purpoſes of ordinary uſe.

XIII. Carriages of all kinds.

XIV. Snuff, chewing and ſmoaking tobacco.

XV. Starch and hair powder.

XVI. Lampblack and other painters colours.

XVII. Gunpowder.

Beſides manufactories of theſe articles which are carried on as regular trades, and have attained to a conſiderable degree of maturity, there is a vaſt ſcene of houſehold manufacturing, which contributes more largely to the ſupply of the community than could be imagined, without having made it an object of particular inquiry. This obſervation is the pleaſing reſult of the inveſtigation to which the ſubject has led, and is applicable as well to the ſouthern as to the middle and northern ſtates; great quantities of coarſe cloths, coatings, ſerges, and flannels, linſey-woolſeys, hoſiery of wool, cotton and thread, coarſe fuſtians, jeans and muſlins, checked and ſtriped cotton and linen goods, bedticks, coverlets and counterpanes, tow linens, coarſe ſhirtings, ſheetings, toweling and table linen, and various mixtures of wool and cotton, and of cotton and flax, are made in the houſehold way, and in many inſtances to an extent not only ſufficient for the ſupply of the families in which they are made, but for ſale,

ſale, and even in ſome caſes for exportation. It is computed in a number of diſtricts, that two-thirds, three-fourths, and even four-fifths, of all the clothing of the inhabitants are made by themſelves. The importance of ſo great a progreſs, as appears to have been made in family manufactures within a few years, both in a moral and political view, renders the fact highly intereſting.

Neither does the above enumeration comprehend all the articles that are manufactured as regular trades; many others occur which are equally well eſtabliſhed, but which not being of equal importance have been omitted; and there are many attempts ſtill in their infancy, which, though attended with very favourable appearances, could not have been properly compriſed in an enumeration of manufactories already eſtabliſhed. There are other articles alſo of great importance, which, though ſtrictly ſpeaking manufactures, are omitted, as being immediately connected with huſbandry, ſuch are flour, pot and pearl aſh, pitch, tar, turpentine, and the like.

There remains to be noticed an objection to the encouragement of manufactures, of a nature different from thoſe which queſtion the probability of ſucceſs.—This is derived from its ſuppoſed tendency to give a monopoly of advantages to particular claſſes at the expence of the reſt of the community, who, it is affirmed, would be able to procure the requiſite ſupplies of manufactured articles on better terms from foreigners than from their own citizens, and who, it is alledged, are reduced to the neceſſity of paying an enhanced price for whatever they want, by every meaſure which obſtructs the free competition of foreign commodities.

It is not an unreaſonable ſuppoſition, that meaſures which ſerve to abridge the free competition of foreign articles have a tendency to occaſion an enhancement of prices, and it is not to be denied that ſuch is the effect in a number of caſes; but the fact does not uniformly correſpond with the theory. A reduction of prices has, in ſeveral inſtances, immediately ſucceeded the eſtabliſhment of a domeſtic manufacture. Whether it be that foreign manufactures endeavour to ſupplant, by underſelling their own, or whatever elſe be the cauſe, the effect has been ſuch as is ſtated, and the reverſe of what might have been expected.

But though it were true, that the immediate and certain effect of regulations controuling the competition of foreign with domeſtic fabrics was an increaſe of price, it is univerſally true, that the contrary is the ultimate effect with every ſucceſsful manufacture. When a domeſtic manufacture has attained to perfection, and has engaged in the proſecution of it a competent number of perſons, it invariably becomes cheaper.

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Being free from the heavy charges which attend the importation of foreign commodities, it can be afforded, and accordingly ſeldom or never fails to be ſold cheaper, in proceſs of time, than was the foreign article for which it is a ſubſtitute. The internal competition which takes place, ſoon does away every thing like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the price of the article to the *minimum* of a reaſonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reaſon of the thing and with experience.

Hence it follows, that it is the intereſt of the United States, with a view to eventual and permanent economy, to encourage the growth of manufactures. In a national view, a temporary enhancement of price muſt always be well compenſated by a permanent reduction of it.

It is a reflection which may with propriety be indulged here, that this eventual diminution of the prices of manufactured articles, which is the reſult of internal manufacturing eſtabliſhments, has a direct and very important tendency to benefit agriculture. It enables the farmer to procure, with a ſmaller quantity of his labour, the manufactured produce of which he ſtands in need, and conſequently increaſes the value of his income and property.

The objections which are commonly made to the expediency of encouraging, and to the probability of ſucceeding in manufacturing purſuits in the United States, having now been diſcuſſed, the conſiderations which have appeared in the courſe of the diſcuſſion, recommending that ſpecies of induſtry to the patronage of the American government, will be materially ſtrengthened by a few general and ſome particular topics, which have been naturally reſerved for ſubſequent notice.

I. There ſeems to be a moral certainty, that the trade of a country, which is both manufacturing and agricultural, will be more lucrative and proſperous than that of a country which is merely agricultural.

One reaſon for this is found in that general effort of nations, to procure from their own ſoils the articles of prime neceſſity requiſite to their own conſumption and uſe, and which ſerves to render their demand for a foreign ſupply of ſuch articles in a great degree occaſional and contingent. Hence, while the neceſſities of nations excluſively devoted to agriculture, for the fabrics of manufacturing ſtates, are conſtant and regular, the wants of the latter for the products of the former are liable to very conſiderable fluctuation and interruptions. The great inequalities reſulting from difference of ſeaſons have been elſewhere remarked: this uniformity of demand on one ſide, and unſteadineſs of it on the other, muſt neceſſarily have a tendency to cauſe the general courſe of the exchange of commodities between the parties to turn to the diſadvantage

vantage of the merely agricultural ſtates. Peculiarity of ſituation, a climate and ſoil adapted to the production of peculiar commodities, may ſometimes contradict the rule; but there is every reaſon to believe that it will be found in the main a juſt one.

Another circumſtance which gives a ſuperiority of commercial advantages to ſtates, that manufacture, as well as cultivate, conſiſts in the more numerous attractions which a more diverſified market offers to foreign cuſtomers, and in the greater ſcope which it affords to mercantile enterprize. It is a poſition of indiſputable truth in commerce, depending too on very obvious reaſons, that the greateſt reſort will ever be to thoſe marts, where commodities, while equally abundant, are moſt various. Each difference of kind holds out an additional inducement, and it is a poſition not leſs clear, that the field of enterpriſe muſt be enlarged to the merchants of a country, in proportion to the variety as well as the abundance of commodities which they find at home for exportation to foreign markets.

A third circumſtance, perhaps not inferior to either of the other two, conferring the ſuperiority which has been ſtated, has relation to the ſtagnations of demand for certain commodities, which at ſome time or other interfere more or leſs with the ſale of all.—The nation which can bring to market but few articles, is likely to be more quickly and ſenſibly affected by ſuch ſtagnations, than one which is always poſſeſſed of a great variety of commodities; the former frequently finds too great a portion of its ſtock of materials, for ſale or exchange, lying on hand—or is obliged to make injurious ſacrifices to ſupply its wants of foreign articles, which are numerous and urgent, in proportion to the ſmallneſs of the number of its own. The latter commonly finds itſelf indemnified by the high prices of ſome articles for the low prices of others—and the prompt and advantageous ſale of thoſe articles which are in demand enables its merchants the better to wait for a favourable change, in reſpect to thoſe which are not. There is ground to believe, that a difference of ſituation, in this particular, has immenſely different effects upon the wealth and proſperity of nations.

From theſe circumſtances collectively, two important inferences are to be drawn; one, that there is always a higher probability of a favourable balance of trade, in regard to countries in which manufactures, founded on the baſis of a thriving agriculture, flouriſh, than in regard to thoſe which are confined wholly, or almoſt wholly, to agriculture; the other, which is a conſequence of the firſt, that countries of the former deſcription are likely to poſſeſs more pecuniary wealth, or money, than thoſe of the latter.

Facts appear to correſpond with this concluſion. The importations of manufactured ſupplies ſeem invariably to drain the merely agricultural people of their wealth. Let the ſituation of the manufacturing countries of Europe be compared in this particular with that of thoſe countries which only cultivate, and the diſparity will be ſtriking. Other cauſes, it is true, help to account for this diſparity between ſome of them; and among theſe cauſes, the relative ſtate of agriculture; but between others of them, the moſt prominent circumſtance of diſſimilitude ariſes from the comparative ſtate of manufactures. In corroboration of the ſame idea, it ought not to eſcape remark, that the Weſt India iſlands, the ſoils of which are the moſt fertile, and the nation, which in the greateſt degree ſupplies the reſt of the world, with the precious metals, exchange to a loſs with almoſt every other country.

As far as experience in America may guide, it will lead to the ſame concluſion. Previous to the revolution, the quantity of coin poſſeſſed by the colonies, which now compoſe the United States, appeared to be inadequate to their circulation, and their debt to Great Britain was progreſſive. Since the revolution, the ſtates, in which manufactures have moſt increaſed, have recovered faſteſt from the injuries of the late war, and abound moſt in pecuniary reſources.

It ought to be admitted, however, in this as in the preceding caſe, that cauſes irrelative to the ſtate of manufactures account, in a degree, for the phenomena remarked. The continual progreſs of new ſettlements, has a natural tendency to occaſion an unfavourable balance of trade, though it indemnifies for the inconvenience, by that increaſe of the national capital which flows from the converſion of waſte into improved lands: and the different degrees of external commerce which are carried on by the different ſtates, may make material differences in the comparative ſtate of their wealth. The firſt circumſtance has reference to the deficiency of coin, and the increaſe of debt previous to the revolution; the laſt, to the advantages which the moſt manufacturing ſtates appear to have enjoyed over the others, ſince the termination of the late war.

But the uniform appearance of an abundance of ſpecie, as the concomitant of a flouriſhing ſtate of manufactures, and of the reverſe where they do not prevail, afford a ſtrong preſumption of their favourable operation upon the wealth of a country.

Not only the wealth, but the independence and ſecurity of a country, appear to be materially connected with the proſperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to thoſe great objects, ought to endeavour to

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poſſeſs within itſelf all the eſſentials of national ſupply. Theſe compriſe the means of ſubſiſtence, habitation, cloathing, and defence.

The poſſeſſion of theſe is neceſſary to the perfection of the body politic, to the ſafety as well as to the welfare of the ſociety; the want of either is the want of an important organ of political life and motion; and in the various critical events which await a ſtate, it muſt ſeverely feel the effects of any ſuch deficiency. The extreme embarraſſments of the United States during the late war, from an incapacity of ſupplying themſelves, are ſtill matter of keen recollection: a future war might be expected again to exemplify the miſchiefs and dangers of a ſituation, to which that incapacity is ſtill in too great a degree applicable, unleſs changed by timely and vigorous exertion. To effect this change, as faſt as ſhall be prudent, merits the attention and all the zeal of their public councils; it is the next great work to be accompliſhed.

The want of a navy to protect the external commerce of the United States, as long as it ſhall continue, muſt render it a peculiarly precarious reliance for the ſupply of eſſential articles, and muſt ſerve to ſtrengthen prodigiouſly the arguments in favour of manufactures.

To theſe general conſiderations are added ſome of a more particular nature.

Their diſtance from Europe, the great fountain of manufactured ſupply, ſubjects them, in the exiſting ſtate of things, to inconvenience and loſs in two ways.

The bulkineſs of thoſe commodities which are the chief productions of the ſoil, neceſſarily impoſes very heavy charges on their tranſportation to diſtant markets. Theſe charges, in the caſes in which the nations, to whom their products are ſent, maintain a competition in the ſupply of their own markets, principally fall upon them, and form material deductions from the primitive value of the articles furniſhed. The charges on manufactured ſupplies carried from Europe are greatly enhanced by the ſame circumſtance of diſtance. Theſe charges, again, in the caſes in which their own induſtry maintains no competition in their own markets, alſo principally fall upon them, and are an additional cauſe of extraordinary deduction from the primitive value of their own products, theſe being the materials of exchange for the foreign fabrics which they conſume.

The quality and moderation of individual property, and the growing ſettlements of new diſtricts, occaſion in the United States an unuſual demand for coarſe manufactures, the charges of which being greater in proportion to their greater bulk, augment the diſadvantage which has been juſt deſcribed.

As in moſt countries domeſtic ſupplies maintain a very conſiderable competition with ſuch foreign productions of the ſoil as are imported for ſale; if the extenſive eſtabliſhment of manufactories in the United States does not create a ſimilar competition in reſpect to manufactured articles, it appears to be clearly deducible, from the conſiderations which have been mentioned, that they muſt ſuſtain a double loſs in their exchanges with foreign nations, ſtrongly conducive to an unfavourable balance of trade, and very prejudicial to their intereſts.

Theſe diſadvantages preſs with no ſmall weight on the landed intereſt of the country; in ſeaſons of peace they cauſe a ſerious deduction from the intrinſic value of the products of the ſoil; and in caſe of war, which ſhould either involve themſelves, or any other nation, poſſeſſing a conſiderable ſhare of their carrying trade, the charges on the tranſportation of their commodities, bulky as moſt of them are, under ſuch circumſtances, could hardly fail to prove a grievous burthen to the farmer, while obliged to depend in ſo great a degree as he now does upon foreign markets for the vent of the ſurplus of his labour.

As far as the proſperity of the fiſheries of the United States is impeded by the want of an adequate market, there ariſes another ſpecial reaſon for deſiring the extenſion of manufactures. Beſides the fiſh, which in many places would be likely to make a part of the ſubſiſtence of the perſons employed, it is known that the oils, bones, and ſkins of marine animals, are of extenſive uſe in various manufactures; hence the proſpect of an additional demand for the produce of the fiſheries.

One more point of view only remains, in which to conſider the expediency of the utmoſt encouragement being given to manufactures in the United States.

It is not uncommon to meet with an opinion, that though the promoting of manufactures may be the intereſt of a part of the Union, it is contrary to that of another part; the northern and ſouthern regions are ſometimes repreſented as having adverſe intereſts in this reſpect; thoſe are called manufacturing, theſe agricultural ſtates, and a ſpecies of oppoſition is imagined to ſubſiſt between the manufacturing and agricultural intereſts.

This idea of an oppoſition between thoſe two intereſts has been the common error of the early periods of every country, but experience gradually diſſipates it; indeed, they are perceived ſo often to ſuccour and to befriend each other, that they come at length to be conſidered as one; a ſuppoſition which has been frequently abuſed, and is not univerſally true. Particular encouragements of particular manufactures may be of a nature to ſacrifice the intereſts of landholders to thoſe of manufactures;

facturers; but it is nevertheleſs a maxim well eſtabliſhed by experience, and generally acknowledged, where there has been ſufficient experience, that the aggregate proſperity of manufactures, and the aggregate proſperity of agriculture are intimately connected. In the courſe of this diſcuſſion, various weighty conſiderations have been adduced operating in ſupport of this opinion. Perhaps the ſuperior ſteadineſs of the demand of a domeſtic market for the ſurplus produce of the ſoil is alone a convincing argument of its truth.

Ideas of a contrariety of intereſts between the northern and ſouthern regions of the United States, are in the main as unfounded as they are miſchievous; the diverſity of circumſtances, on which ſuch contrariety is uſually predicated, authoriſes a direct contrary concluſion; mutual wants conſtitute one of the ſtrongeſt links of political connection, and the extent of theſe bears a natural proportion to the diverſity in the means of mutual ſupply.

Suggeſtions of an oppoſite complexion are ever to be deplored, as unfriendly to the ſteady purſuit of one great common cauſe, and to the perfect harmony of all the parts.

In proportion as the mind is accuſtomed to trace the intimate connection of intereſts which ſubſiſt between all the parts of a ſociety, united under the ſame government; and the infinite variety of channels, which ſerve to circulate the proſperity of each to and through the reſt, in that proportion it will be little apt to be diſturbed by ſolicitudes and apprehenſions which originate in local diſcriminations. It is a truth as important as it is agreeable, and one to which it is not eaſy to imagine exceptions, that every thing tending to eſtabliſh ſubſtantial and permanent order in the affairs of a country, to increaſe the total maſs of induſtry and opulence, is ultimately beneficial to every part of it. On the credit of this great truth an acquieſcence may ſafely be accorded from every quarter to all inſtitutions and arrangements, which promiſe a confirmation of public order, and an augmentation of national reſource.

But there are more particular conſiderations which ſerve to fortify the idea, that the encouragement of manufactures is the intereſt of all parts of the American Union. If the northern and middle ſtates ſhould be the principal ſcenes of ſuch eſtabliſhments, they would immediately benefit the more ſouthern by creating a demand for productions, ſome of which they have in common with the other ſtates, and others of which are either peculiar to them, or more abundant, or of better quality, than elſewhere. Theſe productions principally are timber, flax, hemp, cotton, wool, raw ſilk, indigo, iron, lead, furs, hides, ſkins, and coals; of theſe articles cotton and indigo are peculiar to the ſouthern ſtates; as are hitherto

hitherto LEAD and COAL, flax and hemp are or may be raiſed in greater abundance there than in the more northern ſtates; and the wool of Virginia is ſaid to be of better quality than that of any other ſtate; a circumſtance rendered the more probable by the reflection, that Virginia embraces the ſame latitudes with the fineſt wool countries of Europe, and their paſture is ſimilar. The climate of the ſouth is alſo better adapted to the production of ſilk.

The extenſive cultivation of cotton can, perhaps, hardly be expected, without the previous eſtabliſhment of domeſtic manufactories of the article, theſe in ſome of the States have been eſtabliſhed, and have already arrived at a degree of perfection and reſpectability hardly to have been expected in the time; and the ſureſt encouragement and vent for the others, will reſult from ſimilar eſtabliſhments in reſpect to them.

If then it ſatisfactorily appears, that it is the intereſt of the United States generally to encourage manufactures, it merits particular attention, that there are circumſtances which render the preſent a critical moment for entering with zeal upon the important buſineſs; the effort cannot fail to be materially ſeconded by a conſiderable and increaſing influx of money, ariſing from the numbers who have, and which ſtill continue to tranſer themſelves and capitals from the Old World to the different States; in conſequence of foreign ſpeculations in their funds—and by the diſorders and oppreſſions which exiſt in different parts of Europe.

The firſt circumſtance not only facilitates the execution of manufacturing enterprizes, but it indicates them as a neceſſary mean to turn their increaſing population and capital, to advantage, and to prevent their being eventually an evil. If uſeful employment be not found for the money of foreigners who are daily taking up their reſidence in the United States, and for that which is carried to the country to be inveſted in purchaſes of the public debt, it will quickly be re-exported to defray the expence of an extraordinary conſumption of foreign luxuries; and diſtreſſing drains of their ſpecie may hereafter be experienced to pay the intereſt and redeem the principal of the purchaſed debt.

This uſeful employment too ought to be of a nature to produce ſolid and permanent improvements. If the money merely ſerves to give a temporary ſpring to foreign commerce, as it cannot procure new and laſting outlets for the products of the country, there will be no real or durable advantage gained; as far as it ſhall find its way in agricultural ameliorations, in opening canals, and in ſimilar improvements, it will be productive of ſubſtantial utility; but there is reaſon to doubt, whether

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in ſuch channels it is likely to find ſufficient employment, and ſtill more, whether many of thoſe who poſſeſs it will be as readily attracted to objects of this nature as to manufacturing purſuits, which bear greater analogy to thoſe to which they have been accuſtomed, and to the ſpirit generated by them.

To open the one field, as well as the other, will at leaſt ſecure a better proſpect of uſeful employment, for whatever acceſſion of population and money there has been or may be.

There is at the preſent juncture a certain fermentation of mind, a certain activity of ſpeculation and enterprize, which, if properly directed, may be made ſubſervient to uſeful purpoſes; but which, if left entirely to itſelf, may be attended with pernicious effects.

The diſturbed ſtate of Europe inclining its citizens to emigration, the requiſite workmen will be more eaſily acquired for different manufactures than at another time; and the effect of multiplying the opportunities of employment to thoſe who emigrate, may be an increaſe of the number and extent of valuable acquiſitions to the population, arts, and induſtry of the United States.

To find pleaſure in the calamities of other nations would be criminal, but for the Americans to benefit themſelves by opening an aſylum to thoſe who ſuffer in conſequence of them, is as juſtifiable as it is politic.

A full view having now been taken of the inducements to the promotion of manufactures in the United States, accompanied with an examination of the principal objections which are urged in oppoſition thereto by ſome of their own citizens, it is proper, in the next place, to conſider the means by which the promotion of them may be effected, as introductory to a ſpecification of the objects which, in the preſent ſtate of things, appear the moſt fit to be encouraged, and of the particular meaſures which it would be adviſable for them to adopt in reſpect to each.

In order to a better judgment of the means proper to be reſorted to by the United States, it will be of uſe to advert to thoſe which have been employed with ſucceſs in other countries. The principal of theſe are—

I. *Protecting duties—or duties on thoſe foreign articles which are the rivals of the domeſtic ones intended to be encouraged.*

Duties of this nature evidently amount to a virtual bounty on the domeſtic fabrics, ſince by enhancing the charges on foreign articles, they enable the national manufacturers to underſell all their foreign competitors. The propriety of this ſpecies of encouragement need not be dwelt upon, as it is not only a clear reſult from the numerous topics which have been ſuggeſted, but is ſanctioned by the laws of the United States

States in a variety of inſtances; it has the additional recommendation of being a reſource of revenue.—Indeed all the duties impoſed on imported articles, though with an excluſive view to revenue, have the effect in contemplation, and, except where they fall on raw materials, wear a beneficent aſpect towards the manufactures of the country.

II. *Prohibitions of rival articles, or duties equivalent to prohibitions.*

This is another and an efficacious mean of encouraging their national manufactures, but in general it is only fit to be employed when a manufacture has made ſuch a progreſs, and is in ſo many hands as to enſure a due competition, and an adequate ſupply on reaſonable terms. Of duties equivalent to prohibitions, there are examples in the laws of the United States, and there are other caſes to which the principle may be advantageouſly extended, but they are not numerous.

Conſidering a monopoly of the domeſtic market to its own manufactures as the reigning policy of manufacturing nations, a ſimilar policy on the part of the United States in every proper inſtance is dictated, it might almoſt be ſaid, by the principles of diſtributive juſtice; certainly by the duty of endeavouring to ſecure to their own citizens a reciprocity of advantages.

III. *Prohibitions of the exportation of the materials of manufactures.*

The deſire of ſecuring a cheap and plentiful ſupply for the national workmen, where the article is either peculiar to the country, or of peculiar quality there,—the jealouſy of enabling foreign workmen to rival thoſe of the nation with its own materials, are the leading motives to this ſpecies of reſtraint. It ought not to be affirmed that this regulation is in no inſtance proper; but it is certainly one which ought to be adopted with great circumſpection, and only in very plain caſes. It is ſeen at once, that its immediate operation is to abridge the demand, and keep down the price of the produce of ſome other branch of induſtry, generally ſpeaking, of agriculture, to the prejudice of thoſe who carry it on; and though, if it be really eſſential to the proſperity of any very important national manufacture, it may happen that thoſe who are injured in the firſt inſtance, may be eventually indemnified by the ſuperior ſteadineſs of an extenſive domeſtic market depending on that proſperity: yet, in a matter in which there is ſo much room for nice and difficult combinations, in which ſuch oppoſite conſiderations combat each other, prudence ſeems to dictate, that the expedient in queſtion ought to be indulged with a ſparing hand.

IV. *Pecuniary bounties.*

This has been found one of the moſt efficacious means of encouraging manufactures, and it is, in ſome views, the beſt. Though it has not yet

been much practiſed upon by the government of the United States, unleſs the allowance on the exportation of dried and pickled fiſh and ſalted meat could be conſidered as a bounty, this method of encouraging manufactures though leſs favoured by public opinion than ſome other modes has its advantages.

1. It is a ſpecies of encouragement more poſitive and direct than any other, and, for that very reaſon, has a more immediate tendency to ſtimulate and uphold new enterpriſes, increaſing the chances of profit, and diminiſhing the riſks of loſs, in the firſt attempts.

2. It avoids the inconvenience of a temporary augmentation of price, which is incident to ſome other modes, or it produces it to a leſs degree; either by making no addition to the charges on the rival foreign article, as in the caſe of protecting duties, or by making a ſmaller addition. The firſt happens when the fund for the bounty is derived from a different object, which may or may not increaſe the price of ſome other article, according to the nature of that object; the ſecond, when the fund is derived from the ſame or a ſimilar object of foreign manufacture. One per cent. duty on the foreign article converted into a bounty on the domeſtic, will have an equal effect with a duty of two per cent. excluſive of ſuch bounty; as the price of the foreign commodity is liable to be raiſed, in the one caſe, in the proportion of one per cent.; in the other, in that of two per cent. But the bounty when drawn from another ſource is calculated to promote a reduction of price; becauſe, without laying any new charge on the foreign article, it ſerves to introduce a competition with it, and to increaſe the total quantity of the article in the market.

3. Bounties have not, like high protecting duties, a tendency to produce ſcarcity. An increaſe of price is not always the immediate, though, where the progreſs of a domeſtic manufacture does not counteract a riſe, it is commonly the ultimate effect of an additional duty. In the interval between the laying of the duty, and a proportional increaſe of price, it may diſcourage importation, by interfering with the profits to be expected from the ſale of the article.

4. Bounties are ſometimes not only the beſt, but the only proper expedient, for uniting the encouragement of a new object of agriculture with that of a new object of manufacture. It is the intereſt of the farmer to have the production of the raw material promoted, by counteracting the interference of the foreign material of the ſame kind—It is the intereſt of the manufacturer to have the material abundant and cheap. If, prior to the domeſtic production of the material in ſufficient quantity to ſupply the manufacturer on

good terms, a duty be laid upon the importation of it from abroad, with a view to promote the raiſing of it at home, the intereſt both of the farmer and manufacturer will be diſſerved—by either deſtroying the requiſite ſupply, or raiſing the price of the article beyond what can be afforded to be given for it by the conductor of an infant manufacture, it is abandoned, or fails, and there being no domeſtic manufactories to create a demand for the raw material which is raiſed by the farmer, it is in vain, that the competition of the like foreign article may have been deſtroyed.

It cannot eſcape notice, that a duty upon the importation of an article can no otherwiſe aid the domeſtic production of it, than by giving the latter greater advantages in the home market. It can have no influence upon the advantageous ſale of the article produced in foreign markets, no tendency, therefore, to promote its exportation.

The true way to conciliate theſe two intereſts, is therefore to lay a duty on foreign manufacturers of the material, the growth of which is deſired to be encouraged, and to apply the produce of that duty by way of bounty, either upon the production of the material itſelf, or upon its manufacture at home, or upon both. If this is done the manufacturer of the United States will commence his enterpriſe under every advantage which is attainable, as to quantity or price of the raw material; and the farmer, if the bounty be immediately to him, is enabled by it to enter into a ſucceſsful competition with the foreign material; if the bounty be to the manufacturer on ſo much of the domeſtic material as he conſumes, the operation is nearly the ſame; he has a motive of intereſt to prefer the domeſtic commodity, if of equal quality, even at a higher price than the foreign, ſo long as the difference of price is any thing ſhort of the bounty which is allowed upon the article.

Except the ſimple and ordinary kinds of houſehold manufacture, or thoſe for which there are very commanding local advantages, pecuniary bounties are in moſt caſes indiſpenſable to the introduction of a new branch. A ſtimulus and a ſupport not leſs powerful and direct is, generally ſpeaking, eſſential to the overcoming of the obſtacles which ariſe from the competitions of ſuperior ſkill and maturity elſewhere. Bounties are eſpecially eſſential in regard to articles upon which thoſe foreigners, who have been accuſtomed to ſupply a country, are in the practice of granting them.

The continuance of bounties on manufactures long eſtabliſhed, muſt almoſt always be of queſtionable policy; becauſe a preſumption would ariſe in every ſuch caſe, that there were natural and inherent impedi-

impediments to ſucceſs. But in new undertakings they are as juſtifiable, as they are oftentimes neceſſary.

There is a degree of prejudice againſt bounties, from an appearance of giving away the public money, without an immediate conſideration, and from a ſuppoſition that they ſerve to enrich particular claſſes at the expence of the community.

But neither of theſe ſources of diſlike will bear a ſerious examination when applied to an infant ſtate. There is no purpoſe to which public money can be more beneficially applied, than to the acquiſition of a new and uſeful branch of induſtry; no conſideration more valuable than a permanent addition to the general ſtock of productive labour.

As to the ſecond ſource of objection, it equally lies againſt other modes of encouragement which are admitted to be eligible. As often as a duty upon a foreign article makes an addition to its price, it cauſes an extra expence to the community, for the benefit of the domeſtic manufacturer. A bounty does no more. But it is the intereſt of the ſociety in each caſe to ſubmit to a temporary expence, which is more than compenſated by an increaſe of induſtry and wealth, by an augmentation of reſources and independence; and by the circumſtance of of eventual cheapneſs, which has been noticed in another place.

It would deſerve attention, however, in the employment of this ſpecies of encouragement in the United States, as a reaſon for moderating the degree of it in the inſtances in which it might be deemed eligible, that the great diſtance of the United States from Europe impoſes very heavy charges on all the fabrics which are brought from thence, amounting from 15 to 30 per cent. on their value, according to their bulk.

V. *Premiums.*

Theſe are of a nature allied to bounties, though diſtinguiſhable from them in ſome important features.

Bounties are applicable to the whole quantity of an article produced or manufactured, or exported, and involve a correſpondent expence. —Premiums ſerve to reward ſome particular excellence or ſuperiority, ſome extraordinary exertion or ſkill, and are diſpenſed only in a ſmall number of caſes: but their effect is to ſtimulate general effort—contrived ſo as to be both honorary and lucrative, they addreſs themſelves to different paſſions, touching the chords as well of emulation as of intereſt.—They are accordingly a very economical mean of exciting the enterpriſe of a whole community.

There are various ſocieties in different countries, whoſe object is

the diſpenſation of premiums for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and though they are for the moſt part voluntary aſſociations, with comparatively ſlender funds, their utility has been immenſe. Much has been done by this mean in Great Britain; Scotland in particular owes materially to it a prodigious amelioration of condition. From a ſimilar eſtabliſhment in the United States, ſupplied and ſupported by the Government of the Union, vaſt benefits might reaſonably be expected.

VI. *The exemption of the materials of manufactures from duty.*

The policy of that exemption as a general rule, particularly in relation to new eſtabliſhments, is obvious. It can hardly ever be adviſeable to add the obſtructions of fiſcal burthens to the difficulties which naturally embarraſs a new manufacture; and where it is matured and in condition to become an object of revenue, it is, generally ſpeaking, better that the fabric, than the material, ſhould be the ſubject of taxation.—Ideas of proportion between the quantum of the tax and the value of the article can be more eaſily adjuſted in the former than in the latter caſe. An argument for exemptions of this kind in the United States is to be derived from the practice, as far as their neceſſities have permitted, of thoſe nations whom they are to meet as competitors in their own and in foreign markets.

There are, however, exceptions to it; of which ſome examples will be given under the next head.

The laws of the Union afford inſtances of the obſervance of the policy here recommended, but it will probably be found adviſeable to extend it to ſome other caſes.—Of a nature, bearing ſome affinity to that policy, is the regulation which exempts from duty the tools and implements, as well as the books, clothes, and houſehold furniture of foreign artiſts who come to reſide in the United States; an advantage already ſecured to them by the laws of the Union, and which it is, in every view, proper to continue.

VII. *Drawbacks of the duties which are impoſed on the materials of manufactures.*

It has already been obſerved, as a general rule, that duties on thoſe materials ought, with certain exceptions, to be foreborne. Of theſe exceptions, three caſes occur, which may ſerve as examples—one, where the material is itſelf an object of general or extenſive conſumption, and a fit and productive ſource of revenue—another where a manufacture of a ſimpler kind, the competition of which with a like domeſtic article is deſired to be reſtrained, partakes of the nature of a raw material, from being capable, by a further proceſs, to be converted

verted into a manufacture of a different kind, the introduction or growth of which is deſired to be encouraged—a third, where the material itſelf is a production of the country, and in ſufficient abundance to furniſh a cheap and plentiful ſupply to the national manufacturers.

Under the firſt deſcription comes the article of molaſſes. It is not only a fair object of revenue, but being a ſweet, it is juſt that the conſumers of it ſhould pay a duty as well as the conſumers of ſugar.

Cottons and linen in their white ſtate fall under the ſecond deſcription—a duty upon ſuch as are imported is proper to promote the domeſtic manufacture of ſimilar articles in the ſame ſtate—a drawback of that duty is proper to encourage the painting and ſtaining at home of thoſe which are brought from abroad. When the firſt of theſe manufactures has attained ſufficient maturity in a country to furniſh a full ſupply for the ſecond, the utility of the drawback ceaſes.

The article of hemp either now does or may be expected ſoon to exemplify the third caſe in the United States.

Where duties on the materials of manufactures are not laid for the purpoſe of preventing a competition with ſome domeſtic production, the ſame reaſons which recommend, as a general rule, the exemptions of thoſe materials from duties, would recommend, as a like general rule, the allowance of drawbacks, in favour of the manufacturer: accordingly ſuch drawbacks are familiar in countries which ſyſtematically purſue the buſineſs of manufactures; which furniſhes an argument for the obſervance of a ſimilar policy in the United States; and the idea has been adopted by the laws of the Union, in the inſtances of ſalt and molaſſes. And it will be found advantageous to extend it to ſome other articles.

VIII, *The encouragement of new inventions and diſcoveries, and of the introduction into the United States of ſuch as have been made in other countries, particularly thoſe which relate to machinery.*

This is among the moſt uſeful and unexceptionable of the aids which can be given to manufactures. The uſual means of that encouragement are pecuniary rewards, and, for a time, excluſive privileges. The firſt muſt be employed according to the occaſion, and the utility of the invention or diſcovery. For the laſt, ſo far as reſpects "authors and inventors," proviſion has been made by law. But it is deſirable, in regard to improvements and ſecrets of extraordinary value to be able to extend the ſame benefits to introducers, as well as authors and inventors; a policy which has been practiſed with advantage in other countries. Here, however, as in ſome other caſes, there

there is cauſe to regret, that the competency of the authority of the National Government to the good which might be done, is not without a queſtion. Many aids might be given to induſtry; many internal improvements of primary magnitude might be promoted, by an authority operating throughout the Union, which cannot be effected by an authority confined within the limits of a ſingle ſtate.

But if the Legiſlature of the Union cannot do all the good that might be wiſhed, it is at leaſt deſireable, that all may be done which is practicable.

It is cuſtomary with manufacturing nations to prohibit, under ſevere penalties, the exportation of implements and machines, which they have either invented or improved. There are already objects for a ſimilar regulation in the United States; and others may be expected to occur from time to time. The adoption of this line of conduct ſeems to be dictated by a principle of reciprocity. Greater liberality in ſuch reſpects might better comport with the general ſpirit of the country; but a ſelfiſh and excluſive policy in Europe will not always permit the free indulgence of a ſpirit, which would place America upon an unequal footing. As far as prohibitions tend to prevent foreign competitors from deriving the benefit of the improvements made in the United States, they tend to increaſe the advantages of thoſe by whom they may have been introduced, and operate as an encouragement to exertion.

IX. *Judicious regulations for the inſpection of manufactured commodities.*

This is not among the leaſt important of the means by which the proſperity of manufactures may be promoted. It is, indeed, in many caſes, one of the moſt eſſential—contributing to prevent frauds upon conſumers at home, and exporters to foreign countries—to improve the quality and preſerve the character of the national manufactures; it cannot fail to aid the expeditious and advantageous ſale of them, and to ſerve as a guard againſt ſucceeſsful competition from other quarters. The reputation of the flour and lumber of ſome ſtates, and of the potaſh of others, has been eſtabliſhed by an attention to this point. And the like good name might be procured for thoſe articles, wherefoever produced, by a judicious and uniform ſyſtem of inſpection throughout the ports of the United States. A like ſyſtem might alſo be extended with advantage to other commodities.

X. *The facilitating of pecuniary remittances from place to place—*

This is a point of conſiderable moment to trade in general, and to manufacture in particular; by rendering more eaſy the purchaſe of

raw materials and proviſions, and the payment for manufactured ſupplies. A general circulation of bank paper, which is to be expected from the inſtitution lately eſtabliſhed in the United States, will be a moſt valuable mean to this end.

XI. *The facilitating of the tranſportation of commodities.*

Improvements favouring this object intimately concern all the domeſtic intereſts of a community: but they may, without impropriety, be mentioned as having an important relation to manufactures. There is, perhaps, ſcarcely any thing which has been better calculated to aſſiſt the manufactures of Great Britain than the amelioration of the public roads, and the great progreſs which has been of late made in opening canals. Of the former, moſt parts of the United States ſtand much in need; for the latter they preſent uncommon facilities.

The ſymptoms of attention to the improvement of inland navigation, which have lately appeared in ſome of the United States, muſt fill with pleaſure every breaſt warmed with a true zeal for the proſperity of that country. Theſe examples, it is to be hoped, will ſtimulate the exertions of the government and citizens of every ſtate. There can certainly be no object more worthy of the cares of the local adminiſtrations; and it were to be wiſhed, that there was no doubt of the power of the national government to lend its direct aid on a comprehenſive plan.—This is one of thoſe improvements which could be proſecuted with more efficacy by the whole, than by any part or parts of the union. There are caſes in which the general intereſt will be in danger of being ſacrificed to the colliſion of ſome ſuppoſed local intereſts. Jealouſies, in matters of this kind, are as apt to exiſt as they are apt to be erroneous.

The following remarks are ſufficiently judicious and pertinent to deſerve a literal quotation: "Good roads, canals, and navigable rivers, by diminiſhing the expence of carriage, put the remote parts of a country more nearly upon a level with thoſe in the neighbourhood of the town. They are, upon that account, the greateſt of all improvements; they encourage the cultivation of the remote, which muſt always be the moſt extenſive circle of the country; they are advantageous to the town, by breaking down the monopoly of the country in its neighbourhood; they are advantageous even to that part of the country. Though they introduce ſome rival commodities into the old market, they open many new markets to its produce. Monopoly, beſides, is a great enemy to good management, which can never be univerſally eſtabliſhed, but in conſequence of that free and univerſal competition which forces every body to have recourſe to it for the ſake of ſelf-

defence.

defence. It is not more than fifty years ago that ſome of the counties in the neighbourhood of London petitioned the parliament againſt the extenſion of the turnpike roads into the remoter counties. Thoſe remoter counties, they pretended, from the cheapneſs of labour, would be able to ſell their graſs and corn cheaper in the London market than themſelves, and they would thereby reduce their rents, and ruin their cultivation. Their rents, however, have ariſen, and their cultivation has been improved ſince that time."

Specimens of a ſpirit, ſimilar to that which governed the counties here ſpoken of, preſent themſelves too frequently to the eye of an impartial obſerver, and render it a wiſh of patriotiſm that the body in America, in whoſe councils a local or partial ſpirit is leaſt likely to predominate, were at liberty to purſue and promote the general intereſt in thoſe inſtances in which there might be danger of the interference of ſuch a ſpirit.

The foregoing are the principal of the means by which the growth of manufactures is ordinarily promoted. It is, however, not merely neceſſary that the meaſures of government, which have a direct view to manufactures, ſhould be calculated to aſſiſt and protect them, but that thoſe which only collaterally affect them in the general courſe of the adminiſtration, ſhould be guarded from any peculiar tendency to injure them.

There are certain ſpecies of taxes which are apt to be oppreſſive to different parts of the community, and, among other ill effects, have a very unfriendly aſpect towards manufactures.

Such are all taxes on occupations—which proceed according to the amount of capital ſuppoſed to be employed in a buſineſs, or of profits ſuppoſed to be made in it: theſe are unavoidably hurtful to induſtry. It is in vain that the evil may be endeavoured to be mitigated by leaving it, in the firſt inſtance, in the option of the party to be taxed to declare the amount of his capital or profits.

Men engaged in any trade or buſineſs have commonly weighty reaſons to avoid diſcloſures which would expoſe, with any thing like accuracy, the real ſtate of their affairs. They moſt frequently find it better to riſque oppreſſion than to avail themſelves of ſo inconvenient a refuge: and the conſequence is, that they often ſuffer oppreſſion.

When the diſcloſure too, if made, is not definitive, but controulable by the diſcretion, or, in other words, by the paſſions and prejudices of the revenue officers, it is not only an ineffectual protection, but the poſſibility of its being ſo is an additional reaſon for not reſorting to it.

Allow-

Allowing to the public officers the moſt equitable diſpoſitions, yet where they are to exerciſe a diſcretion, without certain data, they cannot fail to be often miſled by appearances. The quantity of buſineſs which ſeems to be going on, is in a vaſt number of caſes, a very deceitful criterion of the profits which are made, yet it is perhaps the beſt they can have, and it is the one on which they will moſt naturally rely; a buſineſs, therefore, which may rather require aid from the government, than be in a capacity to be contributory to it, may find itſelf cruſhed by the miſtaken conjectures of the aſſeſſors of taxes.

Arbitrary taxes, under which denomination are compriſed all thoſe that leave the quantum of the tax to be raiſed on each perſon to the diſcretion of certain officers, are as contrary to the genius of liberty as to the maxims of induſtry. In this light they have been viewed by the moſt judicious obſervers on government, who have beſtowed upon them the ſevereſt epithets of reprobation, as conſtituting one of the worſt features uſually to be met with in the practice of deſpotic governments.

It is certain, at leaſt, that ſuch taxes are particularly inimical to the ſucceſs of manufacturing induſtry, and ought carefully to be avoided by a government which deſires to promote it.

The great copiouſneſs of this ſubject has inſenſibly led to a longer preliminary diſcuſſion than was originally contemplated, or intended. It appeared proper to inveſtigate principles, to conſider the objections which have been brought forward againſt the eſtabliſhment of manufactures in the United States, and to endeavour to eſtabliſh their utility on general principles, which have long experience for their baſis: It now remains to ſpecify ſome of the objects which appear particularly to merit, and which will require the encouragement of the government of the United States to bring them to perfection.

In the ſelection of objects, ſeveral circumſtances ſeem entitled to particular attention: The capacity of the country to furniſh the raw material—the degree in which the nature of the manufacture admits of a ſubſtitute for manual labour in machinery—the facility of execution—the extenſiveneſs of the uſes to which the article can be applied—its ſubſerviency to other intereſts, particularly the great one of national defence. There are, however, objects to which theſe circumſtances are little applicable, which, for ſome ſpecial reaſons, may have a claim to encouragement.

A deſignation of the principal raw material of which each manufacture is compoſed, will ſerve to introduce the remarks upon it.—As, in the firſt place,

IRON.

The manufacturers of this article are entitled to pre-eminent rank—None are more eſſential in their kinds, nor ſo extenſive in their uſes. They conſtitute in whole or in part the implements or the materials, or both, of almoſt every uſeful occupation. Their inſtrumentality is every where conſpicuous.

It is fortunate for the United States that they have peculiar advantages for deriving the full benefit of this moſt valuable material, and they have every motive to improve it with ſyſtematic care. It is to be found in various parts of the United States, in great abundance and of almoſt every quality; and fuel, the chief inſtrument in manufacturing it, is both cheap and plenty.—This particularly applies to charcoal; but there are productive coal mines already in operation, and ſtrong indications that the material is to be found in abundance in a variety of other places.

The kinds of iron manufactures, in which the greateſt progreſs has been made, have been mentioned in another place, and need not be repeated; but there is little doubt that every other kind, with due cultivation, will rapidly ſucceed. It is worthy of remark, that ſeveral of the particular trades, of which iron is the baſis, are capable of being carried on without the aid of large capitals.

Iron works have *very* greatly increaſed in the United States, and are proſecuted with much more advantage than formerly. The average price before the revolution was about ſixty-four dollars per ton, at preſent it is about eighty; a riſe which is chiefly to be attributed to the increaſe of the manufactures of the material.

The ſtill further extenſion and multiplication of ſuch manufactures will have the double effect of promoting the extraction of the metal itſelf, and of converting it to a greater number of profitable purpoſes.

Thoſe manufactures, too, unite in a greater degree than almoſt any others, the ſeveral requiſites which have been mentioned, as proper to be conſulted in the ſelection of objects.

The only further encouragement of manufactories of this article, the propriety of which may be conſidered as unqueſtionable, ſeems to be an increaſe of the duties on foreign rival commodities.

Steel is a branch which has already made a conſiderable progreſs in the United States, and ſome new enterprizes, on a more extenſive ſcale, have been lately ſet on foot. The facility of carrying it to an extent, which will ſupply all internal demands, and furniſh a conſiderable ſurplus for exportation, cannot be doubted. The duty upon the importation of this article into the United States, which is at preſent

ſeventy-

ſeventy-five cents. per cwt. may, it is conceived, be ſafely and advantageouſly extended to 100 cents. It is deſirable, by deciſive arrangements, to ſecond the efforts which are making in ſo very valuable a branch.

The United States already in a great meaſure ſupply themſelves with nails and ſpikes; they are able, and ought certainly to do it entirely. The firſt and moſt laborious operation in this manufacture is preformed by water-mills; and of the perſons afterwards employed a great proportion are boys, whoſe early habits of induſtry are of importance to the community, to the preſent ſupport of their families, and to their own future comfort. It is not leſs curious than true, that in certain parts of the United States, the making of nails is an occaſional family manufacture.

The expediency of an additional duty on the importation of theſe articles is indicated by an important fact. About one million eight hundred thouſand pounds of them were imported into the United States in the courſe of one year, ending the 30th of September, 1790. A duty of two cents. per pound would, it is preſumeable, ſpeedily put an end to ſo conſiderable an importation. And it is in every view advantageous to the States that an end ſhould be put to it.

The implements of huſbandry are made in ſeveral ſtates in great abundance. In many places it is done by the common blackſmiths, And there is no doubt that an ample ſupply for the whole country can with great eaſe be procured among themſelves.

Various kinds of edged tools for the uſe of mechanics are alſo made, and a conſiderable quantity of hollow wares; though the buſineſs of caſting has not yet attained the perfection which might be wiſhed. It is however improving, and as there are reſpectable capitals in good hands, embarked in the proſecution of thoſe branches of iron manufactories, which are yet in their infancy, they may all be contemplated as objects not difficult to be acquired.

To inſure the end, it ſeems equally ſafe and prudent for the government of the American States to extend the duty, *ad valorem*, upon all imported manufactures of iron, or of which iron is the article of chief value, to ten per cent.

Fire arms and other military weapons may, it is conceived, be placed, without inconvenience, in the claſs of articles rated at fifteen per cent. There exiſt already in the American States manufactories of theſe articles, which only require the ſtimulus of a certain demand to render them adequate to the ſupply neceſſary.

It would alſo be a material aid to manufactories of this nature, as well

well as a mean of public ſecurity, if proviſion was made for an annual purchaſe of military weapons, of their own manufacture, to a certain determinate extent, in order to the formation of arſenals; and to replace from time to time ſuch as ſhould be withdrawn for uſe, ſo as always to have in ſtore the quantity of each kind, which ſhould be deemed a competent ſupply.

Imported manufactures of ſteel generally, or of which ſteel is the article of chief value, may with advantage, be placed in the claſs of goods rated at ſeven and an half per cent. As manufactures of this kind have not yet made any conſiderable progreſs in the United Sates, it is a reaſon for not rating them as high at thoſe of iron; but as this material is the baſis of them, and as their extenſion is not leſs practicable than important, it is deſirable to promote it by a ſomewhat higher duty than the preſent.

COPPER.

The manufactures of which this article is ſuſceptible are alſo of great extent and utility. Under this deſcription, thoſe of braſs, of which it is the principal ingredient, are intended to be included.

The material is a natural production of the country. In many parts of the United States mines of copper have actually been wrought, and with profit to the undertakers. And nothing is eaſier than the introduction of it from other countries, on moderate terms, and in great plenty.

Copperſmiths and braſs-founders, particularly the former, are numerous in the United States; ſome of whom carry on buſineſs to a reſpectable extent.

To multiply and extend manufactories of the materials in queſtion, is worthy of the attention and efforts of the federal government. In order to this, it is deſirable for them to facilitate a plentiful ſupply of the materials; and a proper mean to this end is to place them in the claſs of free articles. Copper in plates and braſs are already in this predicament; but copper in pigs and bars is not; neither is lapis calaminaris, which, together with copper and charcoal, conſtitute the component ingredients of braſs. The exemption from duty, by parity of reaſon, ought to embrace all ſuch of theſe articles as are objects of importation.

An additional duty on braſs wares will tend to the general end in view. Theſe now ſtand at five per cent, while thoſe of tin, pewter, and copper are rated at ſeven and an half. There appears to be a propriety in every view in placing braſs wares upon the ſame level with them;

them; and it merits their conſideration whether the duty upon all of them ought not to be raiſed to ten per cent.

LEAD.

There are numerous proofs, that this material abounds in the United States, and requires little to unfold it to an extent, more than equal to every domeſtic occaſion. A prolific mine of it has long been open in the ſouth-weſtern parts of Virginia, and under a public adminiſtration, during the late war, yielded a conſiderable ſupply for military uſe. This is now in the hands of individuals, who not only carry it on with ſpirit, but have eſtabliſhed manufactories of it at Richmond in the ſame ſtate.

The duties already laid upon the importation of this article, either in its unmanufactured or manufactured ſtate, inſure it a deciſive advantage in the home market—which amounts to conſiderable encouragement. If the duty on pewter wares ſhould be raiſed, it would afford a further encouragement. Nothing elſe occurs as proper to be added.

FOSSIL COAL.

This, as an important inſtrument of manufactures, may, without impropriety, be mentioned among the ſubjects of the preſent remarks.

A copious ſupply of it would be of great conſequence to the iron branch: As an article of houſehold fuel alſo it is an intereſting production; the utility of which muſt increaſe in proportion to the decreaſe of wood, by the progreſs of ſettlement and cultivation. And its importance to navigation, as an immenſe article of tranſportation coaſt-wiſe, is ſignally exemplified in Great Britain.

It is known, that there are ſeveral coal mines in Virginia, now worked, and appearances of their exiſtence are familiar in a number of places.

The expediency of a bounty on all this ſpecies of coal of home production, and of premiums, on the opening of new mines, under certain qualifications, appears to be worthy of the particular attention of the American government. The great importance of the article will amply juſtify a reaſonable expence in this way, if it ſhall appear to be neceſſary to, and ſhall be thought likely to anſwer, the end.

WOOD.

Several manufactures of this article flouriſh in the United States. Ships are nowhere built in greater perfection, and cabinet wares generally,

generally, are made little, if at all inferior to thoſe of Europe. Their extent is ſuch as to have admitted of conſiderable exportation.

An exemption from duty of the ſeveral kinds of wood ordinarily uſed in theſe manufactures ſeems to be all that is requiſite by way of encouragement. It is recommended by the conſideration of a ſimilar policy being purſued in other countries, and by the expediency of giving equal advantages to their own workmen in wood. The abundance of timber proper for ſhip-building in the United States does not appear to be any objection to it. The increaſing ſcarcity and the growing importance of that article, in the European countries, admoniſh the United States to commence, and ſyſtematically to purſue meaſures for the preſervation of their ſtock. Whatever may promote the regular eſtabliſhment of magazines of ſhip-timber is in various views deſireable.

SKINS.

There are ſcarcely any manufactories of greater importance to the United States than of this article. Their direct and very happy influence upon agriculture, by promoting the raiſing of cattle of different kinds, is a very material recommendation.

It is pleaſing, too, to obſerve the extenſive progreſs they have made in their principal branches; which are ſo far matured as almoſt to defy foreign competition. Tanneries in particular are not only carried on as a regular buſineſs in numerous inſtances, and in various parts of the country, but they conſtitute in ſome places a valuable item of incidental family manufactures.

Repreſentations however have been made to the government, importing the expendiency of further encouragement to the leather branch in two ways; one by increaſing the duty on the manufactures of it, which are imported; the other by prohibiting the exportation of bark. In ſupport of the latter it is alledged, that the price of bark, chiefly in conſequence of large exportations, has riſen within a few years from about three dollars to four dollars and a half per cord. The exportation of this article will however be checked by the improvements made in this article of manufacture in Europe, and by the extenſion of them to the States.

Theſe improvements are,—1ſt, A more judicious uſe of the bark itſelf, by extracting more of its qualities by boiling it after it has been taken out of the pits in the hitherto common method of uſing it. This method, if attended to properly, will render two thirds of the quantity heretofore uſed unneceſſary.—2dly, The ſuperceding the uſe of bark in tanning altogether by the introduction of articles of leſs expence

pence in its ſtead, for which a patent has been obtained by an inhabitant of England.

It is however, perhaps an additional reaſon for the prohibition, that one ſpecies of the bark uſually exported from the United States is in ſome ſort peculiar to the country, and the material of a very valuable dye, of great uſe in ſome other manufactures, in which the United States have begun a competition.

There may alſo be this argument in favour of an increaſe of duty. The object is of importance enough to claim deciſive encouragement, and the progreſs which has been made, leaves no room to apprehend any inconvenience on the ſcore of ſupply from ſuch an increaſe.

It would be of benefit to this branch, if glue, which is now rated at five per cent. were made the object of an excluding duty. It is already made in large quantities at various tanneries; and, like paper, is an entire economy of materials, which, if not manufactured, would be left to periſh. It may be placed with advantage in the claſs of articles paying fifteen per cent on importation.

GRAIN.

Manufactures of the ſeveral ſpecies of this article have a title to peculiar favour, not only becauſe they are moſt of them immediately connected with the ſubſiſtence of the citizens, but becauſe they enlarge the demand for the moſt precious products of the ſoil.

Though flour may with propriety be noticed as a manufacture of grain, it were uſeleſs to do it but for the purpoſe of ſubmitting the expendency of a general ſyſtem of inſpection throughout the ports of the United States, which, if eſtabliſhed upon proper principles, would be likely to improve the quality of their flour every where, and would raiſe its reputation in foreign markets. There are, however, conſiderations which ſtand in the way of ſuch an arrangement.

Ardent ſpirits and malt liquors are, next to flour, the two principal manufactures of grain; the firſt has made a very extenſive, the laſt a conſiderable progreſs in the United States: in reſpect to both, an excluſive poſſeſſion of the home market ought to be ſecured to the domeſtic manufacturers as faſt as circumſtances will admit. Nothing is more practicable, and nothing more deſirable.

An augmentation of the duties on ſpirits imported into the States would favour as well the diſtillation of ſpirits from molaſſes as that from grain; and to ſecure to a nation the benefit of a manufacture, even of foreign materials, is always of great, though, perhaps, of ſecondary importance.

It

It would therefore be advantageous to the States that an addition of two cents per gallon be made to the duty on imported ſpirits of the firſt claſs of proof, with a proportionable increaſe on thoſe of higher proof; and that a reduction of one per cent per gallon be made from the duty on ſpirits diſtilled within the United States, beginning with the firſt claſs of proof, and a proportionable deduction from the duty on thoſe of higher proof.

It is aſcertained, that by far the greateſt part of the malt liquors conſumed in the United States are the produce of their domeſtic breweries. It is deſirable, and in all likelihood attainable, that the *whole* conſumption ſhould be ſupplied by themſelves.

The malt liquors made in the States, though inferior to the beſt, are equal to a great part of thoſe which have been uſually imported; the progreſs already made is an earneſt of what may be accompliſhed; the growing competition is an aſſurance of improvement; this ſhould be accelerated by meaſures tending to invite a greater capital into this channel of employment.

To render the encouragement of domeſtic breweries deciſive, it may be adviſeable for the government to ſubſtitute to the preſent rates of duty eight cents per gallon generally; and it will deſerve to be conſidered by them as a guard againſt invaſions, whether there ought not to be a prohibition of their importation, except in caſks of conſiderable capacity. Such a duty would baniſh from their markets foreign malt liquors of inferior quality, and the beſt kind only would continue to be imported until ſupplanted by the efforts of equal ſkill or care in the States.

Till that period, the importation ſo qualified would be an uſeful ſtimulus to improvement; and in the mean time, the payment of the increaſed price, for the enjoyment of a luxury, in order to the encouragement of a moſt uſeful branch of domeſtic induſtry, could not reaſonably be deemed a hardſhip.

As a farther aid to the manufactures of grain, though upon a ſmaller ſcale, the articles of ſtarch, hair powder, and wafers, may with great propriety be placed among thoſe which are rated at fifteen per cent. No manufactures are more ſimple, nor more completely within the reach of a full ſupply from their domeſtic ſources; and it is a policy, as common as it is obvious, to make the importation of them the objects either of prohibitory duties, or of expreſs prohibition.

FLAX AND HEMP.

Manufactures of theſe articles have ſo much affinity to each other, and they are ſo often blended, that they may with advantage be conſidered

ſidered in conjunction. The importance of the linen branch to agriculture—its happy effects upon houſehold induſtry—the eaſe with which its materials can be produced in the United States to any requiſite extent—the great advances which have been already made in the coarſer fabrics of them, eſpecially in the family way, conſtitute claims of peculiar force to the patronage of the American government.

This patronage may be afforded in various ways; by promoting the growth of the materials; by increaſing the impediments to an advantageous competition of rival foreign articles; by direct bounties or premiums upon the home manufacture.

Firſt. *As promoting the growth of the materials.*

A ſtrong wiſh naturally ſuggeſts itſelf to the friends of America, that ſome method could be deviſed of affording a more direct encouragement to the growth both of flax and hemp, ſuch as would be effectual, and at the ſame time not attended with too great inconveniencies. To this end, bounties and premiums offer themſelves to conſideration; but no modification of them has yet occurred, which would not either hazard too much expence, or operate unequally in reference to the circumſtances of different parts of the Union, and which would not be attended with very great difficulties in the execution.

Secondly. *As to increaſing the impediments to an advantageous competition of rival foreign articles.*

To this purpoſe, an augmentation of the duties on importation is the obvious expedient; which, in regard to certain articles, appears to be recommended by ſufficient reaſons.

The principal of theſe articles is ſail-cloth, one intimately connected with navigation and defence; and of which a flouriſhing manufactory is eſtabliſhed at Boſton, and very promiſing ones at ſeveral other places.

It is preſumed to be both ſafe and adviſeable for the American government to place this in the claſs of articles rated at ten per cent. A ſtrong reaſon for it reſults from the conſideration, that a bounty of two-pence ſterling per ell, is allowed in Great Britain upon the exportation of the ſail-cloth manufactured in that kingdom.

It would likewiſe appear to be good policy for the States to raiſe the duty to ſeven and a half per cent. on the following articles: drillings, oſnaburghs, ticklenburghs, dowlas, canvas, brown rolls, bagging, and upon all other linens, the firſt coſt of which, at the place of exportation, does not exceed thirty-five cents. per yard. A bounty of twelve and a half per cent. upon an average, on the exportation of ſuch or ſimilar linens from Great Britain, encourages the manufacture of them, and in-

creaſes the obſtacles to a ſucceſsful competition in the countries to which they are ſent.

The quantities of tow and other houſehold linens manufactured in different parts of the United States, and the expectations which are derived from ſome late experiments, of being able to extend the uſe of labour-ſaving machines in the coarſer fabrics of linen, obviate the danger of inconvenience from an increaſe of the duty upon ſuch articles, and authoriſe the expectation of a ſpeedy and complete ſucceſs to the endeavours which may be uſed for procuring an internal ſupply.

Thirdly. *As to direct bounties, or premiums upon the manufactured articles.*

To afford more effectual encouragement to the manufacture, and at the ſame time to promote the cheapneſs of the article for the benefit of navigation, it would be of great uſe for the American government to allow a bounty of two cents per yard on all ſail-cloth which is made in the United States from materials of their own growth; this would alſo aſſiſt the culture of thoſe materials. An encouragement of this kind, if adopted, ought to be eſtabliſhed for a moderate term of years, to invite to new undertakings and to an extenſion of the old. This is an article of importance enough to warrant the employment of extraordinary means in its favour.

COTTON.

There is ſomething in the texture of this material, which adapts it in a peculiar degree to the application of machines. The ſignal utility of the mill for ſpinning of cotton, not long ſince invented in England, has been noticed in another place; but there are other machines ſcarcely inferior in utility, which, in the different manufactories of this article, are employed either excluſively, or with more than ordinary effect. This very important circumſtance recommends the fabrics of cotton, in a more particular manner, to a country in which a defect of hands conſtitutes the greateſt obſtacles to ſucceſs.

The variety and extent of the uſes to which the manufactures of this article are applicable, is another powerful argument in their favour.

And the faculty of the United States to produce the raw material in abundance, and of a quality which, though alledged to be inferior to ſome that is produced in other quarters, is nevertheleſs capable of being uſed with advantage in many fabrics, and is probably ſuſceptible of being carried, by a more experienced culture, to much greater perfection, ſuggeſts an additional and a very cogent inducement to the vigorous purſuit of the cotton branch in its ſeveral ſubdiviſions.

How

How much has been already done has been ſtated in a preceding part of theſe remarks.

In addition it may be announced, that a ſociety is formed with a capital, which is expected to be extended to at leaſt half a million of dollars; on behalf of which meaſures are already in train for proſecuting on a large ſcale the making and printing of cotton goods.

Theſe circumſtances conſpire to indicate the expediency of the government removing any obſtructions which may happen to exiſt to the advantageous proſecution of the manufactories in queſtion, and of adding ſuch encouragements as may appear neceſſary and proper.

Cotton not being, like hemp, an univerſal production of the country, it affords leſs aſſurance of an adequate internal ſupply; but the chief objection ariſes from the doubts which are entertained concerning the quality of the national cotton. It is alledged, that the fibre of it is conſiderably ſhorter and weaker than that of ſome other places; and it has been obſerved as a general rule, that the nearer the place of growth to the equator, the better the quality of the cotton; that which comes from Cayenne, Surinam, and Demarara, is ſaid to be preferable, even at material difference of price, to the cotton of the iſlands.

While an expectation may reaſonably be indulged, that with due care and attention the cotton in the United States may be made to approach nearer than it now does to that of regions ſomewhat more favoured by climate; and while facts authoriſe an opinion, that very great uſe may be made of it, and that it is a reſource which gives greater ſecurity to the cotton fabrics of America than can be enjoyed by any which depends wholly on external ſupply, it will certainly be wiſe, in every view, to let their infant manufactures have the full benefit of the beſt materials on the cheapeſt terms. It is obvious, that the neceſſity of having ſuch materials is proportioned to the unſkilfulneſs and inexperience of the workmen employed, who, if inexpert, will not fail to commit great waſte, where the materials they are to work with are of an indifferent kind.

To ſecure to the national manufacturers ſo eſſential an advantage, a repeal of the preſent duty on imported cotton is indiſpenſable.

A ſubſtitute for this, far more encouraging to domeſtic production, will be to grant a bounty on the cotton grown in the United States, when wrought at a home manufactory, to which a bounty on the exportation of it may be added. Either, or both, would do much more towards promoting the growth of the article than the merely nominal encouragement which it is propoſed to aboliſh. The firſt would alſo have a direct influence in encouraging the manufacture.

The bounty, which has been mentioned as exiſting in Great Britain, upon the exportation of coarſe linens not exceeding a certain value, applies alſo to certain deſcriptions of cotton goods of ſimilar value.

This furniſhes an additional argument for allowing to the manufacturers the ſpecies of encouragement juſt ſuggeſted, and indeed for adding ſome other aid.

One cent per yard, not leſs than of a given width, on all goods of cotton, or of cotton and linen mixed, which are manufactured in the United States, with the addition of one cent per lb. weight of the material, if made of national cotton, would amount to an aid of conſiderable importance, both to the production and to the manufacture of that valuable article. And the expence would be well juſtified by the magnitude of the object.

The printing and ſtaining of cotton goods is known to be a diſtinct buſineſs from the fabrication of them. It is one eaſily accompliſhed, and which, as it adds materially to the value of the article in its white ſtate, and prepares it for a variety of new uſes, is of importance to be promoted.

As imported cottons, equally with thoſe which are made at home, may be the objects of this manufacture, it is worthy of conſideration, whether it would not be for the advantage of the States that the whole, or part of the duty, on the white goods, ought not to be allowed to be drawn back in favour of thoſe who print or ſtain them. This meaſure would certainly operate as a powerful encouragement to the buſineſs, and though it may in a degree counteract the original fabfabrication of the articles, it would probably more than compenſate for this diſadvantage in the rapid growth of a collateral branch, which is of a nature ſooner to attain to maturity. When a ſufficient progreſs ſhall have been made the drawback may be abrogated, and by that time the domeſtic ſupply of the articles to be printed or ſtained will have been extended.

If the duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on certain kinds of cotton goods were extended to all goods of cotton, or of which it is the principal material, it would probably more than counterbalance the effect of the drawback propoſed, in relation to the fabrication of the article; and no material objection occurs to ſuch an extenſion. The duty then, conſidering all the circumſtances which attend goods of this deſcription, could not be deemed inconveniently high; and it may be inferred, from various cauſes, that the prices of them would ſtill continue moderate.

Manufactories of cotton goods, not long ſince eſtabliſhed at Beverley, in Maſſachuſett's, and at Providence, in the ſtate of Rhode Iſland, and

at

at New York, and conducted with a perſeverance correſponding with the patriotic motives which began them, ſeem to have overcome the firſt obſtacles to ſucceſs, producing corduroys, velverets, fuſtians, jeans, and other ſimilar articles, of a quality which will bear a compariſon with the like articles from Manchester. The one at Providence has the merit of being the firſt in introducing into the United States the celebrated cotton mill, which not only furniſhes the materials for that manufactory itſelf, but for the ſupply of private families for houſehold manufacture.

Other manufactories of the ſame material, as regular buſineſſes, have alſo been begun at different places in the ſtate of Connecticut, but all upon a ſmaller ſcale than thoſe above mentioned. Some eſſays are alſo making in the printing and ſtaining of cotton goods. There are ſeveral ſmall eſtabliſhments of this kind already on foot.

WOOL.

In a country, the climate of which partakes of ſo conſiderable a proportion of winter, as that of a great part of the United States, the woollen branch cannot be regarded as inferior to any which relates to the clothing of the inhabitants.

Houſehold manufactures of this material are carried on, in different parts of the United States, to a very intereſting extent; but there is only one branch, which as a regular buſineſs, can be ſaid to have acquired maturity; this is the making of hats.

Hats of wool, and of wool mixed with fur, are made in large quantities in different ſtates, and nothing ſeems wanting, but an adequate ſupply of materials to render the manufacture commenſurate with the demand.

A promiſing eſſay towards the fabrication of cloths, caſſimeres, and other woollen goods, is likewiſe going on at Hartford, in Connecticut. Specimens of the different kinds which are made, evince, that theſe fabrics have attained a very conſiderable degree of perfection. Their quality certainly ſurpaſſes any thing that could have been looked for, in ſo ſhort a time, and under ſo great diſadvantages, and conſpires with the ſcantineſs of the means, which have been at the command of the directors, to form the eulogium of that public ſpirit, perſeverance and judgment, which have been able to accompliſh ſo much.

Meaſures, which tend to promote an abundant ſupply of wool of good quality, would probably afford the moſt efficacious aid that preſent circumſtances permit to this and ſimilar manufactures.

To encourage the raiſing and improving the breed of ſheep in the United States would certainly be the moſt deſirable expedient for that purpoſe;

purpoſe; but it may not be alone ſufficient, eſpecially as it is yet a problem, whether their wool is capable of ſuch a degree of improvement as to render it fit for the finer fabrics.

Premiums would probably be found the beſt means of promoting the domeſtic, and bounties the foreign ſupply; and they ought of courſe to be adjuſted with an eye to quality as well as quantity.

A fund for this purpoſe may be derived from the addition of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the preſent rate of duty on carpets and carpeting imported into the ſtates; an increaſe to which the nature of the articles ſuggeſts no objection, and which may at the ſame time furniſh a motive the more to the fabrication of them at home, towards which ſome beginnings have been made.

SILK.

The production of this article is attended with great facility in moſt parts of the United States. Some pleaſing eſſays are making in Connecticut, as well towards that as towards the manufacture of what is produced. Stockings, handkerchiefs, ribbons, and buttons, are made, though as yet but in ſmall quantities.

A manufactory of lace, upon a ſcale not very extenſive, has been long memorable at Ipſwich in the ſtate of Maſſachuſets.

An exemption of the material from the duty which it now pays on importation, and premiums upon the production, ſeem to be the only ſpecies of encouragement adviſeable at ſo early a ſtage.

GLASS.

The materials for making glaſs are found every where; in the United States there is no deficiency of them. The ſands and ſtones called Tarſo, which include flinty and chryſtalline ſubſtances generally, and the ſalts of various plants, particularly the ſea-weed kali, or kelp, conſtitute the eſſential ingredients. An extraordinary abundance of fuel is a particular advantage enjoyed by America for ſuch manufactures; they, however, require large capitals, and involve much manual labour.

Different manufactories of glaſs are now on foot in the United States. The preſent duty of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. laid by the ſtates on all imported articles of glaſs amount to a conſiderable encouragement to thoſe manufactories; if any thing in addition is judged eligible, the moſt proper would appear to be a direct bounty on window glaſs and black bottles.

The

The firſt recommends itſelf as an object of general convenience, the laſt adds to that character the circumſtance of being an important item in breweries. A complaint is made of great deficiency in this reſpect.

GUNPOWDER.

No ſmall progreſs has been of late made in the manufacture of this important article; it may, indeed, be conſidered as already eſtabliſhed, but its high importance renders its farther extenſion very deſirable.

The encouragements which it already enjoys, are a duty of ten per cent. on the foreign rival article, and an exemption of ſalt-petre, one of the principal ingredients of which it is compoſed, from duty. A like exemption of ſulphur, another chief ingredient, would appear to be equally proper. No quantity of this article has yet been produced from any internal ſources of the States. This conſideration, and the uſe made of it, in finiſhing the bottoms of ſhips, is an additional inducement to placing it in the claſs of free goods. Regulations for the careful inſpection of the article would have a favourable tendency.

PAPER.

Manufactories of paper are among thoſe which are arrived at the greateſt maturity in the United States, and are moſt adequate to national ſupply. That of paper hangings is a branch in which reſpectable progreſs has been made.

Nothing material ſeems wanting to the farther ſucceſs of this valuable branch, which is already protected by a competent duty on ſimilar important articles.

In the enumeration of the ſeveral kinds made ſubject to duty on importation into the States, ſheathing and cartridge paper have been omitted; theſe being the moſt ſimple manufactures of the ſort, and neceſſary to military ſupply as well as ſhip-building, recommend themſelves equally with thoſe of other deſcriptions to encouragement, and appear to be as fully within the compaſs of domeſtic exertions.

PRINTED BOOKS.

The great number of preſſes diſſeminated throughout the Union ſeem to afford an aſſurance, that there is no need of being indebted to foreign countries for the printing of the books which are uſed in the United States. A duty of ten per cent. on the importation, inſtead of five,

five, which is now charged upon the article, would have a tendency to aid the buſineſs internally.

It occurs, as an objection to this, that it may have an unfavourable aſpect towards literature, by raiſing the prices of books in univerſal uſe, in private families, ſchools, and other ſeminaries of learning; but the difference, it is conceived, would be without effect.

As to books which uſually fill the libraries of the wealthier claſſes, and of profeſſional men, ſuch an augmentation of prices as might be occaſioned by an additional duty of five per cent. would be two little felt to be an impediment to the acquiſition.

And with regard to books which may be ſpecially imported for the uſe of particular ſeminaries of learning, and of public libraries, a total exemption from all duty would be adviſeable, which would go far towards obviating the objection juſt mentioned; they are now ſubject to a duty of five per cent.

As to the books in moſt general family uſe, the conſtancy and univerſality of the demand would enſure exertions to furniſh them in the different ſtates, and the means are completely adequate. It may alſo be expected ultimately, in this and in other caſes, that the extenſion of the domeſtic manufacture would conduce to the cheapneſs of the article.

It ought not to paſs unremarked, that to encourage the printing of books is to encourage the manufacture of paper.

REFINED SUGARS AND CHOCOLATE

Are among the number of extenſive and proſperous domeſtic manufactures, in the United States.

Drawbacks of the duties upon the materials of which they are reſpectively made, in caſes of exportation, would have a beneficial influence upon the manufacture, and would conform to a precedent which has been already furniſhed in the inſtance of molaſſes, on the exportation of diſtilled ſpirits.

Cocoa, the raw material, now pays a duty of one cent per lb. while chocolate, which is a prevailing and very ſimple manufacture, is compriſed in the maſs of articles, rated at no more than five per cent.

There would appear to be a propriety in encouraging the manufacture by a ſomewhat higher duty on its foreign rival, than is paid on the raw material. Two cents per lb. on imported chocolate would, it is preſumed, be without inconvenience.

WINES.

The manufacture of wines, is an object worthy of legiſlative attention and encouragement in the United States. Succeſsful experiments have already been made, by ſome new ſettlers of French people, on the river Ohio, which evince the practibility of the manufacture of wines of excellent quality: and as grapes are the ſpontaneous production of all the United States, and, by culture, might be raiſed in any deſirable quantity, and in great perfection, this manufacture, with proper legiſlative encouragement, might be carried on to ſuch an extent, as greatly to diminiſh, and in time, perhaps, wholly to preclude foreign importations.

MAPLE SUGAR.

The manufacture of maple ſugar, though it has for many years been carried on, in the ſmall way, in the eaſtern States, has but very lately become an object of public attention.—The eaſtern and middle States furniſh a ſufficient number of maple trees to ſupply the United States with the article of ſugar; and, it is aſſerted, of a quality "equal, in the opinion of competent judges, to the beſt ſugars imported from the Weſt India Iſlands." A perſon, whoſe judgement on this ſubject is much to be relied on, as well from his experience in the buſineſs, as his eſtabliſhed character for candor and integrity, has given it as his opinion, "That four active and induſtrious men, well provided with materials and conveniences proper for carrying on the buſineſs, may make, in a common ſeaſon, which laſts from four to ſix weeks, 4000lbs. of ſugar, that is 1000lbs. to each man." If ſuch be the amazing product of ſix weeks labour of an individual, what may be expected from the labours of the many thouſands of people who now inhabit, and may hereafter inhabit, the extenſive tracts of country which abound with the ſugar maple tree? This manufacture is ſo important and intereſting, that it reſpects the wealth and proſperity of their country, and the cauſe of humanity, that it deſerves the countenance of every good citizen, and even national encouragement. No leſs than eighteen millions of pounds of Weſt India ſugars, manufactured by the hands of ſlaves, is annually imported into and conſumed in the United States. In proportion as this quantity can be leſſened by their own manufacturers, by the hands of freemen, the wealth of the United States will be increaſed, and the cauſe of humanity promoted.

The foregoing heads compriſe the moſt important of the ſeveral kinds of manufactures which have occurred as requiring, and, at the ſame time, as moſt proper for public encouragement in the United States;

and offer ſuch meaſures for affording it, as have appeared beſt calculated to anſwer the end propoſed.

The meaſures, which have been ſubmitted, though ſome of them may have a tendency to inſure the revenue, yet when taken aggregately, they will, for a long time to come, rather augment than decreaſe it.

There is little room to expect that the progreſs of manufactures will ſo equally keep pace with the progreſs of population as to prevent even a gradual augmentation of the product of the duties on imported articles.

As, nevertheleſs, an abolition in ſome inſtances, and a reduction in others of duties which have been pledged for the public debt is propoſed, it is eſſential that it ſhould be accompanied with a competent ſubſtitute. In order to this, it is requiſite that all the additional duties which ſhall be laid be appropriated, in the firſt inſtance, to replace all defalcations which may proceed from any ſuch abolition or diminution. It is evident at firſt glance, that they will not only be adequate to this, but will yield a conſiderable ſurplus.

There is reaſon to believe that the progreſs of particular manufactures in the United States has been much retarded by the want of ſkilful workmen: and it often happens that the capitals employed are not equal to the purpoſes of engaging workmen of a ſuperior kind from Europe. Here, in caſes worthy of it, the auxiliary agency of government would in all probability be uſeful. There are alſo valuable workmen in every branch who are prevented from emigrating ſolely by the want of means. Occaſional aids to ſuch perſons, properly adminiſtered, might be a ſource of valuable acquiſition to the States.

The propriety of ſtimulating by rewards the invention and introduction of uſeful improvements is admitted without difficulty. But the ſucceſs of attempts in this way muſt evidently depend much on the manner of conducting them. It is probable that the placing of the diſpenſation of thoſe rewards under ſome proper diſcretionary direction, where they may be accompanied by collateral expedients, will ſerve to give them the ſureſt efficacy. It ſeems impracticable to apportion by general rules ſpecific compenſations for diſcoveries of unknown and diſproportionate utility.

The great uſe which any country may make of a fund of this nature to procure and import foreign improvements, is particularly obvious. Among theſe, the article of machines form a moſt important item.

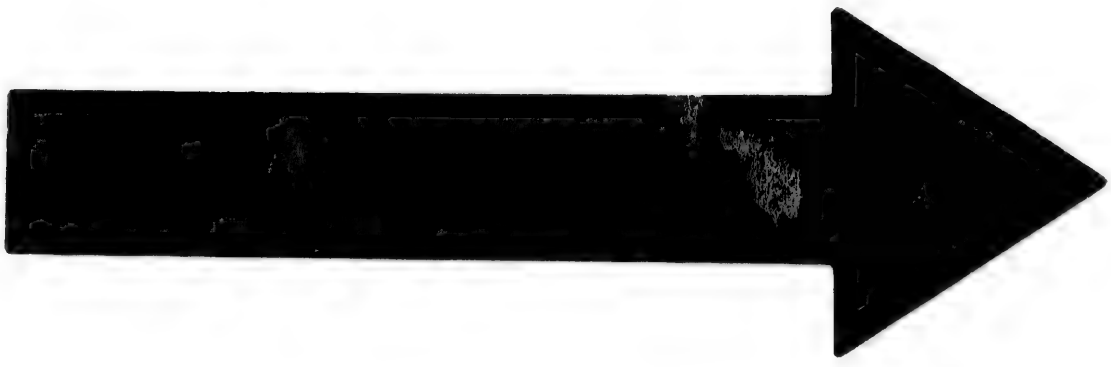
The operation and utility of premiums have been adverted to, together with the advantages which have reſulted from their diſpenſation under the direction of certain public and private ſocieties. Of this, ſome experience has been had in the inſtance of the Pennſylvania ſociety for the promotion

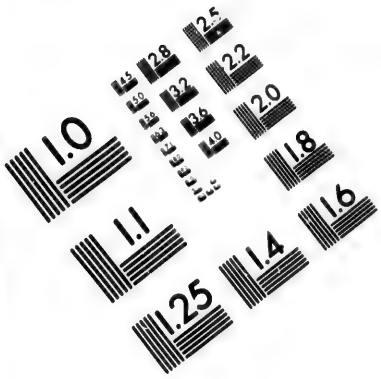
promotion of manufactures and useful arts; but the funds of that association have been too contracted to produce more than a very small portion of the good to which the principles of it would have led. It may confidently be affirmed, that there is scarcely any thing which has been devised better calculated to excite a general spirit of improvement than the institutions of this nature. They are truly invaluable.

In countries where there is great private wealth much may be effected by the voluntary contributions of patriotic individuals; but in a community situated like that of the United States, the public purse must supply the deficiency of private resource. In what can it be so useful as in promoting and improving the efforts of industry?

BANK.

Connected with the agriculture, commerce, and ma[illegible]ures, is the bank of the United States, the happy effects, and b[illegible] of which, have been experienced to a very considerable degree. This bank was incorporated by act of congress, February 25th, 1791, by the name and stile of *The President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of the United States*. The amount of the capital stock is ten million dollars, one fourth of which is in gold and silver; the other three fourths in that part of the public debt of the United States, which, at the time of payment, bears an accruing interest of six per cent. per annum. Two millions of this capital stock of ten millions, is subscribed by the president, in behalf of the United States. The stockholders are to continue a corporate body by the act, until the 4th day of March 1811; and are capable, in law, of holding property to an amount not exceeding, in the whole, fifteen million dollars, including the aforesaid ten million dollars, capital stock. The corporation may not at any time owe, whether by bond, bill or note, or other contract, more than ten million dollars, over and above the monies then actually deposited in the bank for safe keeping, unless the contracting of any greater debt shall have been previously authorised by a law of the United States. The corporation is not at liberty to receive more than six per cent. per annum for or upon its loans or discounts, nor to purchase any public debt whatever, or to deal or trade, directly or indirectly, in in any thing except bills of exchange, gold or silver bullion, or in the sale of goods really and truly pledged for money lent, and not redeemed in due time, or of goods which shall be the produce of its bonds; they may sell any part of the public debt of which its stock shall be composed. Loans, not exceeding 100,000 dollars, may be made to the





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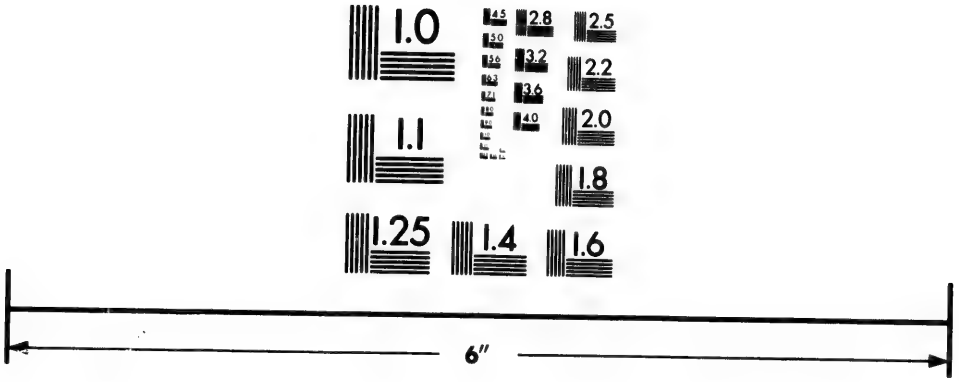

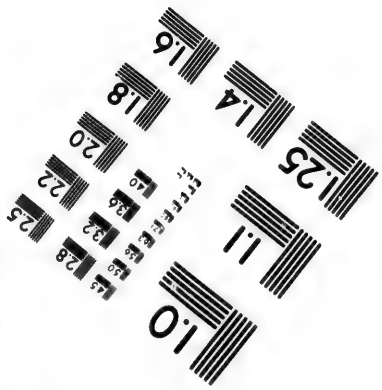

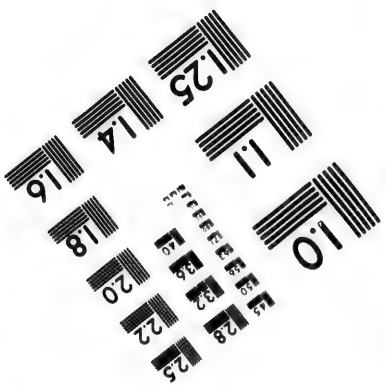

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United States, and to particular ſtates, of a ſum not exceeding 50,000 dollars.

Offices for the purpoſes of diſcount and depoſit only, may be eſtabliſhed within the United States, upon the ſame terms, and in the ſame manner, as ſhall be practiſed at the bank. Four of theſe offices, called BRANCH BANKS, have been already eſtabliſhed, viz. at BOSTON, NEW YORK, BALTIMORE, and CHARLESTON. The faith of the United States, is pledged, that no other bank ſhall be eſtabliſhed by any future law of the United States, during the continuance of the above corporation.

MILITARY STRENGTH.

The governments of Europe, for the moſt part, though they in many things differ materially from each other, agree in keeping up a large military force, the excuſes for which, are the jealouſies they entertain of each other, and the neceſſity of preſerving a ballance of power. To render theſe excuſes plauſible, national prejudices and animoſities have been artfully encouraged, and the people, blinded by theſe, have been brought to acquieſce in the ſchemes of their governors, in creating a power which being entirely at the diſpoſal of the latter, has often been uſed againſt the juſt rights of thoſe whoſe property is exhauſted for its ſupport. But if the policy of keeping ſtanding armies was fully inveſtigated, it would be found to have its origin, not in the jealouſies of one nation with reſpect to another, but in the tyrannic principles and fears of different governments, with reſpect to their ſubjects at home. The fact is notorious, that the origin of moſt of the old governments, has been in conqueſt and uſurpation. Few of them which ſubſiſt in Europe, have originated where they ought, (from the people) the conſequence of which has been, that princes, anxiouſly concerned for the preſervation of their own power, and dreading that their ſubjects ſhould recover their juſt rights, have found it neceſſary to detach a large part of them from the general maſs, and by military habits and rewards, to blind them to their own intereſts, and to unite them more intimately to themſelves. Standing armies are therefore unneceſſary, and inconſiſtent in a republican goverment; America of courſe has none. Their military ſtrength lies in a well-diſciplined militia. According to the late cenſus, there were in the United States, eight hundred and fourteen thouſand men of ſixteen years old and upwards, whites, and theſe have ſince rapidly increaſed. Suppoſe that the ſuperannuated, the officers of government, and the other claſſes of people who are excuſed from military duty, amount to one hundred and fourteen thouſand, there will remain

remain a militia of more than ſeven hundred thouſand men. Of theſe a great proportion are well-diſciplined, veteran troops. Scarcely any nation or kingdom in Europe can bring into the field an army of equal numbers, or more formidable than can be raiſed in the United States.

Five thouſand regular troops have, however, been enliſted for three years, and an attempt has been made by the ſenate, on account of the preſent poſture of affairs,* to increaſe that number to fifteen thouſand, but the Houſe of Repreſentatives have refuſed to comply, rather chuſing, in caſe of a war, to truſt to the energy and exertions of the militia, than thus to riſk the introduction of a military ſtanding force.

NAVAL STRENGTH.

Marine ſtrength, in a ſtrict ſenſe, the United States have none, many of their merchants veſſels might, however, ſoon be converted into ſhips of war of conſiderable force, and their ſituation and reſources will enable them to eſtabliſh and ſupport a navy equal to that of any nation in the world, ſhould they determine on ſo doing, and that they will deem it neceſſary to eſtabliſh and ſupport a naval power, there can be little doubt. The actual habits of their citizens attach them to commerce. They will exerciſe it for themſelves. Wars then we fear, muſt ſometimes be their lot; and all the wiſe can do, will be to avoid that half of them which would be produced by their own follies, and their acts of injuſtice; and to make for the other half the beſt preparations they can. Of what nature, it may be aſked, ſhould theſe be? A land army would be uſeleſs for offence, and not the beſt nor ſafeſt inſtrument of defence. For either of theſe purpoſes, the ſea is the field on which they ſhould meet an European enemy. On that element it is neceſſary they ſhould therefore poſſeſs ſome power. To aim at ſuch a navy as the greater nations of Europe poſſeſs, would be a fooliſh and wicked waſte of the energies of their citizens. It would be to pull on their own heads that load of military expence, which makes the EUROPEAN LABOURER GO SUPPERLESS TO BED, AND MOISTENS HIS BREAD WITH THE SWEAT OF HIS BROW. It will be enough if they enable themſelves to prevent inſults from thoſe nations of Europe which are weak on the ſea, becauſe circumſtances exiſt, which render even the ſtronger ones weak as to them. Providence has placed the richeſt and moſt defenceleſs European poſſeſſions at their door; has obliged their moſt precious commerce to paſs as it were in review before the United States. To protect this, or to aſſail them, a ſmall part only of their naval force will ever be riſked acroſs the Atlantic. The dangers to which the elements expoſe them there are too well known, and the

* 1794.

greater

greater dangers to which they would be expoſed at home, were any general calamity to involve their whole fleet. They can attack them by detachment only; and it will ſuffice for the United States to make themſelves equal to what they may detach. Even a ſmaller force than any of the nations of Europe may detach, will be rendered equal or ſuperior by the quickneſs with which any check may be repaired with the Americans, while loſſes with European powers will be irreparable till too late. A ſmall naval force then is ſufficient for the States, and a ſmall one is neceſſary. What this ſhould be, we will not undertake to ſay; it ſhould, however, by no means be ſo great as they are able to make it. Mr. Jefferſon obſerves, that Virginia alone, can annually ſpare without diſtreſs, a million of dollars, or three hundred thouſand pounds; ſuppoſe this ſum to be applied to the creating a navy, a ſingle year's contribution would build, equip, man, and ſend to ſea, a force which would carry three hundred guns. The reſt of the confederacy, exerting themſelves in the ſame proportion, would equip in the ſame time fifteen hundred guns more. So that one year's contributions would ſet up a navy of eighteen hundred guns. Britiſh ſhips of the line average ſeventy-ſix guns, and their frigates thirty-eight. Eighteen hundred guns then would form a fleet of thirty ſhips, eighteen of which might be of the line, and twelve frigates. Allowing eight men, the Britiſh average for every gun, their annual expence, including ſubſiſtence, clothing, pay, and ordinary repairs, would be about twelve hundred and eighty dollars for every gun, or two million three hundred and four thouſand dollars for the whole. This is only ſtated as one year's poſſible exertion, without deciding whether more or leſs than a year's exertion ſhould be thus applied, or would be neceſſary.

RELIGION.

The conſtitution of the United States diſcovers in no one inſtance more excellence than in providing againſt the making of any law reſpecting an *eſtabliſhment* of religion, or prohibiting the free exerciſe of it. And the conſtitutions of the reſpective States are equally entitled to praiſe in this reſpect, in them religious liberty is a fundamental principle. And in this important article, the American government is diſtinguiſhed from that of every other nation, IF WE EXCEPT FRANCE. Religion in the United States is placed on its proper baſis; without the feeble and *unwarranted aid* of the civil power, it is left to be ſupported by its own evidence, the lives of its profeſſors, and the Almighty care of its Divine Author.

All

All being thus left at liberty to choose their own religion, the people, as might easily be supposed, have varied in their choice. The bulk of the people denominate themselves Christians; a small portion of them are Jews; some plead the sufficiency of natural religion, and reject revelation as unnecessary and fabulous; and many, we have reason to believe, have yet their religion to choose. Christians profess their religion under various forms, and with different ideas of its doctrines, ordinances, and precepts. The following denominations of Christians are more or less numerous in the United States, viz. CONGREGATIONALISTS, PRESBYTERIANS, DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, EPISCOPALIANS, BAPTISTS, UNITARIANS, QUAKERS or FRIENDS, METHODISTS, ROMAN CATHOLICS, GERMAN LUTHERANS, GERMAN CALVINISTS or PRESBYTERIANS, MORAVIANS, TUNKERS, MENNONISTS, UNIVERSALISTS, and SHAKERS.

CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Of these the Congregationalists are the most numerous. In New England alone, besides those which are scattered through the middle and southern States, there are not less than a thousand congregations of this denomination, viz.

In New Hampshire	-	200
Massachusetts	-	440
Rhode Island	-	13
Connecticut	-	197
Vermont (say)	-	150
Total	-	1000

It is difficult to say what is the present ecclesiastical constitution of the Congregational churches. Formerly their ecclesiastical proceedings were regulated, in Massachusetts, by the Cambridge Platform of church discipline, established by the synod in 1648; and in Connecticut, by the Saybrook Platform of discipline; but since the revolution, less regard has been paid to these constitutions, and in many instances they are wholly disused. Congregationalists are pretty generally agreed in this opinion, that "Every church or particular congregation of visible saints, in gospel order, being furnished with a Pastor or Bishop, and walking together in truth and peace; has received from the Lord Jesus full power and authority ecclesiastical within itself, regularly to administer all the ordinancies of Christ, and is not under any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever." Their churches, with some exceptions, disclaim

diſclaim the term *Independent*, as applicable to them, and claim a ſiſterly relation to each other.

From the anſwer of the elders, and other meſſengers of the churches aſſembled at Boſton, in the year 1662, to the queſtions propoſed to them by order of the General Court, it appears that the churches, at that period, profeſſed to hold communion with each other in the following acts, viz.

"In hearty care and prayer one for another. In affording relief, by communicating of their gifts in temporal or ſpiritual neceſſities. In maintaining unity and peace, by giving account one to another of their public actions, when it is properly deſired; to ſtrengthen one another in their regular adminiſtrations; in particular by a concurrent teſtimony againſt perſons juſtly cenſured. To ſeek and accept help from, and afford help to each other, in caſe of diviſions and contentions, whereby the peace of any church is diſturbed; in matters of more than ordinary importance, as the ordination, inſtallation, removal, and depoſition of paſtors or biſhops; in doubtful and difficult queſtions and controverſies, doctrinal or practical, that may ariſe; and for the rectifying of mal-adminiſtration, and healing of errors and ſcandals that are not healed among themſelves. In taking notice, with a ſpirit of love and faithfulneſs, of the troubles and difficulties, errors and ſcandals of another church, and to adminiſter help, when the caſe manifeſtly calls for it, though they ſhould ſo neglect their own good and duty, as not to ſeek it. In admoniſhing one another, when there is cauſe for it; and after a due courſe of means, patiently to withdraw from a church, or peccant party therein, obſtinately perſiſting in error or ſcandal."

A confociation of churches was, at the period mentioned, conſidered by them as neceſſary to a communion of churches, the former being but an agreement to maintain the latter, and therefore a duty.—The confociation of churches they defined to be, Their mutual and ſolemn agreement to exerciſe communion in the acts above recited, amongſt themſelves, with ſpecial reference to thoſe churches which, by Providence, were planted in a convenient vicinity, though with liberty reſerved without offence, to make uſe of others, as the nature of the caſe, or the advantage of the opportunity might lead thereunto.

The miniſters of the Congregational order are pretty generally aſſociated for the purpoſes of licenſing candidates for the miniſtry, and friendly intercourſe and improvement; but there are few Congregational churches that are confociated on the above principles; and the practice has very generally gone into diſuſe, and with it the communion of churches in moſt of the acts before recited. In Connecticut and the

weſtern parts of Maſſachuſetts, the churches have deviated leſs from their original conſtitution. The degeneracy of the Congregational churches from that order, fellowſhip, and harmony, in diſcipline, doctrines, and friendly advice and aſſiſtance in eccleſiaſtical matters, which formerly ſubſiſted between them, is matter of deep regret to many, not to ſay to moſt people of the denomination. A reformation, or a return to a practice conformable to the original principles of the Congregational churches, is an event more earneſtly deſired, than confidently expected by them.

Congregationaliſts are divided in opinion reſpecting the doctrines of the goſpel, and the proper ſubjects of its ordinances. The body of them are Calviniſts; a reſpectable proportion are what may be denominated Hopkenſian Calviniſts; beſides theſe, ſome are Arminians, ſome Arians, a few Socinians, and a number who have adopted Doctor Chauncey's ſcheme of the final ſalvation of all men.

PRESBYTERIANS.

Next to the Congregationaliſts, Preſbyterians are the moſt numerous denomination of Chriſtians in the United States. They have a conſtitution by which they regulate all their eccleſiaſtical proceedings, and a confeſſion of faith, which all church officers and church members are required to ſubſcribe. Hence they have preſerved a ſingular uniformity in their religious ſentiments, and have conducted their eccleſiaſtical affairs with a great degree of order and harmony.

The body of the Preſbyterians inhabit the middle and ſouthern States, and are united under the ſame conſtitution. By this conſtitution, the Preſbyterians who are governed by it, are divided into five Synods and ſeventeen Preſbyteries; viz.—SYNOD OF NEW YORK, five preſbyteries, ninety-four congregations, and ſixty-one ſettled miniſters.—SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA, five preſbyteries, ninety-two congregations, and ſixty ſettled miniſters, beſides the miniſters and congregations belonging to Baltimore preſbytery.—SYNOD OF VIRGINIA, four preſbyteries, ſeventy congregations, and forty ſettled miniſters, excluſive of the congregations and miniſters of Tranſylvania preſbytery.—SYNOD OF THE CAROLINAS, three preſbyteries, eighty-two congregations, and forty-two ſettled miniſters, the miniſters and congregations in Abington preſbytery not included. If we ſuppoſe the number of congregations in the preſbyteries which made no returns to their ſynods, to be one hundred, and the number of ſettled miniſters in the ſame to be forty, the whole number of preſbyterian congregations in this connection will be four hundred and thirty-eight, which are ſupplied by two hundred and twenty-three ſettled miniſters, and between ſeventy and

eighty candidates, beſides a number of ordained miniſters who have no particular charges. Each of the ſynods meet annually; beſides which they have a joint meeting, by their commiſſioners, once a year, in general aſſembly at Philadelphia.

The Preſbyterian churches are governed by congregational, preſbyterial, and ſynodical aſſemblies: theſe aſſemblies poſſeſs no civil juriſdiction. Their power is wholly moral or ſpiritual, and that only miniſterial or declarative. They poſſeſs by their conſtitution the right of requiring obedience to the rules of their ſocieties, and of excluding the diſobedient from the privileges of the church; and the powers requiſite for obtaining evidence and inflicting cenſure; but the higheſt puniſhment, to which their authority extends, is to exclude the contumacious and impenitent from the congregation to which they belong.

The Church Session, which is the congregational aſſembly of judicatory, conſiſts of the miniſter or miniſters and elders of a particular congregation. This body is inveſted with the ſpiritual government of the congregation; and have power to enquire into the knowledge and Chriſtian conduct of all its members; to call before them offenders and witneſſes, of their own denomination; to admoniſh, ſuſpend, or exclude from church fellowſhip ſuch as deſerve theſe cenſures; to concert meaſures for promoting the ſpiritual intereſts of the congregation, and to appoint delegates to the higher judicatories of the church.

A Presbytery, conſiſts of all the miniſters, and one ruling elder from each congregation, within a certain diſtrict. Three miniſters and three elders, conſtitutionally convened, are competent to do buſineſs. This body have cognizance of all things that regard the welfare of the particular churches within their bounds, which are not cognizable by the ſeſſion. Alſo, they have a power of receiving and iſſuing appeals from the ſeſſions—of examining and licenſing candidates for the miniſtry—of ordaining, ſettling, removing, or judging miniſters—of reſolving queſtions of doctrine or diſcipline—of condemning erroneous opinions, that injure the purity or peace of the church—of viſiting particular churches, to enquire into their ſtate, and redreſs the evils that may have ariſen in them—of uniting or dividing congregations, at the requeſt of the people, and whatever elſe pertains to the ſpiritual concerns of the churches under their care.

A Synod, is a convention of ſeveral preſbteries. The ſynod have power to admit and judge of appeals, regularly brought up from the preſbyteries—to give their judgement on all references made to them of an eccleſiaſtical kind—to correct and regulate the proceedings of preſbyteries—

preſbyteries—to take effectual care that preſbyteries obſerve the conſtitution of the church, &c.

The higheſt judicatory of the Preſbyterian church is ſtiled, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. This grand Aſſembly conſiſts of an equal delegation of biſhops and elders from each preſbytery within their juriſdiction, by the title of Commiſſioners to the General Aſſembly. Fourteen commiſſioners make a quorum. The General Aſſembly conſtitute the bond of union, peace, correſpondence, and mutual confidence among all their churches; and have power to receive and iſſue all appeals and references which may regularly be brought before them from inferior judicatories—to regulate and correct the proceedings of the ſynods, &c. To the General Aſſembly alſo belongs the power of conſulting, reaſoning, and judging in controverſies reſpecting doctrine and diſcipline—of reproving, warning, or bearing teſtimony againſt error in doctrine, or immorality in practice in any church, preſbytery, or ſynod—of correſponding with foreign churches—of putting a ſtop to ſchiſmatical contentions and diſputations—of recommending and attempting a reformation of manners—of promoting charity, truth, and holineſs, in all the churches—and alſo of erecting new ſynods when they judge it neceſſary.

The confeſſion of faith adopted by the Preſbyterian church, embraces what are called the Calviniſtic doctrines; and none who diſbelieve theſe doctrines are admitted into fellowſhip with their churches. The General Aſſembly of the Preſbyterian church, hold a friendly correſpondence with the General Aſſociation in Connecticut, by letter, and by admitting delegates from their reſpective bodies to ſit in each other's general meetings.

Unconnected with the churches of which we have been ſpeaking, there are four ſmall preſbyteries in New England, who have a ſimilar form of eccleſiaſtical government and diſcipline, and profeſs the ſame doctrines.

Beſides theſe, there is the ASSOCIATE PRESBYTERY OF PENNSYLVANIA, having a ſeparate eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in America, and belonging to the Aſſociate Synod of Edinburgh, which they declare is the only eccleſiaſtical body, either in Britain or America, with which they are agreed concerning the doctrine and order of the church of Chriſt, and concerning the duty of confeſſing the truth, and bearing witneſs to it by a public teſtimony againſt the errors of the times. This connection is not to be underſtood as indicating ſubjection to a foreign juriſdiction; but is preſerved for the ſake of maintaining unity

with their brethren in the profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith, and ſuch an intercourſe as might be of ſervice to the intereſts of religion. This ſect of Preſbyterians are commonly known by the name of Seceders, on account of their having ſeceded from the national church of Scotland in 1736.

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

The Dutch reformed Churches in the United States, who maintain the doctrine of the ſynod of Dort, held in 1618, are between ſeventy and eighty in number, conſtituting ſix claſſes, which form one ſynod, ſtiled The DUTCH REFORMED SYNOD of New York and New Jerſey. The claſſes conſiſt of miniſters and ruling elders; each claſs delegates two miniſters and an elder to repreſent them in ſynod. From the firſt planting of the Dutch churches in New York and New Jerſey, they have, under the direction of the claſſes of Amſterdam, been formed exactly upon the plan of the eſtabliſhed church of Holland as far as that is eccleſiaſtical. A ſtrict correſpondence is maintained between the Dutch Reformed Synod of New York and New Jerſey, and the ſynod of North Holland and the claſſes of Amſterdam. The acts of their ſynods are mutually exchanged every year, and mutual advice is given and received in diſputes reſpecting doctrinal points and church diſcipline.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The Proteſtant Epiſcopal Church in the United States, *the churches of that denomination in New England excepted*, met in Convention at Philadelphia, in October 1785, and reviſed the book of common prayer, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, with a view to render the liturgy conſiſtent with the American Revolution. But this reviſed form was adopted by none of the churches, except one or two in Philadelphia.

In October 1789, at another meeting of their convention, a plan of union among all the Proteſtant Epiſcopal churches in the United States of America was agreed upon and ſettled: and an adequate repreſentation from the ſeveral States being preſent, they again reviſed the book of common prayer, which is now publiſhed and generally adopted by their churches. They alſo agreed upon and publiſhed ſeventeen canons for the government of their church, the firſt of which declares, that "there ſhall, in this church, be three orders in the miniſtry, viz. BISHOPS, PRIESTS, and DEACONS."

At the ſame time they agreed upon a Conſtitution, which provides that there ſhall be a general convention of the Proteſtant Epiſcopal Church in the United States, on the ſecond Tueſday in September, of every third year from 1789—That each ſtate is entitled to a repreſentation

tation of both the clergy and laity, or either of them, and may ſend deputies, not exceeding four of each order, choſen by the convention of the State—That the biſhops of the church, when three or more are preſent, ſhall, in their general conventions, form a ſeparate houſe, with a right to originate and propoſe acts for the concurrence of the houſe of deputies, compoſed of clergy and laity; and with a power to negative acts paſſed by the houſe of deputies, unleſs adhered to by four-fifths of the other houſe—That every biſhop ſhall confine the exerciſe of his epiſcopal office to his proper dioceſe—That no perſon ſhall be admitted to holy orders, until examined by the biſhop and two preſbyters—and ſhall not be ordained until he ſhall have ſubſcribed the following declaration—"I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things neceſſary to ſalvation; and I do ſolemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worſhip of the Proteſtant Epiſcopal Church in the United States."

They have not yet adopted any Articles of religion other than thoſe contained in the Apoſtles and Nicene Creeds. The number of their churches in the United States is not aſcertained; in New-England there are between forty and fifty; but in the ſouthern ſtates, they are much more numerous. Four Biſhops, viz. of Connecticut, New York, Penſylvania, and Virginia, have been elected by the conventions of their reſpective States, and have been duly conſecrated. The former by the Biſhops of the Scotch Church, the three latter, by the Biſhops of the Engliſh church. And theſe, in September 1792, united in the conſecration of a fifth, elected by the convention of the ſtate of Maryland.

BAPTISTS.

The Baptiſts, with ſome exceptions, are upon the Calviniſtic plan, as to doctrines, and independents as to church government and diſcipline. Except thoſe who are ſtyled "open communion baptiſts," of whom there is but one aſſociation, they refuſe to communicate in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper with other denominations; becauſe they hold that immerſion only is the true baptiſm, and that baptiſm is neceſſary to communion; it is, therefore inconſiſtent, in their opinion, to admit unbaptized perſons to join with them in this ordinance; though they allow miniſters of other denominations to preach to their congregations, and to aſſiſt in ordaining their miniſters.

They have regular college eſtabliſhments, and maintain a conſtant communication with each other by means of annual and half yearly aſſociations.—Theſe aſſociations, as they ſtood in the year 1790, were as follows:

Aſſociations.

	Associations.	*States in which they meet.*
1	Bowdoinham —	Maſſachuſetts —
2	New Hampſhire —	New Hampſhire —
3	Woodſtock —	New Hampſhire and Vermont
4	Vermont —	Vermont —
5	Warren —	Maſſachuſetts —
6	Rhode Iſland —	Rhode Iſland and Maſſachuſetts
7	Groton —	Connecticut —
8	Stonington —	Rhode Iſland and Connecticut
9	Danbury —	Connecticut —
10	Shaftſbury —	Maſſachuſetts and New York —
11	Philadelphia —	Pennſylvania —
12	Redſtone —	Ditto —
13	Saliſbury —	Maryland and Virginia —
14	* Ketockton —	Virginia —
15	* Chapawamſick —	Ditto —
16	* Orange Diſtrict —	Ditto —
17	* Dover ditto —	Ditto —
18	* Lower do. † and Kehukey	Ditto and North Carolina —
19	* Middle ditto —	Ditto —
20	* Upper ditto —	Ditto —
21	* Roanoak ditto —	Ditto and North Carolina —
22	* South Kentucky —	Ditto —
23	North Kentucky —	Ditto —
24	Ohio —	Ditto —
25	Holſton —	North Carolina —
26	Sandy Creek —	Ditto —
27	Yadkin —	Ditto —
28	Charleſton —	South Carolina —
29	Bethel —	Ditto —
30	Georgia —	Georgia —

Note.—The nine Aſſociations in the above liſt marked * meet in a General Committee by their repreſentatives at Richmond, in the month of May annually.

† A ſeparation of theſe Aſſociations has ſince taken place, and this now bears the name of the Virginia Portſmouth Aſſociation.

Times of Meeting.	*Min.*	*Chs.*	*Members.*
September —	8	8	500
Second Wednesday in June —	7	8	500
Fourth Wednesday in September —	14	24	950
First Wednesday in October —	6	11	500
Tuesday after the first Wednesday in Sept.	25	41	3400
Third Friday in September —	15	12	500
Third Friday in June —	8	11	1500
Third Tuesday in October —	10	13	1000
Fourth Wednesday in September —	14	15	870
First Wednesday in June —	10	22	1500
First Tuesday in October —	49	56	4100
Third Saturday in October —	9	11	600
Third Saturday in August and October	6	14	1400
Third Friday in August —	10	12	650
Second Wednesday in September —	7	14	850
Second Friday in October —	22	32	4600
First Friday in May and October —	36	26	5100
Fourth Saturday in May, and 2d in Oct.	45	51	5500
First Saturday in May and October —	24	25	2000
Fourth Saturday in May, and 1st in Oct.	11	18	1200
Second Saturday in June, and 4th in Oct.	18	18	2200
Fourth Friday in May and October —	15	14	1200
May and October —	10	12	1100
——— —	4	5	300
First Saturday in June, and 2d in Oct.	10	17	1200
Fourth Saturday in October —	10	13	1200
Fourth Saturday in April and Sept. —	11	14	800
Fourth Saturday in October —	16	19	1850
Second Saturday in August —	9	16	1200
Second Saturday in May and October	22	31	2700
	452	533	50970
Churches not belonging to Associations,	100	150	8000
	552	733	58970
Seventh Day Baptists —	12	15	2000
Total	564	748	60970

Since

Since the above period, accounts of ſix other aſſociations have reached England, and, according to an account taken by Mr. John Aſplund, a miniſter of the baptiſt denomination, who has travelled through the United States, to aſcertain their number and ſtate. The ſtatement of their churches, miniſters and church members, is as follows.

States		Churches	Miniſters *ordained*	Miniſters *licenſed*	Members.
In New Hampſhire		32	23	17	1732
Maſſachuſetts		107	95	31	7116
Rhode Iſland		38	37	39	3502
Connecticut		55	44	21	3214
Vermont		34	21	15	1610
New York	—	57	53	30	3987
New Jerſey	—	26	20	9	2279
Pennſylvania	—	28	26	7	1231
Delaware	—	7	9	1	409
Maryland	—	12	8	3	776
Virginia	—	207	157	109	20157
Kentucky	—	42	40	21	3105
Weſtern Territory	—	1	—	—	30
North Carolina	—	94	81	76	7742
Deceded Territory	—	18	15	6	889
South Carolina	—	68	48	28	4012
Georgia	—	42	33	9	3184
Total		868	710	422	64975

To this account, it is preſumed, that about two thouſand five hundred members, and forty-five churches, ought to be added—making the whole number of churches about nine hundred and ten, and the members about ſixty-ſeven thouſand. But at leaſt *three times* as many attend their meetings for public worſhip as have joined their churches, which, we may ſuppoſe, are in principle Baptiſts, theſe will make the whole number of that denomination in the United States two hundred and one thouſand, or a twenty-fifth part of the inhabitants.

The leading principles of the regular or particular Baptiſts are—The imputation of Adam's ſin to his poſterity—the inability of man to recover himſelf—effectual calling by ſovereign grace—juſtification by the imputed righteouſneſs of Chriſt—baptiſm by immerſion, and that on profeſſion of faith and repentance—congregational churches, their independency,

independency, and reception into them upon evidence of found converſion.

UNITARIANS.

The Unitarians, or as they are denominated, though not with ſtrict propriety, Socinians, are far from being numerous in the United States, they have, however, received conſiderable additions of late from different parts of Great Britain; the generous attachment of this body of Chriſtians, to the cauſe of civil and religious liberty, has marked them out as objects of the dread and vengeance of the Britiſh government, every manoeuvre has been tried, and every influence exerted to ſink them in the eſteem of their countrymen, the conſequence of which has been, that many of them have found it neceſſary to ſeek a reſidence in a country more congenial with their ſentiments and views of the rights of mankind, and where they can enjoy their religious principles without political degradation. Among the characters which are an ornament to this claſs of Chriſtians, and whom the ungrateful and unrelenting hand of perſecution has driven to the hoſpitable ſhores of the United States, the names of PRIESTLEY, RUSSEL, and COOPER, deſerve particular notice; the former of theſe characters has long been celebrated as a philoſopher, and the avowed champion of the Unitarian Faith. In both theſe ſituations, however we may differ from him in opinion, his candour, zeal, and perſeverance, entitle him to our admiration; but as the FRIEND OF MANKIND, he claims more than admiration—HE COMMANDS OUR ESTEEM—the direction of his philoſophical purſuits to the benefit of his fellow-creatures—the warmth and ability with which he has eſpouſed and defended the cauſe of civil and religious liberty—the patience, fortitude, and reſignation with which he has endured the moſt cruel and unjuſt perſecutions—the diſcovery of the moſt amiable diſpoſition to thoſe who differed with, and even perſecuted him, will endear his memory to poſterity, and awaken the utmoſt abhorrence and indignation at that ſpirit of bigotry and party rage, which forced him from his country and friends, and obliged him, at an advanced period of life, to ſeek an aſylum acroſs the Atlantic: America will, however, value what Britain deſpiſed, and will no doubt amply reward him for all his paſt ſufferings—his name will live in the affections of ſucceeding ages, while thoſe of his perſecutors will be conſigned to the infamy they merit.

It will be unneceſſary here to ſay any thing on the peculiar tenets of the Unitarians, as they have been of late ſo amply and ably diſcuſſed, and

in a variety of forms, adapted to every clafs of readers,* we fhall therefore pafs to a confideration of the people called Quakers.

Quakers.

This denomination of Chriftians arofe about the year 1648, and were firft collected into religious focieties by their highly refpected elder, George Fox. They emigrated to America as early as 1656. The firft fettlers of Pennfylvania were all of this denomination; and the number of their meetings in the United States, at prefent, is about three hundred and twenty.

Their doctrinal tenets may be concifely expreffed as follows—In common with other Chriftians, they believe in One Eternal God, and in Jefus Chrift the Meffiah and Mediator of the new covenant. To Chrift alone, in whofe divinity they believe, they give the title of the *Word* of God, and not to the Scriptures; yet they profefs a high eftcem for thefe facred writings, in fubordination to the Spirit who indited them, and believe that they are able, through faith, to make men wife to falvation—They reverence the excellent precepts of Scripture, and believe them practicable and binding on every Chriftian; and that in the life to come, every man will be rewarded according to his works. In order to enable mankind to put in practice thefe precepts, they believe, that every man coming into the world is endued with a meafure of the Light, Grace, or Good Spirit of Chrift; by which he is enabled to diftinguifh good from evil, and correct the diforderly paffions and corrupt propenfities of his nature, which mere reafon is altogether infufficient to overcome—that this divine grace is, to thofe who fincerely feek it, an all-fufficient and prefent help in time of need—and that by it the fnares of the enemy are detected, his allurements avoided, and deliverance experienced, through faith in its effectunl operation, and the foul tranflated out of the kingdom of darknefs into the marvellous light and kingdom of the Son of God—Thus perfuaded, they think this divine influence efpecially neceffary to the performance of the higheft act of which the human mind is capable, the worfhip of God in fpirit and in truth; and therefore confider, as obftruction to pure worfhip, all forms which divert the mind from the fecret influence of this unction of the Holy One—Though true worfhip is not confined to time or place, they believe it is incumbent on churches to meet often together, but dare not depend for acceptance on a formal repetition of the words and experience of others—

* If the reader fhould wifh for information on the fubject, he is refered to Lindfey's *Hiftorical view of the Unitarian Doctrine &c.*

They

They think it their duty to wait in ſilence to have a true ſight of their condition beſtowed on them; and believe even a ſingle ſigh, ariſing from a ſenſe of their infirmities and need of divine help to be more acceptable to God, than any performances which originate in the will of man.

They believe the renewed aſſiſtance of the light and power of Chriſt, which is not at command, nor attainable by ſtudy, but the free gift of God, to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to a true goſpel miniſtry---Hence ariſes their teſtimony againſt preaching for hire, and conſcientious refuſal to ſupport any ſuch miniſtry by tythes or other means. As they dare not encourage any miniſtry, but ſuch as they believe to ſpring from the influence of the Holy Spirit; ſo neither dare they attempt to reſtrain this influence to perſons of any condition in life, or to the male ſex---but allow ſuch of the female ſex as appear to be qualified, to exerciſe their gifts for the general edification of the church.

They hold that as there is one Lord and one faith, ſo his baptiſm is one in nature and operation, and that nothing ſhort of it can make us living members of his myſtical body; and that baptiſm with water belonged to a diſpenſation inferior to the preſent. With reſpect to the Lord's Supper, they believe that communication between Chriſt and his church is not maintained by that nor any other external ordinance, but only by a real participation of his divine nature, through faith; that this is the ſupper alluded to in Rev. iii. 20—and that where the ſubſtance is attained, it is unneceſſary to attend to the ſhadow.

Believing that the grace of God is alone ſufficient for ſalvation, they can neither admit that it is conferred on a few only, while others are left without it; nor, thus aſſerting its univerſality, can they limit its operation to a partial cleanſing of the ſoul from ſin, even in this life---On the contrary they believe that God doth vouchſafe to aſſiſt the obedient to ſubmit to the guidance of his pure ſpirit, through whoſe aſſiſtance they are enabled to bring forth fruits unto holineſs, and to ſtand *perfect* in their preſent rank.

As to oaths, they abide literally by Chriſt's poſitive injunction, "SWEAR NOT AT ALL." They believe that "WARS AND FIGHTINGS" are, in their origin and effects, utterly repugnant to the Goſpel, which breathes peace and good will to men *. They alſo are firmly perſuaded, that if the benevolence of the Goſpel were generally prevalent in the minds of men, it would effectually prevent them from oppreſſ-

* During the late war, ſome of their number, contrary to this article of their faith, thought it their duty to take up arms in defence of their country. This laid the foundation of a ſeceſſion from their brethren, and they now form a ſeparate congregation in Philadelphia, by the name of the "Reſiſting or fighting Quakers."

ing, much more from enſlaving * their brethren, of whatever complexion; and would even influence their treatment of the brute creation, which would no longer groan the victims of their avarice, or of their falſe ideas of pleaſure.---They profeſs that their principles, which inculcate ſubmiſſion to the laws in all caſes wherein conſcience is not violated, are a ſecurity to the ſalutary purpoſes of government. But they hold that the civil magiſtrate has no right to interfere in matters of religion, and think perſecution, in any degree, unwarrantable. They reject the uſe of thoſe names of the months and days, which, having been given in *honour of the heroes or gods of the heathen*, originated in their flattery or ſuperſtition; and the cuſtom of ſpeaking to a ſingle perſon in the plural number, as having ariſen alſo from motives of adulation. Compliments, ſuperfluity of apparel or furniture, outward ſhews of rejoicing or mourning, and obſervations of days and times, they deem incompatible with the ſimplicity and ſincerity of a Chriſtian life---and they condemn public diverſions, gaming, and other vain amuſements of the world. They require no formal ſubſcription to any articles, either as the condition of membership, or to qualify for the ſervice of the church.

To effect the ſalutary purpoſes of diſcipline, MONTHLY, QUARTERLY, and YEARLY meetings are eſtabliſhed. A monthly meeting is compoſed of ſeveral neighbouring congregations. Its buſineſs is to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the poor, and for the education of their offſpring—to judge of the ſincerity and fitneſs of perſons appearing to be convinced of the religious principles of the ſociety, and deſiring to be admitted to membership; to excite due attention to the diſcharge of religious and moral duties; to deal with diſorderly members—to appoint overſeers to ſee that the rules of their diſcipline are put in practice —to allow of marriages, &c.†

* In the preſent ſtruggle of liberality and humanity, againſt avarice and cruelty, in defence of the Blacks, the Quakers have had the ſignal honour of having firſt ſet the illuſtrious example of aiming at a total emancipation.

† Their mode of marrying is as follows—Thoſe who intend to marry, appear together, and propoſe their intention to the monthly meeting, and if not attended by their parents or guardians, produce a written certificate of their conſent, ſigned in the preſence of witneſſes. The meeting then appoints a committee to inquire whether they are clear of other engagements reſpecting marriage; and if at a ſubſequent meeting, to which the parties alſo come and declare the continuance of their intention, no objections are reported, they have the meeting's conſent to ſolemnize their intended marriage. This is done in a public meeting for worſhip, towards the cloſe of which the parties ſtand up and ſolemnly take each other for huſband and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then publicly read, and ſigned by the parties, and afterwards by the relations and others as witneſſes, which cloſes the ſolemnity.

A quar-

A quarterly meeting is compoſed of ſeveral monthly meetings. At this meeting are produced written anſwers from monthly meetings, to certain queſtions reſpecting the conduct of their members and the meeting's care over them. The accounts thus received, are digeſted and ſent by repreſentatives to the yearly meeting. Appeals from th judgement of monthly meetings are brought to the quarterly meetings.

The yearly meeting has the general ſuperintendance of the ſociety in the country in which it is eſtabliſhed.* The buſineſs of this meeting is to give forth its advice—make ſuch regulations as appear to be requiſite, or excite to the obſervance of thoſe already made, &c. Appeals from the judgement of quarterly meetings are here finally determined; and a brotherly correſpondence, by epiſtles, is maintained with other yearly meetings.

As they believe women may be rightly called to the work of the miniſtry, they alſo think think they may ſhare in the Chriſtian diſcipline. Accordingly *they* have monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings of their own ſex; held at the ſame time, and in the ſame place with thoſe of the men; but ſeparately, and without the power of making rules.

Their elders and miniſters have meetings peculiar to themſelves. Theſe meetings, called Meetings of miniſters and elders, are generally held in the compaſs of each monthly, quarterly, and yearly meeting—for the purpoſe of exciting each other to the diſcharge of their ſeveral duties—of extending advice to thoſe who may appear weak, &c. They alſo, in the intervals of the yearly meetings, give certificates to thoſe miniſters who travel abroad in the work of the miniſtry.

The yearly meeting, held in London, in 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city, for the purpoſe of adviſing or aſſiſting in caſes of ſuffering for conſcience ſake, called a Meeting for ſufferings, which is yet continued. It is compoſed of Friends under the name of correſpondents, choſen by the ſeveral quarterly meetings, who reſide in and near the city. This meeting is entruſted with the care of printing and diſtributing books, and with the management of its ſtock, and conſidered as a ſtanding committe of the yearly meeting. In none of their meetings have they a Preſident, as they believe Divine wiſdom alone ought to preſide; nor has any member a right to claim pre-eminence over the reſt.

* The Quakers have, in all, *ſeven* yearly meetings. One in London, to which come repreſentatives from Ireland. The other ſix are in the United States. 1. New England, 2. New York, 3. New Jerſey, and Pennſylvania, 4. Maryland, 5. Virginia, 6. The Carolinas and Georgia

METHODISTS

Methodists.

The Methodiſt denomination of Chriſtians aroſe in England in 1739; and made their firſt appearance in America about twenty-four years ſince. Their general ſtyle is, "The United Societies of the Methodiſt Epiſcopal Church." They profeſs themſelves to be "A company of men, having the form and ſeeking the power of godlineſs, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their ſalvation." Each ſociety is divided into claſſes of twelve perſons; one of whom is ſtiled the Leader, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſee each perſon in his claſs once a week, in order to inquire how their ſouls proſper, to adviſe, reprove, comfort, or exhort as occaſion may require; and to receive contributions for the relief of Church and Poor. In order to admiſſion into their ſocieties they require only one condition, viz. "*A deſire to flee from the wrath to come*, i. e. a deſire to be ſaved from their ſins." It is expected of all who continue in their ſocieties, that they ſhould evidence their deſire of ſalvation, by doing no harm, by avoiding all manner of evil, by doing all manner of good, as they have ability and opportunity, eſpecially to the houſehold of faith; employing them preferably to others, buying of one another, *unleſs they can be ſerved better elſewhere*, and helping each other in buſineſs—And alſo by attending upon all the ordinances of God; ſuch as public worſhip, the ſupper of the Lord, family and private prayer, ſearching the ſcriptures, and faſting or abſtinence. The late Mr. John Weſley is conſidered as the father of this claſs of Methodiſts, who, as they deny ſome of the leading Calviniſtic doctrines, and hold ſome of the peculiar tenets of Arminius, may be called Arminian Methodists—The late Mr. Whitefield was the leader of the Calvinistic Methodists, who are not very numerous in the United States, the greater part being now formed into independent Calviniſt churches, or mixed with Congregationaliſts and Preſbyterians.

In 1788, the number of *Weſleian* Methodiſts in the United States ſtood as follows:

Georgia	2011	Delaware, Pennſylvania	1998
South Carolina	3366	New Jerſey	1751
North Carolina	6779	New York	2004
Virginia	14,356		
Maryland	11,017		
		Total	43,282

Since

Since this eſtimate of their numbers was taken, ſome few ſcattering ſocieties have been collected in different parts of the New England States, and their numbers increaſed in other parts; ſo that in 1790, the whole connexion amounted to fifty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one. To ſuperintend the methodiſt connexion in America, they had, in 1788, two biſhops, thirty elders, and fifty deacons.

Roman Catholics.

The whole number of Roman Catholics in the United States is eſtimated at about fifty thouſand; one half of which are in the State of Maryland. Their peculiar and leading doctrines and tenets are too generally known to need a recital here. They have a Bishop, who reſides in Baltimore, and many of their congregations are large and reſpectable.

German Lutherans and Calvinists.

The German inhabitants in theſe ſtates, who principally belong to Pennſylvania and New York, are divided into a variety of ſects; the principal of which are, Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, Tunkers, and Mennionists. Of theſe the German Lutherans are the moſt numerous. Of this denomination, and the German Calviniſts, who are next to them in numbers, there are upwards of ſixty miniſters in Pennſylvania—and the former have twelve, and the latter ſix churches in the ſtate of New York. Many of their churches are large and ſplendid, and in ſome inſtances furniſhed with organs. Theſe two denominations live together in the greateſt harmony, often preaching in each other's churches, and ſometimes uniting in the erection of a church, in which they alternately worſhip.

Moravians.

The Moravians are a reſpectable body of Chriſtians in theſe States. Of this denomination, there were, in 1788, about one thouſand three hundred ſouls in Pennſylvania; viz. at Bethlehem, between five and ſix hundred, which number has ſince increaſed—at Nazareth, four hundred and fifty—at Litiz, upwards of three hundred. Their other ſettlements, in the United States, are at Hope, in New Jerſey, about one hundred ſouls; at Wachovia, on Yadkin river, North Carolina, containing ſix churches. Beſides theſe regular ſettlements, formed by ſuch only as are members of the brethren's church, and live together in

in good order and harmony, there are in different parts of Pennſylvania, Maryland, and New Jerſey, and in the cities of Newport, (Rhode Iſland) New York, Philadelphia, Lancaſter, York-town, &c. congregations of the brethren, who have their own churches and miniſters, and hold the ſame principles, and doctrinal tenets, and church rites and ceremonies as the former, though their local ſituation does not admit of ſuch particular regulations, as are peculiar to the regular ſettlements.

They call themſelves "The UNITED BRETHREN OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH." They are called Moravians, becauſe the firſt ſettlers in the Engliſh dominions were chiefly emigrants from Moravia. Theſe were the remnant and genuine deſcendents of the antient United Brethren, eſtabliſhed in Bohemia and Moravia, as early as the year 1456. About the middle of the laſt century, they left their native country to avoid perſecution, and to enjoy liberty of conſcience, and the true exerciſe of the religion of their forefathers. They were received in Saxony, and other Proteſtant dominions, and were encouraged to ſettle among them, and were joined by many ſerious people of other dominions. They adhere to the Auguſtine Confeſſion of Faith, which was drawn up by the Proteſtant divines at the time of the reformation in Germany, in the year 1530, and preſented at the diet of the empire at Auſburg; and which, at that time, contained the doctrinal ſyſtem of all the eſtabliſhed Proteſtant churches. They retain the diſcipline of their ancient church, and make uſe of Epiſcopal ordination, which has been handed down to them in a direct line of ſucceſſion for more than three hundred years.*

They profeſs to live in ſtrict obedience to the ordinances of Chriſt, ſuch as the obſervation of the Sabbath, INFANT Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper; and in addition to theſe, they practice the foot waſhing, the kiſs of love, and the uſe of the lot.

They were introduced into America by count Zinzendorf, and ſettled at Bethlehem, which is their principal ſettlement in America, as early as 1741. Regularity, induſtry, ingenuity, and economy, are characteriſtics of this people.

* See David Crantz' Hiſt. of 'The ancient and modern United Brethren's Church, tranſlated from the German, by the Rev. Benjamin La Trobe.' London, 1780 Thoſe who wiſh to obtain a thorough and impartial knowledge of their religious ſentiments and cuſtoms, may ſee them excellently ſummed up in a plain, but nervous ſtile, in 'An expoſition of Chriſtian Doctine, as taught in the Proteſtant church of the United Brethren,' written in German, by A. G. Spangenberg, and tranſlated and publiſhed in Engliſh in 1784.

TUNKERS.

TUNKERS.

The TUNKERS are ſo called in deriſion, from the word TUNKEN, *to put a morſel in ſauce.* The Engliſh word that conveys the proper meaning of Tunkers is *Sops or Dippers.* They have been alſo called Tumblers, from the manner in which they perform baptiſm, which is by putting the perſon, while kneeling, head firſt under water, ſo as to reſemble the motion of the body in the action of tumbling. The Germans found the letters *t* and *b* like *d* and *p*; hence the words Tunkers and Tumblers, have been corruptly written Dunkers and Dumplers.

The firſt appearing of theſe people in America was in the year 1719, when about twenty families landed in Philadelphia, and diſperſed themſelves in various parts of Pennſylvania. They are what are called General Baptiſts, and hold the doctrine of general redemption and general ſalvation. They uſe great plainneſs of dreſs and language, *and will neither ſwear nor fight, nor go to law, nor take intereſt for the money they lend.* They commonly wear their beards—keep the firſt day Sabbath, except one congregation—have the Lord's Supper with its ancient attendants of Love-feaſts, with waſhing of feet, kiſs of charity, and right hand of fellowſhip. They anoint the ſick with oil for their recovery, and uſe the trine immerſion, with laying on of hands and prayer, even while the perſon baptiſed is in the water. Their church government and diſcipline are for the moſt part ſimilar with thoſe of the Engliſh Baptiſts, except that every brother is allowed to ſpeak in the congregation; and their beſt ſpeaker is uſually ordained to be their miniſter. They have deacons, deaconeſſes, from among their ancient widows, and exhorters, who are all licenſed to uſe their gifts ſtatedly. On the whole, notwithſtanding their peculiarities, they appear to be HUMBLE, WELL-MEANING CHRISTIANS, and have acquired the character of the *harmleſs* * Tunkers.

Their principal ſettlement is at Ephrata, ſometimes called Tunkers Town, in Lancaſter county, ſixty miles weſtward of Philadelphia. It conſiſts of about forty buildings, of which three are places of worſhip: one is called *Sharon*, and adjoins the ſiſter's apartment as a chapel; another, belonging to the brother's apartment, is called *Bethany*. To theſe the brethren and ſiſters reſort, ſeparately to worſhip morning and evening, and ſometimes in the night. The third is a common church, called *Zion*, where all in the ſettlement meet once a week for public wor-

* It would be exceeding'y happy for mankind, if this epithet could be beſtowed on the profeſſed followers of every other religious perſuaſion.

ſhip. The brethren have adopted the White Frier's dreſs, with ſome alterations; the ſiſters that of the nuns; and many of both like them have taken the vow of celibacy. All, however, do not keep the vow. When they marry, they leave their cells and go among the married people. They ſubſiſt by cultivating their lands, by attending a printing office, a griſt mill, a paper mill, an oil mill, &c. and the ſiſters by ſpinning, weaving, ſewing, &c. They at firſt ſlept on board couches, but now on beds, and have otherwiſe abated much of their former ſeverity. This congregation keep the ſeventh day Sabbath. Their ſinging is charming, owing to the pleaſantneſs of their voices, the variety of parts, and the devout manner of performance. Beſides this congregation at Ephrata, there were, in 1770, fourteen others in various other parts of Pennſylvania, and ſome in Maryland. The whole, excluſive of thoſe in Maryland, amounted to upwards of two thouſand ſouls.

MENNONISTS.

The MENNONISTS derive their name from Menno Simon, a native of Witmars in Germany, a man of learning, born in the year 1505, in the time of the reformation by Luther and Calvin. He was a famous Roman Catholic preacher, till about the year 1531, when he became a Baptiſt. Some of his followers came into Pennſylvania from New York and ſettled at German-town, as early as 1692. This is at preſent their principal congregation, and the mother of the reſt. Their whole number, in 1770, in Pennſylvania, was upwards of four thouſand, divided into thirteen churches, and forty-two congregations, under the care of fifteen ordained miniſters, and fifty-three licenſed preachers.

The Mennoniſts do not, like the Tunkers, hold the doctrine of general ſalvation; yet like them, *they will neither ſwear nor fight, nor bear any civil office, nor go to law, nor take intereſt for the money they lend*; many, however, break this laſt rule. Some of them wear their beards; waſh each others feet, &c. and all uſe plainneſs of ſpeech and dreſs. Some have been expelled their ſociety for wearing buckles in their ſhoes, and having pocket-holes in their coats. Their church government is democratical. They call themſelves the HARMLESS CHRISTIANS, REVENGELESS CHRISTIANS, and WEAPONLESS CHRISTIANS. They are Baptiſts rather in name than in fact; for they do not uſe immerſion. Their common mode of baptiſm is this; the perſon to be baptiſed kneels; the miniſter holds his hands over him, into which the deacon pours water, which runs through upon the head of the perſon kneeling. After this, follows impoſition of hands and prayer.

UNI-

UNIVERSALISTS.

The denomination ſtiled UNIVERSALISTS, though their ſchemes are very various, may properly enough be divided into two claſſes, viz. Thoſe who embrace the ſcheme of Dr. Chauncey, exhibited in his book entitled "The Salvation of all Men;" and the diſciples of Mr. Winchester and Mr. John Murray.

A judicious ſummary of Dr. Chauncey's ſentiments, has been given in H. Adams's View of Religions, as follows:

"That the ſcheme of revelation has the happineſs of all mankind lying at bottom, as its great and ultimate end; that it gradually tends to this end; and will not fail of its accompliſhment, when fully completed. Some, in conſequence of its operation, as conducted by the Son of God, will be diſpoſed and enabled, in this preſent ſtate, to make ſuch improvements in virtue, the only rational preparative for happineſs, as that they ſhall enter upon the enjoyment of it in the next ſtate. Others who have proved incurable under the means which have been uſed with them in this ſtate, inſtead of being happy in the next, will be awfully miſerable; not to continue ſo finally, but that they may be convinced of their folly, and recovered to a virtuous frame of mind: and this will be the effect of the future torments upon many; the conſequence whereof will be their ſalvation, they being thus fitted for it. And there may be yet other ſtates, before the ſcheme of God may be perfected, and mankind univerſally cured of their moral diſorders, and in this way qualified for, and finally inſtated in, eternal happineſs. But however many ſtates ſome of the individuals of the human ſpecies may paſs through, and of however long continuance they may be, the whole is intended to ſubſerve the grand deſign of *univerſal happineſs*, and will finally terminate in it; inſomuch, that the *Son of God* and *Saviour of men* will not deliver up his truſt into the hands of his *Father*, who committed it to him, till he has diſcharged his obligations in virtue of it; having finally fixed all men in heaven, when God will be *All in All*."

The number of this denomination is not known. The open advocates of this ſcheme are few; though the number is larger who embrace the doctrine of the ſalvation of all men, upon principles ſomewhat ſimilar, but variouſly differing from thoſe on which the above-mentioned ſcheme is grounded.

Article *Univerſaliſts*, where the reader may find alſo a ſummary of the arguments for and againſt his ſcheme.

The latter clafs of Univerfalifts have a new fcheme, differing eſſentially from that of the former, which they reject as inconſiſtent and abſurd: and they cannot conceive how they who embrace it, can, "with any degree of propriety, be called UNIVERSALISTS, on Apoſtolic principles, as it does not appear that they have any idea of being ſaved by, or *in* the Lord, with an everlaſting, or with any ſalvation."—Hence they call them "PHARISAICAL UNIVERSALISTS, who are *willing to juſtify themſelves*,*.

It is difficult to ſay what is the preſent ſcheme of the denomination of which we are now ſpeaking; for they differ not only from all other Univerſaliſts, and from each other, but even from themſelves at different periods. The reader, however, may form an idea of ſome of their tenets from what follows, collected from the letter referred to in the note. This letter, written by a man of firſt rate talents, and the head of the denomination, and profeſſing to rectify miſtakes reſpecting doctrines propagated under the Chriſtian name—to give the character of a CONSISTENT UNIVERSALIST—and to acquaint the world with their REAL ſentiments, we have reaſon to conclude, gives as true an account of their ſcheme as can be obtained.

From this letter it appears, that they believe "that Religion of *ſome* ſort or *other*, is a public benefit;" and that every perſon is at liberty, and is bound to ſupport what he conceives to be the *true* Religion—That public worſhip on *every* firſt day of the week, is an incumbent duty on *all* real lovers of divine truth—that prayer, as it indicates truſt *in*, and dependence *on* God, is part of his worſhip—They believe that the *Deceiver*, who beguiled Eve, and not our *firſt parents* themſelves, did the deed which brought *ruin* and death on all the human race—That there are two claſſes of fallen ſinners—the ANGELS who kept not their firſt eſtate, and the HUMAN NATURE, deceived by the former, and *apparently* deſtroyed conſequent thereon;—that a *juſt* God, in the law given by Moſes, has denounced death and the curſe on *every one who continueth not in all things, written in the book of the law to do them*—but that the *ſame* God was manifeſted in the fleſh as the head of every man, *made under the law, to redeem them that are under the law*, being *made a curſe for them*—that he *taſted death for every man*, being a Saviour, not of a *few* only, but *of all men*—and that the declaration of this is *the Goſpel*.—They believe that when God denounces on the human race, woes, wrath, tribulation, death, damnation, &c. in the Scriptures, he ſpeaks in his legiſlative capacity, as the juſt God who will *by no means clear the guilty*—that

*Mr. Murray's "Letter to a Friend," page 40, 41. printed in Boſton, 1791.

when

when he ſpeaks of mercy, grace, peace, of life as the gift of God, and ſalvation in whole or in part, he ſpeaks in the character of the *juſt God and Saviour*,—that the former is the language of the law; the latter is the language of the Goſpel.

They believe that the Prince of Peace came to ſave the *human nature* from the power and dominion of the *Devil*, and his works—that he came to deſtroy the latter, that he might ſave the former—That "Sin is the work of the Devil—that he is the *Worker* and *Doer* of whatever gives offence"—That Jeſus, as the Saviour of the world, ſhall ſeparate from his kingdom, both the *evil Worker* and his evil works; the *evil Worker*, in the character of *goats*—the *evil works* in the character of *tares*. They ſuppoſe that what is wicked in mankind, is repreſented by the *evil ſeed* ſown by the *evil One* in *human nature*, and that "when the Sower of the evil ſeed, and all the evil ſeed ſown, ſhall be ſeparated from the ſeed which God ſowed, then the ſeed which is properly God's ſeed, will be like him who ſowed it, *pure* and *holy*."

They conſider all ordinances as *merely ſhadows*; yet they celebrate the Lord's Supper, by eating and drinking wine—and ſome of them ſuppoſe that *every* time they eat bread and drink wine, they comply with our Lord's injunction, "Do this in remembrance of me."—Various other opinions prevail among them reſpecting this ordinance, and that of baptiſm. They "admit of but *one* baptiſm, the baptizer Jeſus Chriſt; the elements made uſe of, the Holy Ghoſt and fire"—yet they are willing, in order to avoid contention, "to become all things to all men," and to baptize INFANTS BY SPRINKLING, or ADULTS BY IMMERSION—or to omit theſe ſigns altogether, according as the opinions of parents may vary upon this ſubject—Some think it proper to *dedicate* their children to the Lord, by putting them into the arms of the miniſter, to be by him preſented to Chriſt, to be baptized with his baptiſm, in the name of the Trinity, the miniſter at the ſame time to bleſs them in the words in which God commanded Aaron and his ſons to bleſs the children of Iſrael—"The Lord bleſs thee, &c." It appears in ſhort, that their notions reſpecting theſe ordinances are various, and with many vague, and unſettled.

They believe in a judgment *paſt* and a judgment to come—that the *paſt* judgment is either that in which the world was judged in the ſecond Adam, according to the word of the Saviour, "*Now is the judgment of this world—now is the Prince of this world caſt out* and judgment executed on *them* and on the whole *human nature*, according to the righteous judgment of God—or that which every man is to exerciſe upon himſelf

himſelf, according to the words "*judge yourſelves and ye ſhall not be judged*"—"The judgment *to come* is that in which all who have not judged themſelves—all unbelievers of the human race, and all the fallen angels, ſhall be judged by the Saviour—but theſe two characters, viz. *unbelievers of the human race*, and the *fallen angels*, ſhall be placed, the *former* on the *right*, the *latter* on the *left* hand of their Judge; the one under the denomination of *ſheep*, for whoſe ſalvation the Saviour laid down his life—the other under the denomination of *goats*, who are the accurſed, whoſe nature he paſſed by—"The *human nature*," i. e. the *ſheep* or unbelievers of the human race, "as the offspring of the everlaſting Father, and the *ranſomed of the Lord*---ſhall be brought, by divine power, into the *kingdom prepared for them, before the foundation of the world*---the other *nature*, i. e. the goats, or fallen angels, "will be ſent into the *fire prepared for them*."* From which it appears, that it is their opinion, that *unbelievers of the human race*, or *ſheep*, and the *fallen angels*, or *goats*, will be the only claſſes of creatures concerned in the awards of the laſt judgment---and that the righteous, or believers in Chriſt, will not then be judged, having previouſly judged themſelves †---"But the reſt of mankind," ſay they, "will be the ſubjects of this judgment, when our Saviour *ſhall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the goſpel; and they ſhall then be puniſhed with everlaſting deſtruction from the preſence of the Lord and the glory of his power*." Their inferences from, and expoſition of this paſſage, are peculiar, and will ſerve to give the reader an idea of their manner of explaining other parallel paſſages of Scripture. From this awful revelation of the Saviour, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the goſpel, they infer this conſequence, they ſhall then be made to know God, and obey the goſpel.---The everlaſting deſtruction, from the preſence of the Lord and the glory of his

* The reader will doubtleſs notice that the plural pronoun *them*, is ſeveral times uſed to expreſs the ſingular noun *human nature, and Prince of this world*, as the *human nature*, &c. ſhall be brought into the kingdom prepared for *them*; the other *nature* will be ſent into the fire preprared for *them*—the *Prince of this world* ſhall be caſt out, and judgment be executed on *them*. This is a phraſeology apparently peculiar to the denomination.

† In the following paſſage, the contrary ſeems to be aſſerted. Speaking of the laſt judgement it is ſaid, "Here, inſtead of head and members being judged together, by the *head, Chriſt*, the *divine nature*, the members are conſidered in their diſtinct characters, as *good* and evil, or *believer* and unbeliever, as *children of light*, and children of darkneſs—and *judged* by their own head."

power, with which they *ſhall* be puniſhed, they ſuppoſe is ſuffered by unbelievers, in conſequence of the *revelation* of the everlaſting deſtruction, *previous* to this awful period---and that they will ſuffer no puniſhment *after* it---for "it is not ſaid," they ſay, "that they ſhall be *everlaſtingly* puniſhed with deſtruction." They explain their idea of *everlaſting puniſhment* and *ſuffering the* pain of eternal fire, thus, "Were it *poſſible* to find a culinary fire that never would be extinguiſhed, but remain in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, *everlaſting* or *eternal*---ſhould any member of the body paſs through that burning flame, though but a *moment of time* had been thus ſpent in paſſing through; yet even in that *moment*, it would ſuffer the pain of *eternal fire*." But whether they believe it *poſſible* that there ſhould be ſuch a fire, or that unbelievers ſhall be doomed to ſuffer the *puniſhment of eternal fire* by thus paſſing through it, I do not find expreſsly aſſerted, but it is highly probable that they do.

They do not ſuppoſe that "all mankind will be on a level in the article of death, but that they who die in unbelief, will *lie down in ſorrow*, and riſe to the reſurrection of damnation, or condemnation; and when the books ſhall be opened, and the dead, both ſmall and great, ſhall be judged out of the things written in the books---every mouth ſhall be ſtopped, and all the world become guilty before God; and while conſcious of guilt, but *ignorant* of a Saviour---they ſhall call on the rocks and mountains to fall on them to hide them from the wrath of the Lamb---But that in *this judgment* the *judge* is the *Saviour*---they will be judged by *their own head*;" and as the head of every man is Chriſt ---all of courſe muſt be acquitted and ſaved.

Although they believe that the Devil is the *doer* or *worker* of every thing that gives offence; yet they aſſert that "*all men* at *all times* are ſinners, and come ſhort of the glory of God"---but they believe that what Chriſt ſuffered, "was conſidered by the *Great Lawgiver*, as done and ſuffered by every man in his own perſon; and that every man is as much intereſted in what Chriſt, the ſecond Adam did, as they were in what the firſt Adam did"---This idea appears to be incongruous with any future judgment of any kind, The *Conſiſtent Univerſaliſt*, therefore "does not conſider himſelf under the law any more than a woman conſiders herſelf under the direction or dominion of a huſband that is dead and buried---nor is he afraid of death, being aſſured that Jeſus hath aboliſhed death, and left nothing of it but the *ſhadow*."

The Univerſaliſts of this denomination, in common with other Chriſtians, profeſs themſelves to be the advocates of *piety*, *religion*, and *morality*.—They aſſert the duty of doing right as men—as members of civil

ſociety

ſociety—and as Chriſtians. As *mere* men," they hold, that "they muſt *follow nature*, or they will ſink beneath the level of the beaſts of the field,"—and yet they aſſert that "*all the righteouſneſs* found in the *beſt* of *mere human nature* is but a *filthy rag*"—That as members of civil ſociety they muſt ſubmit to the laws, or if thought too ſevere, they may avoid them by a removal from the ſtate."—That as Chriſtians they muſt be under the direction of Chriſt, and *do whatſoever he commands them*; and theſe are his commandments, "*that we believe in him, and love one another.*"

This denomination of Univerſaliſts, are not very numerous in the United States, ſome are in Pennſylvania—ſome in different parts of New York, Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, and New Hampſhire; but the body of them are in Boſton, and Glouceſter, in Maſſachuſetts. They have ſeveral conſtituted churches, which are governed by an eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, formed in 1789, by a convention of their miniſters at Philadelphia.

SHAKERS.

This is a ſmall and ſingular ſect of Chriſtians, which have ſprung up in America as lately as 1774; when a few of this ſect went from England to New York, and there being joined by a few others, they ſettled at Niſqueunia, above Albany, which is their principal ſettlement: a few others are ſcattered in different parts of the country.

The head of this party, while ſhe lived,* was Anna Leeſe, ſtyled the Elect Lady. Her followers aſſerted, that ſhe was the woman ſpoken of in the twelfth chapter of the Revelations, and that ſhe ſpoke ſeventy-two tongues: and although theſe tongues were unintelligible to the living, ſhe converſed with the dead who underſtood her language. They alledged alſo that ſhe was the mother of all the *Elect*; that ſhe travailed for the whole world—that no bleſſing could deſcend to any perſon but only by and through her, and that in the way of her being poſſeſſed of their ſins, by their confeſſing and repenting of them, one by one, according to her direction.

Their leading doctrinal tenets, as given by one of their own denomination, are, "That the firſt reſurrection is already come, and now is the time to judge themſelves. That they have power to heal the ſick, to raiſe the dead, and caſt out devils. That they have a correſpondence

* This woman aſſerted, that ſhe ſhould never die; but notwithſtanding her predictions and aſſertions to the contrary, ſhe died in 1784; and was ſucceeded by one James Whitaker, who alſo died in 1787. Joſeph Meacham, who has attained the reputation of a prophet among them, is at preſent their leader.

with

with angels, the ſpirits of the ſaints and their departed friends. That they ſpeak with divers kind of tongues in their public aſſemblies. That it is lawful to practiſe *vocal muſic* with *dancing* in the Chriſtian churches, if it be practiſed in praiſing the Lord. That their church is come out of the order of natural generation, to be as Chriſt was; and that thoſe who have wives are as though they had none. That by theſe means heaven begins upon earth, and they thereby loſe their earthly and ſenſual relation to Adam the firſt, and come to be tranſparent in their ideas, in the bright and heavenly viſions of God. That ſome of their people are of the number of the hundred and forty-four thouſand, who were redeemed from the earth, and were not defiled with women. That the word everlaſting, when applied to the puniſhment of the wicked, means only a *limited* period, *except in the caſe of thoſe who fall from their church*; and that for ſuch there is no forgiveneſs, neither in this world nor that which is to come. That it is unlawful to ſwear, game, or uſe compliments—and that water baptiſm and the Lord's Supper are aboliſhed. That Adam's ſin is not imputed to his poſterity—and that the doctrines of election and reprobation are to be rejected."

The diſcipline of this denomination is founded on the ſuppoſed perfection of their leaders. The Mother, or the Elect Lady, it is ſaid, obeys God through Chriſt. *European* elders obey her. *American* labourers, and common people obey them: while confeſſion is made of every ſecret thing, from the oldeſt to the youngeſt. The people are made to believe that they are ſeen through and through in the goſpel glaſs of perfection, by their teachers, who behold the ſtate of the dead, and innumerable worlds of ſpirits good and bad.

Theſe people are generally inſtructed to be very induſtrious, and *to bring in according to their ability*, to keep up the meeting. They vary in their exerciſes. Their heavy dancing, as it is called, is performed by a perpetual ſpringing from the houſe floor, about four inches up and down, both in the mens and womens apartment, moving about with extraordinary tranſport, ſinging ſometimes one at a time, ſometimes more.

This elevation affects the nerves, ſo that they have intervals of *ſhuddering*, as if they were in a ſtrong fit of the ague, they ſometimes clap hands and leap ſo as to ſtrike the joiſts above their heads. They throw off their outſide garments in theſe exerciſes, and ſpend their ſtrength very cheerfully this way. Their chief ſpeaker often calls for attention; when they all ſtop and hear ſome harangue, and then fall to dancing again. They aſſert that their dancing is the token of the great joy and happineſs of the new *Jeruſalem ſtate*, and denotes the victory over

ſin. One of the poſtures which *increaſes* among them, is turning round very ſwift for an hour or two. This, they ſay, is to ſhow the great power of God.

They ſometimes fall on their knees and make a ſound like the roaring of many waters, in groans and cries to God, as they ſay, for the wicked world who perſecute them. *

JEWS.

The Jews are not numerous in the United States. They have, however, ſynagogues at Savannah, Charleſton, (South Carolina) Philadelphia, New York, and Newport. Beſides thoſe who reſide at theſe places, there are others ſcattered in different towns in the United States.

The Jews in Charleſton, among other peculiarities in burying their dead, have theſe: After the funeral dirge is ſung, and juſt before the corpſe is depoſited in the grave, the coffin is opened, and a ſmall bag of earth, taken from the grave, is carefully put under the head of the deceaſed; then ſome powder, ſaid to be earth brought from Jeruſalem, and carefully kept for this purpoſe, is taken and put upon the eyes of the corpſe, in token of their remembrance of the holy land, and of their expectations of returning thither in God's appointed time.

The articles of their faith are well known, and therefore need no deſcription. They generally expect a glorious return to the Holy Land, when they ſhall be exalted above all the nations of the earth. And they flatter themſelves that the period of their return will ſpeedily arrive, though they do not venture to fix the preciſe time.

The whole number of perſons who profeſs the Jewiſh religion, in all parts of the world, is ſuppoſed to be about three millions, who, *at their phraſe is*, are witneſſes of the unity of *God* in all the nations in the world.

Beſides the religious ſects here enumerated, there are a few of the German inhabitants in Pennſylvania, who are ſtyled SWINSEILDIANS, and, in Maryland, a ſmall number called NICOLITES or NEW QUAKERS; but the diſtinguiſhing ſentiments of theſe ſects are not material, conſiſting chiefly of a few peculiarities.

* H. Adams's "View of Religions." Article *Shakers*.

HISTORY

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE

INDEPENDENCE

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

IN addition to what we have already written of the diſcovery and ſettlement of North America, we ſhall give a brief hiſtory of the late war with Great Britain, with a ſketch of the events which preceded and prepared the way for the revolution. This general view of the hiſtory of the United States will ſerve as a ſuitable introduction to the particular hiſtories of the ſeveral ſtates, which will be given in their proper places.

America was originally peopled by uncivilized nations, which lived moſtly by hunting and fiſhing. The Europeans, who firſt viſited theſe ſhores, treating the natives as wild beaſts of the foreſt, which have no property in the woods where they roam, planted the ſtandard of their reſpective maſters where they firſt landed, and in their names claimed the country by *right of diſcovery*.

Henry the Seventh of England granted to John Cabot and his three ſons a commiſſion, "to navigate all parts of the ocean for the purpoſe of diſcovering iſlands, countries, regions, or provinces, either of Gentiles or Infidels, which have been hitherto unknown to all Chriſtian people, with power to ſet up his ſtandard, and to take poſſeſſion of the ſame as vaſſals of the crown of England." By virtue of this commiſſion, in 1498,

Sebaſtian Cabot explored and took poſſeſſion of a great part of the North American continent, in the name and on behalf of the king of England.

The country thus diſcovered by Cabot, was poſſeſſed by numerous tribes or nations of people. As theſe had been till then unknown to all other princes or ſtates, they could not poſſibly have owed their allegiance or ſubjection to any foreign power on earth; they muſt have therefore been independent communities, and as ſuch, capable of acquiring territorial property, in the ſame manner as other nations. Of the various principles on which a right to ſoil has been founded, there is none ſuperior to immemorial occupancy. From what time the Aborigines of America had reſided therein, or from what place they migrated thither, were queſtions of doubtful ſolution, but it was certain that they had long been ſole occupants of the country. In this ſtate no European prince could derive a title to the ſoil from diſcovery, becauſe that can give a right only to lands and things which either have never been owned or poſſeſſed, or which, after being owned or poſſeſſed, have been voluntarily deſerted. The right of the Indian nations to the ſoil in their poſſeſſion was founded in nature. It was the free and liberal gift of heaven to them, and ſuch as no foreigner could rightfully annul. The blinded ſuperſtition of the times regarded the Deity as the partial God of Chriſtians, and not as the common father of ſaints and ſavages. The pervading influence of philoſophy, reaſon, and truth, has, ſince that period, given us better notions of the rights of mankind, and of the obligations of morality. Theſe unqueſtionably are not confined to particular modes of faith, but extend univerſally to Jews and Gentiles, to Chriſtians and Infidels.

Unfounded, however, as the claims of European Sovereigns to American territories were, they ſeverally proceeded to act upon them. By tacit conſent they adopted as a new law of nations, that the countries which each explored ſhould be the abſolute property of the diſcoverer. While they thus ſported with the rights of unoffending nations, they could not agree in their reſpective ſhares of the common ſpoil. The Portugueſe and Spaniards, inflamed by the ſame ſpirit of national aggrandizement, contended for the excluſive ſovereignty of what Columbus had explored. Animated by the rancour of commercial jealouſy, the Dutch and Portugueſe fought for the Brazils. Contrary to her genuine intereſts, England commenced a war in order that her contraband traders on the Mexican coaſt, claimed by the king of Spain, might no longer be ſearched. No farther back than the middle of the preſent

preſent century, a conteſt concerning boundaries of American territory belonging to neither, occaſioned a long and bloody war between France and England.

Though Queen Elizabeth and James the Firſt denied the authority of the Pope of Rome to give away the country of infidels, yet they ſo far adopted the fanciful diſtinction between the rights of Heathens and the rights of Chriſtians, as to make it the foundation of their reſpective grants. They freely gave away what did not belong to them with no other proviſo, than that "the territories and diſtricts ſo granted, be not previouſly occupied and poſſeſſed by the ſubjects of any other Chriſtian prince or ſtate." The firſt Engliſh patent which was given for the purpoſe of colonizing the country diſcovered by the Cabots, was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Humphry Gilbert, in 1578, but this proved abortive. In 1584, ſhe licenced Walter Raleigh, "to ſearch for Heathen lands not inhabited by Chriſtian people," and granted to him in fee all the ſoil "within two hundred leagues of the places where his people ſhould make their dwellings and abidings." Under his auſpices an inconſiderable colony took poſſeſſion of a part of the American coaſt, which now forms North-Carolina. In honour of the Virgin Queen his ſovereign, he gave to the whole country the name of Virginia. Theſe firſt ſettlers, and ſeveral others who followed them, were either deſtroyed by the natives, removed by ſucceeding navigators, or died without leaving any behind to tell their melancholy ſtory, for they were never more heard of. No permanent ſettlement was effected till the reign of James the Firſt.

In the courſe of little more than a century, was the Engliſh North-American continent peopled and parcelled out into diſtinct governments. Little did the wiſdom of the two preceding centuries foreſee the conſequences both good and evil, that were to reſult to the old world from diſcovering and colonizing the new. When we conſider the immenſe floods of gold and ſilver which have flowed from it into Europe, the ſubſequent increaſe of induſtry and population, the prodigious extenſion of commerce, manufactures, and navigation, and the influence of the whole on manners and arts, we ſee ſuch an accumulation of good, as leads us to rank Columbus among the greateſt benefactors of the human race: but when we view the injuſtice done the natives, the extirpation of many of their numerous nations, whoſe names are no more heard;—The havoc made among the firſt ſettlers;—The ſlavery of the Africans, to which America has furniſhed the temptation; and the many long and bloody wars which it has occaſioned, we behold ſuch a crowd of

of woes, as excites an apprehenſion, that the evil has outweighed the good.

In vain do we look among ancient nations for examples of colonies eſtabliſhed on principles of policy, ſimilar to thoſe of the colonies of Great-Britain. England did not, like the republics of Greece, oblige her ſons to form diſtant communities in the wiles of the earth. Like Rome ſhe did not give lands as a gratuity to ſoldiers, who became a military force for the defence of her frontiers. She did not, like Carthage, ſubdue the neighbouring ſtates, in order to acquire an excluſive right to their commerce. No conqueſt was ever attempted over the Aborigines of America. Their right to the ſoil was diſregarded, and their country looked upon as waſte, which was open to the occupancy and uſe of other nations. It was conſidered that ſettlements might be there formed for the advantage of thoſe who ſhould migrate thither, as well as of the Mother Country. The rights and intereſts of the native proprietors were, all this time, deemed of no account.

What was the extent of obligations by which colonies planted under theſe circumſtances were bound to the Mother Country, is a ſubject of nice diſcuſſion. Whether theſe aroſe from nature and the conſtitution, or from compact, is a queſtion neceſſarily connected with many others. While the friends of Union contended that the king of England had a property in the ſoil of America, by virtue of a right derived from prior diſcovery: and that his ſubjects, by migrating from one part of his dominions to another, did not leſſen their obligations to obey the ſupreme power of the nation, it was inferred, that the emigrants to Engliſh America continued to owe the ſame obedience to the king and parliament, as if they had never quitted the land of their nativity. But if as others contended, the Indians were the only lawful proprietors of the country in which their Creator had placed them, and they ſold their right to emigrants who, as men, had a right to leave their native country, and as ſubjects, had obtained chartered permiſſion to do ſo, it follows from theſe premiſes, that the obligations of the coloniſts to their parent ſtate muſt have reſulted more from compact, and the proſpect of reciprocal advantage, than from natural obligation. The latter opinions ſeem to have been adopted by ſeveral of the coloniſts, particularly in New-England. Sundry perſons of influence in that country always held, that birth was no neceſſary cauſe of ſubjection, for that the ſubject of any prince or ſtate had a natural right to remove to any other ſtate or quarter of the globe, eſpecially if deprived of liberty of conſcience, and that, upon ſuch removal, his ſubjection ceaſed.

The validity of charters about which the emigrants to America were univerſally anxious, reſts upon the ſame foundation. If the right of the ſovereigns of England to the ſoil of America was ideal, and contrary to natural juſtice, and if no one can give what is not his own, their charters were on ſeveral accounts a nullity. In the eye of reaſon and philoſophy, they could give no right to American territory. The only validity which ſuch grants could have, was, that the grantees had from their ſovereign a permiſſion to depart from their native country, and negociate with the proprietors for the purchaſe of the ſoil, and thereupon to acquire a power of juriſdiction ſubject to his crown. Theſe were the opinions of many of the ſettlers in New-England. They looked upon their charters as a voluntary compact between their ſovereign and themſelves, by which they were bound neither to be ſubject to, nor ſeek protection from any other prince, nor to make any laws repugnant to thoſe of England: but did not conſider them as inferring an obligation of obedience to a parliament, in which they were unrepreſented. The proſpects of advantage which the emigrants to America expected from the protection of their native ſovereign, and the proſpect of aggrandiſement which their native ſovereign expected from the extenſion of his empire, made the former very ſolicitous for charters, and the latter very ready to grant them. Neither reaſoned clearly on their nature, nor well underſtood their extent. In leſs than eight years one thouſand five hundred miles of the ſea coaſt were granted away, and ſo little did they who gave, or they who accepted of charters, underſtand their own tranſactions, that in ſeveral caſes the ſame ground was covered by contradictory grants, and with an abſurdity that can only be palliated by the ignorance of the parties, ſome of the grants exended to the South Sea, over a country whoſe breadth is yet unknown, and which to this day is unexplored.

Ideal as theſe charters were, they anſwered a temporary purpoſe. The Coloniſts repoſed confidence in them, and were excited to induſtry on their credit. They alſo deterred European powers from diſturbing them, becauſe, agreeable to the late law of nations, relative to the appropriation of newly diſcovered Heathen countries, they inferred the protection of the ſovereign who gave them. They alſo oppoſed a barrier to open and groſs encroachments of the mother country on the rights of the coloniſts; a particular detail of theſe is not now neceſſary. Some general remarks may, nevertheleſs, be made on the early periods of colonial hiſtory, as they caſt light on the late revolution. Long before the declaration of independence, ſeveral of the colonies on different occaſions declared, that they ought not to be taxed but by their own provincial aſſemblies, and that they conſidered ſubjection to acts of a Britiſh Parliament,

liament, in which they had no repreſentation, as a grievance. It is alſo worthy of being noted, that of the thirteen colonies, formed into ſtates at the end of the war, no one (Georgia excepted) was ſettled at the expence of government. Towards the ſettlement of that ſouthern frontier, conſiderable ſums had at different times been granted by parliament, but the twelve more northern provinces had been wholly ſettled by private adventurers, without any advances from the national treaſury. It does not appear, from exiſting records, that any compenſation for their lands was ever made to the Aborigines of America by the crown or parliament of England; but policy, as well as juſtice, led the coloniſts to purchaſe and pay for what they occupied. This was done in almoſt every ſettlement, and they proſpered moſt, who by juſtice and kindneſs took the greateſt pains to conciliate the good-will of the natives.

It is in vain to look for well-balanced conſtitutions in the early periods of colonial hiſtory. Till the revolution in the year 1688, a period ſubſequent to the ſettlement of the colonies, England herſelf can ſcarcely be ſaid to have had a fixed conſtitution. At that eventful æra the line was firſt drawn between the privileges of ſubjects, and the prerogatives of ſovereigns. The legal and conſtitutional hiſtory of the colonies, in their early periods, therefore, affords but little inſtruction. It is ſufficient in general to obſerve, that in leſs than eighty years from the firſt permament Engliſh ſettlement in North America; the two original patents granted to the Plymouth and London Companies were divided, and ſubdivided, into twelve diſtinct and unconnected provinces, and in fifty years more a thirteenth, by the name of Georgia, was added to the ſouthern extreme of previous eſtabliſhments.

To each of theſe, after various changes, there was ultimately granted a form of government reſembling, in its moſt eſſential parts, as far as local circumſtances would permit, that which was eſtabliſhed in the parent ſtate. A minute deſcription of conſtitutions, which no longer exiſt, would be both tedious and unprofitable. In general, it may be obſerved, that agreeably to the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, ample proviſion was made for the liberties of the inhabitants. The prerogatives of royalty and dependence on the mother country, were but feebly impreſſed on the colonial forms of government. In ſome of the provinces the inhabitants choſe their governors, and all other public officers, and their legiſlatures were under little or no controul. In others, the crown delegated moſt of its power to particular perſons, who were alſo inveſted with the property of the ſoil. In thoſe which were moſt immediately dependent on the king, he exerciſed no higher prerogatives over the coloniſts

coloniſts than over their fellow ſubjects in England, and his power over the provincial legiſlative aſſemblies was not greater than what he was conſtitutionally veſted with, over the Houſe of Commons in the mother country. From the acquieſcence of the parent ſtate, the ſpirit of her conſtitution, and daily experience, the coloniſts grew up in a belief, that their local aſſemblies ſtood in the ſame relation to them, as the parliament of Great Britain to the inhabitants of that iſland. The benefits of legiſlation were conferred on both, only through theſe conſtitutional channels.

It is remarkable, that though the Engliſh poſſeſſions in America were far inferior in natural riches to thoſe which fell to the lot of other Europeans, yet the ſecurity of property and of liberty, derived from the Engliſh conſtitution, gave them a conſequence to which the colonies of other powers, though ſettled at an earlier day, have not yet attained. The wiſe and liberal policy of England towards her colonies, during the firſt century and half, after their ſettlement, had a conſiderable influence in exalting them to this pre-eminence. She gave them full liberty to govern themſelves by ſuch laws as the local legiſlatures thought neceſſary, and left their trade open to every individual in her dominions. She alſo gave them the ampleſt permiſſion to purſue their reſpective intereſts in ſuch manner as they thought proper, and reſerved little for herſelf, but the benefit of their trade, and that of a political union under the ſame head. The colonies, founded by other powers, experienced no ſuch indulgencies. Portugal and Spain burdened theirs with many vexatious regulations, gave encouragement only to what was for their own intereſt, and puniſhed whatever had a contrary tendency. France and Holland did not adopt ſuch oppreſſive maxims, but were, in fact, not much leſs rigorous and coercive. They parted, as it were, with the propriety of their colonies to mercantile aſſociations, which ſold to the coloniſts the commodities of Europe, at an enormous advance, and took the produce of their lands at a low price, and, at the ſame time, diſcouraged the growth of any more than they could diſpoſe of, at exceſſive profits. Theſe oppreſſive regulations were followed with their natural conſequence: the ſettlements thus reſtricted advanced but ſlowly in population and in wealth.

The Engliſh Colonies participated in that excellent form of government with which their parent iſle was bleſſed, and which has raiſed it to an admirable height of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. After many ſtruggles, it had been acknowledged to be eſſential to the conſtitution of Great Britain, that the people could not be compelled to pay any taxes, nor be bound by any laws, but ſuch as had been granted or

enacted with the conſent of themſelves, or of their repreſentatives. It was alſo one of their privileges, that they could not be affected either in their property, their liberties, or their perſons, but by the unanimous conſent of twelve of their peers.

From the operation of theſe general principles of liberty, and the wiſe policy of Great Britain, her American ſettlements increaſed in number, wealth and reſources, with a rapidity which ſurpaſſed all previous calculations. Neither ancient nor modern hiſtory can produce an example of Colonies governed with equal wiſdom, or flouriſhing with equal rapidity. In the ſhort ſpace of one hundred and fifty years their numbers increaſed to three millions, and their commerce to ſuch a degree, as to be more than a third of that of Great Britain. They alſo extended their ſettlements fifteen hundred miles on the ſea coaſt, and three hundred to the weſtward. Their rapid population, though partly accelerated by the influx of ſtrangers, was principally owing to internal cauſes. In conſequence of the equality of fortune and ſimplicity of manners, which prevailed among them, their inhabitants multiplied far beyond the proportion of old nations, corrupted and weakened by the vices of wealth, and above all, of vanity, than which, perhaps, there is no greater enemy to the increaſe of the human ſpecies.

The good effects of a wiſe policy and equal government were not only diſcernible in raiſing the Colonies of England to a pre-eminence over thoſe of other European powers, but in raiſing ſome among themſelves to greater importance than others. Their relative population and wealth were by no means correſpondent to their reſpective advantages of ſoil and climate. From the common diſproportion between the natural and artificial wealth of different countries, it ſeems to be a general rule, that the more nature does for any body of men, the leſs they are diſpoſed to do for themſelves.

The New-England provinces, though poſſeſſed of comparatively a barren country, were improved much faſter than others, which were bleſſed with a ſuperior ſoil and milder climate. Their firſt ſettlers were animated with a high degree of that religious fervor which excites to great undertakings: they alſo ſettled their vacant lands on principles of the wiſeſt policy. Inſtead of granting large tracts to individuals, they ſold the ſoil in ſmall farms, to thoſe who perſonally cultivated the ſame. Inſtead of diſſeminating their inhabitants over an extenſive country, they formed ſucceſſive ſettlements, in townſhips of ſix miles ſquare. They alſo made ſuch arrangements, in theſe townſhips, as co-extended the bleſſings of education and of religious inſtruction with their ſettlements.

By

By theſe means induſtry and morality were propagated, and knowledge was generally diffuſed.

In proportion to their reſpective members, it is probable that no other country in the world contained more ſober orderly citizens, and fewer who were profligate and abandoned. Thoſe high crimes which are uſually puniſhed with death, were ſo rare in New-England, that many years have elapſed, in large populous ſettlements, without a ſingle execution. Their leſs fertile ſoil diſpoſed them to a ſpirit of adventure, and their victorious induſtry roſe ſuperior to every obſtacle. In carrying on the whale fiſhery, they not only penetrated the deepeſt frozen receſſes of Hudſon's Bay, and Davis' Straits; but pierced into the oppoſite regions of polar cold. While ſome of them were ſtriking the harpoon on the coaſt of Africa, others purſued their gigantic game near the ſhores of Braſil. While they were yet in their infancy as a political ſociety, they carried on this perilous buſineſs to an extent exceeding all that the perſeverance of Holland, the activity of France, or the vigour of Engliſh enterprize, had ever accompliſhed. A ſpirit of liberty prompted their induſtry, and a free conſtitution guarded their civil rights. The country was ſettled with yeomanry, who were both proprietors, and cultivators, of the ſoil. Luxury was eſtranged from their borders. Enervating wealth and pinching poverty were both equally rare. Early marriages, and a numerous offspring, were common---thence population was rapid, and the inhabitants generally poſſeſſed that happy ſtate of mediocrity, which favours the improvment both of mind and body.

New-York joined New-England, but did not increaſe with equal rapidity. A few, by monopolizing large tracts of lands, reduced many to the neceſſity of being tenants, or of removing to other provinces, where land could be obtained on more favourable terms. The increaſe of population, in this province, was nevertheleſs great, when compared with that of old countries. This appears from the following ſtatement of their numbers at different periods. In 1756, the province of New-York contained eighty-three thouſand two hundred and thirty-three whites, and in 1771, one hundred and forty-eight thouſand one hundred and twenty-four, an increaſe of nearly two for one, in the ſpace of fifteen years.

Pennſylvania was at firſt ſettled under the auſpices of the celebrated William Penn, who introduced a number of induſtrious inhabitants, chiefly of the ſect of Quakers. The population of this country advanced equally with that of the New-England provinces. Among the inducements operating on foreigners to ſettle in Pennſylvania was a moſt excellent form of provincial government, which ſecured the religious as

well as the civil rights of its inhabitants. While the Mother Country laboured under an oppreſſive eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and while partialities of the ſame kind were ſanctioned by law, in ſome of the American provinces, perfect liberty of conſcience, and an exact equality of all ſects was, in every period, a part of the conſtitution of Pennſylvania.

Quaker ſimplicity, induſtry, and frugality, contributed, in like manner, to the flouriſhing of that province. The habits of that plain people correſpond, admirably, with a new country, and with republican conſtitutions. Oppoſed to idleneſs and extravagance, they combined the whole force of religion, with cuſtoms and laws, to exile theſe vices from their ſociety. The firſt quaker ſettlers were ſoon followed by Germans, whoſe induſtry was not inferior to their own. The emigrants from other countries who ſettled in Pennſylvania, followed theſe good examples, and induſtry and frugality became predominant virtues over the whole province.

The policy of a Loan-Office was alſo eminently beneficial. The proprietaries of Pennſylvania ſold their lands in ſmall tracts, and on long credit. The purchaſers were indulged with the liberty of borrowing, on intereſt, paper bills of credit, out of the Loan-Office, on the mortgage of their lands. Perhaps there never was an inſtitution which contributed more to the happineſs of the people, or to the flouriſhing of a new country, than this land Loan-Office ſcheme. The province being enriched by the clear intereſt of its loaned paper, was thereby enabled to defray the expences of government with moderate taxes. The induſtrious farmer was furniſhed with the means of cultivating and ſtocking his farm. Theſe improvements, by increaſing the value of the land, not only eſtabliſhed the credit of the paper, but enabled the borrower, in a few years, to pay off the original loan with the productions of the ſoil. The progreſſive improvement of Pennſylvania may be eſtimated from the increaſe of its trade. In the year 1704, that province imported goods from the Mother Country, amounting in value only to eleven thouſand four hundred and ninety-nine pounds ſterling, but in 1772, to the value of five hundred and ſeven thouſand nine hundred and nine pounds, an increaſe of nearly fifty for one, in little more than half a century.

In Maryland and Virginia, a policy leſs favourable to population, and ſomewhat different from that of Pennſylvania, took place. The church of England was incorporated with the firſt ſettlement of Virginia, and in the lapſe of time, it alſo became the eſtabliſhed religion of Maryland. In both theſe provinces, long before the American revolution, that church poſſeſſed a legal pre-eminence, and was maintained at the expence, not only of its own members, but of all other denominations.

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This deterred great numbers, eſpecially of the Preſbyterian denomination, who had emigrated from Ireland, from ſettling within the limits of theſe governments, and fomented a ſpirit of diſcord between thoſe who belonged to, and thoſe who diſſented from, the eſtabliſhed church.

The firſt emigrants from England for coloniſing America, left the Mother Country at a time when the dread of arbitrary power was the predominant paſſion of the nation. Except the very modern charter of Georgia, in the year 1732, all the Engliſh Colonies obtained their charters and their greateſt number of European ſettlers, between the years 1603 and 1688. In this period a remarkable ſtruggle between prerogative and privilege commenced, and was carried on till it terminated in a revolution highly favourable to the liberties of the people. In the year 1621, when the Engliſh Houſe of Commons claimed freedom of ſpeech, "as their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors;" King James the Firſt replied, "that he could not allow of their ſtyle, in mentioning their ancient and undoubted rights, but would rather have wiſhed they had ſaid, that their privileges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of their ſovereign." This was the opening of a diſpute which occupied the tongues, pens, and ſwords, of the moſt active men in the nation, for a period of ſeventy years. It is remarkable that the ſame period is exactly co-incident with the ſettlement of the Engliſh Colonies. James, educated in the arbitrary ſentiments of the divine right of Kings, conceived his ſubjects to be his property, and that their privileges were matters of grace and favour flowing from his generoſity. This high claim of prerogative excited oppoſition in ſupport of the rights of the people. In the progreſs of the diſpute, Charles the Firſt, ſon of King James, in attempting to levy ſhip-money, and other revenues without conſent of Parliament, involved himſelf in a war with his ſubjects, in which, after various conflicts, he was brought to the block and ſuffered death as an enemy to the conſtitution of his country. Though the monarchy was reſtored under Charles the Second, and tranſmitted to James the Second, yet the ſame arbitrary maxims being purſued, the nation, tenacious of its rights, invited the Prince of Orange to the ſovereignty of the iſland, and expelled the reigning family from the throne. While theſe ſpirited exertions were made, in ſupport of the liberties of the parent iſle, the Engliſh Colonies, were ſettled, and chiefly with inhabitants of that claſs of people, which was moſt hoſtile to the claims of prerogative. Every tranſaction in that period of Engliſh hiſtory, ſupported the poſition that the people have a right to reſiſt their ſovereign, when

when he invades their liberties, and to transfer the crown from one to another, when the good of the community requires it.

The Engliſh Coloniſts were from their firſt ſettlement in America, devoted to liberty, on Engliſh ideas, and Engliſh principles. They not only conceived themſelves to inherit the privileges of Engliſhmen, but though in a colonial ſituation, actually poſſeſſed them.

After a long war between King and Parliament, and a Revolution—theſe privileges were ſettled on the following fundamental principles: "That it was the undoubted right of Engliſh ſubjects, being freemen or freeholders, to give their property, only by their own conſent. That the Houſe of Commons exerciſed the ſole right of granting the money of the people of England, becauſe that Houſe alone, repreſented them. That taxes were the free gifts of the people to their rulers. That the authority of ſovereigns was to be exerciſed only for the good of their ſubjects. That it was the right of the people to meet together, and peaceably to conſider of their grievances—to petition for a redreſs of them, and finally, when intolerable grievances were unredreſſed, to ſeek relief, on the failure of petitions and remonſtrances, by forcible means."

Opinions of this kind generally prevailing, produced, among the Coloniſts, a more determined ſpirit of oppoſition to all encroachments on their rights, than would probably have taken place, had they emigrated from the Mother Country in the preceding century, when the doctrines of paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, and the divine right of kings, were generally received.

That attachment to their ſovereign, which was diminiſhed in the firſt emigrants to America, by being removed to a great diſtance from his influence, was ſtill farther diminiſhed in their deſcendants. When the American revolution commenced, the inhabitants of the Colonies were for the moſt part, the third and fourth, and ſometimes the fifth or ſixth generation, from the original emigrants. In the ſame degree as they were removed from the parent ſtock, they were weaned from that partial attachment, which bound their forefathers to the place of their nativity. The affection for the Mother Country, as far as it was a natural paſſion, wore away in ſucceſſive generations, till at laſt it had ſcarcely any exiſtence.

The mercantile intercourſe, which connects different countries, was, in the early periods of the Engliſh Colonies, far ſhort of that degree, which is neceſſary to perpetuate a friendly union. Had the firſt great colonial eſtabliſhments been made in the Southern Provinces, where the ſuitableneſs of native commodities would have maintained a briſk and direct trade with England---the conſtant exchange of good offices between

tween the two countries would have been more likely to perpetuate their friendſhip. But as the Eaſtern Provinces were the firſt, which were thickly ſettled, and they did not for a long time cultivate an extenſive trade with England, their deſcendants ſpeedily loſt the fond attachment, which their forefathers felt to their Parent State. The bulk of the people in New-England knew little of the Mother Country, having only heard of her as a diſtant kingdom, the rulers of which had, in the preceding century, perſecuted and baniſhed their anceſtors to the woods of America.

The diſtance of America from Great-Britain generated ideas in the minds of the Coloniſts favourable to liberty. Three thouſand miles of ocean ſeparated them from the Mother Country. Seas rolled, and months paſſed, between orders and their execution. In large governments the circulation of power is enfeebled at the extremities. This reſults from the nature of things, and is the eternal law of extenſive or detached empire. Coloniſts, growing up to maturity, at ſuch an immenſe diſtance from the ſeat of government, perceived the obligation of dependence much more feebly, than the inhabitants of the parent iſle, who not only ſaw, but daily felt, the fangs of power. The wide extent and nature of the country contributed to the ſame effect. The natural ſeat of freedom is among high mountains and pathleſs deſerts, ſuch as abound in the wilds of America.

The religion of the Coloniſts alſo nurtured a love for liberty. They were chiefly Proteſtants, and all Proteſtantiſm is founded on a ſtrong claim to natural liberty, and the right of private judgment. A majority of them were of that claſs of men, who, in England, are called Diſſenters. Their tenets being the Proteſtantiſm of the Proteſtant religion, are hoſtile to all interference of authority in matters of opinion, and prediſpoſe to a jealouſy for civil liberty. They who belonged to the Church of England were for the moſt part independents, as far as church government and hierarchy were concerned. They uſed the liturgy of that church, but were without biſhops, and were ſtrangers to thoſe ſyſtems, which make religion an engine of ſtate. That policy, which unites the loweſt curate with the greateſt metropolitan, and connects both with the ſovereign, was unknown among the Coloniſts. Their religion was their own, and neither impoſed by authority, nor made ſubſervient to political purpoſes. Though there was a variety of ſects, they all agreed in the communion of liberty, and all reprobated the courtly doctrines of paſſive obedience, and non-reſiſtance. The ſame diſpoſitions were foſtered by the uſual modes of education in the Colonies. The ſtudy of law was common and faſhionable, The infinity of diſputes, in

a new and free country, made it lucrative, and multiplied its followers. No order of men has, in all ages, been more favourable to liberty, than lawyers. Where they are not won over to the ſervice of government, they are formidable adverſaries to it. Profeſſionally taught the rights of human nature, they keenly and quickly perceive every attack made on them. While others judge of bad principles by the actual grievances they occaſion, lawyers diſcover them at a diſtance, and trace future miſchiefs from gilded innovations.

The reading of thoſe Colonies who were inclined to books, generally favoured the cauſe of liberty. Large libraries were uncommon in the New World. Diſquiſitions on abſtruſe ſubjects, and curious reſearches into antiquity, did not accord with the genius of a people, ſettled in an uncultivated country, where every ſurrounding object impelled to action, and little leiſure was left for ſpeculation. Their books were generally ſmall in ſize, and few in number: a great part of them conſiſted of thoſe faſhionable authors, who have defended the cauſe of liberty. Cato's letters, the Independent Whig, and ſuch productions, were common in one extreme of the Colonies, while in the other, hiſtories of the Puritans kept alive the remembrance of the ſufferings of their forefathers, and inſpired a warm attachment, both to the civil and the religious rights of human nature.

In the Southern Colonies, ſlavery nurtured a ſpirit of liberty among the free inhabitants. All maſters of ſlaves who enjoy perſonal liberty will be both proud and jealous of their freedom. It is, in their opinion, not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. In them, the haughtineſs of domination combines with the ſpirit of liberty. Nothing could more effectually animate the oppoſition of a planter to the claims of Great-Britain, than a conviction that thoſe claims in their extent degraded him to a degree of dependence on his fellow ſubjects, equally humiliating with that which exiſted between his ſlaves and himſelf.

The ſtate of ſociety in the Colonies favoured a ſpirit of liberty and independence. Their inhabitants were all of one rank. Kings, nobles, and biſhops, were unknown among them. From their firſt ſettlements, the Engliſh provinces received impreſſions favourable to democratic forms of government. Their dependent ſituation forbad any inordinate ambition, among their native ſons, and the humility of their ſociety, abſtracted as they were from the ſplendour and amuſements of the Old World, held forth few allurements to invite the reſidence of ſuch from the Mother Country as aſpired to hereditary honours. In modern Europe, the remains of the feudal ſyſtem have occaſioned an order of men ſuperior to that of the commonalty, but, as few of that claſs migrated

migrated to the Colonies, they were ſettled with the yeomanry. Their inhabitants, unaccuſtomed to that diſtinction of ranks, which the policy of Europe has eſtabliſhed, were ſtrongly impreſſed with an opinion, that all men are by nature equal. They could not eaſily be perſuaded that their grants of land, or their civil rights, flowed from the munificence of Princes. Many of them had never heard of Magna Charta, and thoſe who knew the circumſtances of the remarkable period of Engliſh hiſtory, when that was obtained, did not reſt their claims to liberty and property on the tranſactions of that important day. They looked up to Heaven as the ſource of their rights, and claimed, not from the promiſes of kings, but from the parent of the univerſe. The political creed of an American Coloniſt was ſhort but ſubſtantial. He believed that God made all mankind originally equal: that he endowed them with the rights of life, property, and as much liberty as was conſiſtent with the rights of others. That he had beſtowed on his vaſt family of the human race, the earth for their ſupport, and that all government was a political inſtitution between men naturally equal, not for the aggrandizement of one, or a few, but for the general happineſs of the whole community. Impreſſed with ſentiments of this kind, they grew up, from their earlieſt infancy, with that confidence which is well calculated to inſpire a love for liberty, and a prepoſſeſſion in favour of independence.

In conſequence of the vaſt extent of vacant country, every Coloniſt was, or eaſily might be, a freeholder. Settled on lands of his own, he was both farmer and landlord---producing all the neceſſaries of life from his own grounds, he felt himſelf both free and independent. Each individual might hunt, fiſh, or fowl, without injury to his neighbours. Theſe immunities which, in old countries, are guarded by the ſanction of penal laws, and monopolized by a few, are the common privileges of all in America. Coloniſts, growing up in the enjoyment of ſuch rights, felt the reſtraint of law more forcibly than they, who are educated in countries, where long habits have made ſubmiſſion familiar. The mind of man naturally reliſhes liberty---wherever from the extent of a new and unſettled country, ſome abridgements thereof are uſeleſs, and others impracticable, this natural deſire of freedom is ſtrengthened, and the independent mind revolts at the idea of ſubjection.

The Coloniſts were alſo preſerved from the contagion of miniſterial influence by their diſtance from the metropolis. Remote from the ſeat of power and corruption, they were not over-awed by the one, nor debauched by the other. Few were the means of detaching individuals from the intereſt of the public. High offices were neither ſufficiently numerous nor lucrative to purchaſe many adherents, and the moſt valu-

able of theſe were conferred on natives of Britain. Every man occupied that rank only, which his own induſtry, or that of his near anceſtors, had procured him. Each individual being cut off from all means of riſing to importance, but by his perſonal talents, was encouraged to make the moſt of thoſe with which he was endowed. Proſpects of this kind excited emulation, and produced an enterpriſing laborious ſet of men, not eaſily overcome by difficulties, and full of projects for bettering their condition.

The enervating opulence of Europe had not yet reached the coloniſts. They were deſtitute of gold and ſilver, but abounded in the riches of nature. A ſameneſs of circumſtances and occupations created a great ſenſe of equality, and diſpoſed them to union in any common cauſe, from the ſucceſs of which, they might expect to partake of equal advantages.

The Colonies were communities of ſeparate independent individuals, under no general influence, but that of their perſonal feelings and opinions. They were not led by powerful families, nor by great officers in church or ſtate. Reſiding chiefly on lands of their own, and employed in the wholeſome labours of the field, they were in a great meaſure ſtrangers to luxury. Their wants were few, and among the great bulk of the people, for the moſt part, ſupplied from their own grounds. Their enjoyments were neither far-fetched, nor dearly purchaſed, and were ſo moderate in their kind, as to leave both mind and body unimpaired. Inured from their early years to the toils of a country life, they dwelled in the midſt of rural plenty. Unacquainted with ideal wants, they delighted in perſonal independence. Removed from the preſſures of indigence, and the indulgence of affluence, their bodies were ſtrong, and their minds vigorous.

The great bulk of the Britiſh coloniſts were farmers, or planters, who were alſo proprietors of the ſoil. The merchants, mechanics, and manufacturers, taken collectively, did not amount to one fifteenth of the whole number of the inhabitants. While the cultivators of the ſoil depend on nothing but Heaven and their own induſtry, other claſſes of men contract more or leſs of ſervility, from depending on the caprice of their cuſtomers. The exceſs of the farmers over the collective numbers of all the other inhabitants, gave a caſt of independence to the manners of the people, and diffuſed the exalting ſentiments, which have always predominated among thoſe who are cultivators of their own grounds: theſe were farther promoted by their moderate circumſtances, which deprived them of all ſuperfluity for idleneſs, or effeminate indulgence.

The

The provincial conſtitutions of the Engliſh colonies nurtured a ſpirit of liberty. The king and government of Great Britain held no patronage in America, which could create a portion of attachment and influence, ſufficient to counteract that ſpirit in popular aſſemblies, which, when left to itſelf, ill brooks any authority that interferes with its own.

The inhabitants of the colonies from the beginning, eſpecially in New England, enjoyed a government which was but little ſhort of being independent. They had not only the image, but the ſubſtance of the Engliſh conſtitution. They choſe moſt of their magiſtrates, and paid them all. They had in effect the ſole direction of their internal government. The chief mark of their ſubordination conſiſted in their making no laws repugnant to the laws of their mother country; in their ſubmitting to have ſuch laws as they made to be repealed by the king; and their obeying ſuch reſtrictions as were laid on their trade by Parliament. The latter were often evaded, and with impunity. The other ſmall checks were ſcarcely felt, and for a long time were in no reſpects injurious to their intereſts.

Under theſe favourable circumſtances, colonies in the new world had advanced nearly to the magnitude of a nation, while the greateſt part of Europe was almoſt wholly ignorant of their progreſs. Some arbitrary proceedings of governors, proprietary partialities, or democratical jealouſies, now and then interrupted the political calm which generally prevailed among them, but theſe and other occaſional impediments of their proſperity, for the moſt part, ſoon ſubſided. The circumſtances of the country afforded but little ſcope for the intrigues of politicians, or the turbulence of demagogues. The coloniſts being but remotely affected by the buſtlings of the old world, and having but few objects of ambition or contention among themſelves, were abſorbed in the ordinary cares of domeſtic life, and for a long time exempted from a great proportion of thoſe evils, which the governed too often experience from the paſſions and follies of ſtateſmen. But all this time they were riſing higher, and though not ſenſible of it, growing to a greater degree of political conſequence.

One of the firſt events which, as an evidence of their increaſing importance, drew on the colonies a ſhare of public attention, was the taking of Louiſbourg, in the year 1745, from France, while that country was at war with Great Britain. This enterpriſe was projected by Governor Shirley, of Maſſachuſetts, and undertaken by the ſole authority of the legiſlature of that colony. It was carried by only a ſingle vote to make the attempt, but after the adoption of the meaſure, there was an immediate union of all parties, and all were equally zealous in carrying it into execution. The expedition was committed to General

Pepperell, and upwards of five thouſand men were ſpeedily raiſed for the ſervice, and put under his command. This force arrived at Canſo on the 4th of April: a Britiſh marine force from the Weſt-Indies, commanded by Commodore Warren, which arrived in the ſame month, acted in concert with theſe land forces. Their combined operations were carried on with ſo much judgment, that on the 17th of June the fortreſs capitulated.

The war in which Louiſbourg was taken, was ſcarcely ended when another began, in which the colonies were diſtinguiſhed parties. The reduction of that fortreſs, by colonial troops, muſt have given both to France and England, enlarged ideas of the value of American territory, and might have given riſe to that eagerneſs for extending the boundaries of their reſpective colonies, which ſoon after, by a colliſion of claims to the ſame ground, laid the foundation of a bloody war between the two nations. It is neither poſſible nor neceſſary to decide on the rights of either to the lands about which this conteſt began. It is certain that the proſpects of convenience and future advantage had much more influence on both, than the conſiderations of equity. As the contending powers conſidered the rights of the native inhabitants of no account, it is not wonderful that they ſhould not agree in ſettling their own. The war was brought on in the following manner: about the the year 1749, a grant of ſix hundred thouſand acres of land in the neighbourhood of the Ohio, was made out in favour of certain perſons in Weſtminſter, London, and Virginia, who had aſſociated under the title of the Ohio Company. At this time France was in poſſeſſion of the country, on both ſides of the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, as well as of Canada, and wiſhed to form a communication between theſe two extremities of her territories in North-America. She was, therefore, alarmed at the ſcheme in agitation by the Ohio Company inaſmuch as the land granted to them lay between her northern and ſouthern ſettlements. Remonſtrances againſt Britiſh encroachments as they were called, having been made in vain by the Governor of Canada, the French, at length, in 1753, ſeized ſome Britiſh ſubjects who were trading among the Twightwees, a nation of Indians near the Ohio, as intruders on the land of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and ſent them to a fort on the ſouth ſide of Lake Erie. The Twightwees, by way of retaliation for capturing Britiſh traders, whom they deemed their allies, ſeized three French traders, and ſent them to Pennſylvania. The French perſiſting in their claims to the country on the Ohio, as part of Canada, ſtrengthened themſelves by erecting new forts in its vicinity, and at length began to ſeize and plunder every Britiſh trader found on any

any part of that river. Repeated complaints of theſe violences being made to the Governor of Virginia, it was at length determined to ſend a ſuitable perſon to the French commandant near the Ohio, to demand the reaſon of his hoſtile proceedings, and to inſiſt on his evacuating a fort he had lately built. Major Waſhington, being then but little more than twenty-one years of age, offered his ſervice, which was thankfully accepted. The diſtance to the French ſettlement was more than four hundred miles, and one half of the rout led through a wilderneſs, inhabited only by Indians. He nevertheleſs ſet out in an uncommonly ſevere ſeaſon, attended only by one companion. From Wincheſter, he proceeded on foot, with his proviſions on his back. When he arrived and delivered his meſſage, the French commandant refuſed to comply, and claimed the country as belonging to the King his maſter, and declared that he ſhould continue to ſeize and ſend as priſoners to Canada, every Engliſhman that ſhould attempt to trade on the Ohio, or any of its branches. Before Major Waſhington returned, the Virginians had ſent out workmen and materials, to erect a fort at the conflux of the Ohio, and the Monongahela. While they were engaged in this work, the French came upon them, drove them out of the country, and erected a regular fortification on the ſame ſpot. Theſe ſpirited proceedings overſet the ſchemes of the Ohio Company, but its members both in England and America were too powerful to brook the diſappointment. It was therefore reſolved to inſtruct the Colonies to oppoſe with arms the encroachments of the French on the Britiſh territories, as theſe weſtern lands were called. In obedience to theſe inſtructions, Virginia raiſed three hundred men, put them under the command of Colonel Waſhington, and ſent them on towards the Ohio. May 28, 1754, an engagement between them and a party of French took place, in which the latter were defeated. On this Mr. de Villier, the French commandant, marched down with nine hundred men, beſides Indians, and attacked the Virginians. Colonel Waſhington made a brave defence, behind a ſmall unfiniſhed intrenchment, called Fort Neceſſity; but at length accepted of honourable terms of capitulation.

From the eagerneſs diſcovered by both nations for theſe lands, it occurred to all, that a rupture between France and England could not be far diſtant. It was alſo evident to the rulers of the latter, that the Colonies would be the moſt convenient centre of operation for repreſſing French encroachments. To draw forth their Colonial reſources, in an uniform ſyſtem of operations, then, for the firſt time, became an object of public attention. To digeſt a plan for this purpoſe, a general meeting of the Governors, and moſt influential members of the Provincial Aſſemblies,

Aſſemblies, was held at Albany in 1754. The commiſſioners, at this congreſs, were unanimouſly of opinion, that an union of the Colonies was neceſſary, and they propoſed a plan to the following effect, "that a grand council ſhould be formed of members, to be choſen by the Provincial Aſſemblies, which council, together with a Governor, to be appointed by the Crown, ſhould be authoriſed to make general laws, and alſo to raiſe money from all the Colonies for their common defence." The leading members of the Provincial Aſſemblies were of opinion, that if this plan was adopted, they could defend themſelves from the French, without any aſſiſtance from Great Britain. This plan, when ſent to England, was not acceptable to the Miniſtry, and in lieu thereof, they propoſed, "that the Governors of all the Colonies attended by one or two members of their reſpective councils," which were for the moſt part of royal appointment, "ſhould from time to time concert meaſures for the whole of the Colonies; erect forts, and raiſe troops with a power to draw upon the Britiſh treaſury in the firſt inſtance: but to be ultimately re-imburſed by a tax to be laid on the Colonies by act of Parliament." This was as much diſreliſhed by the Coloniſts, as the former plan had been by the Britiſh Miniſtry, The principle of ſome general power, operating on the whole of the Colonies, was ſtill kept in mind, though dropped for the preſent.

The miniſterial plan laid down above was tranſmitted to Governor Shirley, and by him communicated to Dr. Franklin, and his opinion thereon requeſted. That ſagacious patriot ſent to the Governor an anſwer in writing, with remarks upon the propoſed plan, in which, by his ſtrong reaſoning powers, on the firſt view of the new ſubject, he anticipated the ſubſtance of a controverſy, which for twenty years employed the tongues, pens, and ſwords of both countries.

The policy of repreſſing the encroachments of the French on the Britiſh Colonies was generally approved both in England and America. It was therefore reſolved to take effectual meaſures for driving them from the Ohio, and alſo for reducing Niagara, Crown-Point, and the other poſts, which they held within the limits claimed by the King of Great Britain.

To effect the firſt purpoſe, General Braddock was ſent from Ireland to Virginia, with two regiments, and was there joined by as many more, as amounted in the whole, to two thouſand two hundred men. He was a brave man, but deſtitute of the other quàlifications of a great officer. His haughtineſs diſguſted the Americans, and his ſeverity made him diſagreeable to the regular troops. He particularly ſlighted the country militia, and the Virginia officers. Colonel Waſhington begged his permiſſion

miſſion to go before him, and ſcour the woods with his provincial troops, who were well acquainted with that ſervice, but this was refuſed. The General with one thouſand four hundred men puſhed on incautiouſly, till he fell into an ambuſcade of French and Indians, by whom he was defeated, and mortally wounded, June 9, 1755. The regulars, as the Britiſh troops at that time were called, were thrown into confuſion, but the provincials more uſed to Indian fighting, were not ſo much diſconcerted. They continued in an unbroken body under Colonel Waſhington, and by covering the retreat of the regulars, prevented their being cut off entirely.

Notwithſtanding theſe hoſtilities, war had not yet been formally declared. Previous to the adoption of that meaſure, Great Britain, contrary to the uſages of nations, made priſoners of eight thouſand French ſailors. This heavy blow for a long time crippled the naval operations of France, but at the ſame time inſpired her with a deſire to retaliate, whenever a proper opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf. For two or three years after Braddock's defeat, the war was carried on againſt France without vigour or ſucceſs: but when Mr. Pitt was placed at the head of the miniſtry, public affairs aſſumed a new aſpect. Victory every where, crowned the Britiſh arms, and, in a ſhort time, the French were diſpoſſeſſed, not only of all the Britiſh territories on which they had encroached, but alſo of Quebec, the capital of their ancient province, Canada.

In the courſe of this war, ſome of the colonies made exertions ſo far beyond their reaſonable quota, to merit a re-imburſement from the national treaſury; but this was not univerſally the caſe. In conſequence of internal diſputes, together with their greater domeſtic ſecurity, the neceſſary ſupplies had not been raiſed in due time by others of the Provincial Aſſemblies. That a Britiſh Miniſter ſhould depend on colony legiſlatures, for the execution of his plans, did not well accord with the vigorous and deciſive genius of Mr. Pitt, but it was not prudent, by any innovation, to irritate the Colonies, during a war, in which, from local circumſtances, their exertions were peculiarly beneficial. The advantages that would reſult from an ability to draw forth the reſources of the Colonies, by the ſame authority, which commanded the wealth of the Mother Country, might in theſe circumſtances have ſuggeſted the idea of taxing the Colonies by authority of the Britiſh parliament. Mr. Pitt is ſaid to have told Mr. Franklin, "that when the war cloſed, if he ſhould be in the miniſtry, he would take meaſures to prevent the Colonies from having a power to refuſe or delay the ſupplies that might be wanted for national purpoſes," but did not mention what thoſe meaſures

ſures ſhould be. As often as money or men were wanted from the Colonies, a requiſition was made to their legiſlatures. Theſe were generally and cheerfully complied with. Their exertions with a few exceptions were great, and manifeſted a ſerious deſire to carry into effect the plans of Great Britain for reducing the power of France.

In the proſecution of this war, the advantages which Great Britain derived from the Colonies were ſeverely felt by her enemies. Upwards of four hundred privateers, which were fitted out of the ports of the Britiſh Colonies ſucceſsfully cruized on French property. Theſe not only ravaged the Weſt India iſlands belonging to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, but made many captures on the coaſt of France. Beſides diſtreſſing the French nation by privateering, the Colonies furniſhed twenty-three thouſand eight hundred men, to co-operate with the Britiſh regular forces in North-America. They alſo ſent powerful aids, both in men and proviſions, out of their own limits which facilitated the reduction of Martinique, and of the Havannah. The ſucceſs of their privateers—the co-operation of their land forces—the convenience of their harbours, and their contiguity to the Weſt India iſlands, made the Colonies great acquiſitions to Britain, and formidable adverſaries to France. From their growing importance the latter had much to fear. Their continued union with Great Britain threatened the ſubverſion of the commerce and American poſſeſſions of France.

After hoſtilities had raged nearly eight years, in 1763 a general peace was concluded, on terms, by which France ceded Canada to Great Britain. The Spaniards having alſo taken part in the war, were, at the termination of it, induced to relinquiſh to the ſame power, both Eaſt and Weſt Florida. This peace gave Great Britain poſſeſſion of an extent of country equal in dimenſions to ſeveral kingdoms of Europe. The poſſeſſion of Canada in the North, and of the two Floridas in the South, made her almoſt ſole miſtreſs of the North-American continent.

This laid the foundation of future greatneſs, which excited the envy and the fears of Europe. Her navy, her commerce, and her manufactures, had greatly increaſed, when ſhe held but a part of the continent, and when ſhe was bounded by the formidable powers of France and Spain. Her probable future greatneſs, when without a rival, and with a growing vent for her manufactures, and increaſing employment for her marine, threatened to deſtroy that balance of power, which European ſovereigns have for a long time endeavoured to preſerve. Kings are republicans with reſpect to each other, and behold with democratic jealouſy, any one of their order towering above the reſt. The aggrandizement of one, tends to excite the combination, or, at leaſt, the wiſhes of many,

to reduce him to the common level. From motives of this kind, a great part of Europe not long ſince combined againſt Venice; and ſoon after againſt Louis XIVth of France. With the ſame ſuſpicious eye was the naval ſuperiority of Great Britain viewed by her neighbours. They were, in general, diſpoſed to favour any convulſion which promiſed a diminution of her overgrown power.

The addition to the Britiſh empire of new provinces, equal in extent to old kingdoms, not only excited the jealouſy of European powers, but occaſioned doubts in the minds of enlightened Britiſh politicians, whether or not ſuch immenſe acquiſitions of territory would contribute to the felicity of the Parent State. They ſaw, or thought they ſaw, the ſeeds of diſunion planted in the too widely extended empire. Power, like all things human, has its limits, and there is a point beyond which the longeſt and ſharpeſt ſword fails of doing execution. To combine in one uniform ſyſtem of government, the extenſive territory then ſubjected to the Britiſh ſway appeared to men of reflection, a work of doubtful practicability: nor were they miſtaken in their conjectures.

The ſeeds of diſcord were ſoon planted, and ſpeedily grew up to the rending of the empire. The high notions of liberty and independence, which were nurtured in the Colonies, by their local ſituation, and the ſtate of ſociety in the new world, were increaſed by the removal of hoſtile neighbours. The events of the war had alſo given them ſome experience in military operations, and ſome confidence in their own ability. Foreſeeing their future importance, from the rapid increaſe of their numbers, and extenſion of their commerce, and being extremely jealous of their rights, they readily admitted, and with pleaſure indulged, ideas and ſentiments which were favourable to independence. While combuſtible materials were daily collecting, in the new world, a ſpark to kindle the whole was produced in the old. Nor were there wanting thoſe who, from a jealouſy of Great Britain, helped to fan the flame.

From the firſt ſettlement of Engliſh America, till the cloſe of the war of 1755, the conduct of Great Britain towards her Colonies affords an uſeful leſſon to thoſe who are diſpoſed to coloniſation. From that æra, it is equally worthy of the attention of thoſe who wiſh for the reduction of great empires to ſmall ones. In the firſt period, Great Britain regarded the provinces as inſtruments of commerce. Without charging herſelf with the care of their internal police, or ſeeking a revenue from them, ſhe contented herſelf with a monopoly of their trade. She treated them as a judicious mother does her dutiful children. They ſhared in every privilege belonging to her native ſons, and but ſlightly felt the inconveniences of ſubordination. Small was the catalogue of grievances with which

even democratical jealouſy charged the Parent State, antecedent to the period before mentioned. The following appear to have been the chief. An act of the Britiſh Parliament for prohibiting the cutting down pitch and tar trees, not being within a fence or enclofure, and ſundry acts which operated againſt colonial manufactures. By one of theſe, it was made illegal after the 24th of June, 1750, to erect in the Colonies, any mill or other engine for ſlitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making ſteel. By another, hatters were reſtrained from taking more than two apprentices at a time, or any for leſs than ſeven years, and from employing negroes in the buſineſs. The Coloniſts were alſo prohibited from tranſporting hats, and home manufactured woollens, from one province to another. Theſe regulations were for the moſt part evaded, but if carried into execution, would have been ſlightly inconvenient, and only to a few. The articles, the manufacturing of which were thus prohibited, could be purchaſed at a cheaper rate from England, and the hands who made them, could be as well employed in agriculture.

Though theſe reſtrictions were a ſpecies of affront, by their implying, that the Coloniſts had not ſenſe enough to diſcover their own intereſt, and though they ſeemed calculated to cruſh their native talents, and to keep them in a conſtant ſtate of inferiority, without any hope of arriving at thoſe advantages, to which, by the native riches of their country, they were prompted to aſpire; yet if no other grievances had been ſuperadded to what exiſted in 1763, theſe would have been ſoon forgotten, for their preſſure was neither great, nor univerſal. The good reſulting to the colonies, from their connection with Great Britain, infinitely outweighed the evil.

Till the year 1764, the colonial regulations ſeemed to have no other object but the common good of the whole empire; exceptions to the contrary were few, and had no appearance of ſyſtem. When the approach of the Colonies to manhood made them more capable of reſiſting impoſitions, Great Britain changed the ancient ſyſtem, under which her Colonies had long flouriſhed. When policy would rather have dictated relaxation of authority, ſhe roſe in her demand, and multiplied her reſtraints.

From the conqueſt of Canada, in 1759, ſome have ſuppoſed, that France began ſecretly to lay ſchemes for wreſting thoſe Colonies from Great Britain which ſhe was not able to conquer. Others alledge, that from that period the Coloniſts, releaſed from all fears of dangerous neighbours, fixed their eyes on independence, and took ſundry ſteps preparatory to the adoption of that meaſure. Without recurring to either of theſe opinions, the known ſelfiſhneſs of human nature is ſufficient to

account for that demand on the one ſide, and that refuſal on the other, which occaſioned the revolution. It was natural for Great Britain to wiſh for an extenſion of her authority over the Colonies, and equally ſo for them, on their approach to maturity, to be more impatient of ſubordination, and to reſiſt every innovation, for increaſing the degree of their dependence.

The ſad ſtory of Colonial oppreſſion commenced in the year 1764. Great Britain then adopted new regulations reſpecting her Colonies, which after diſturbing the ancient harmony of the two countries for about twelve years, terminated in the diſmemberment of the empire.

Theſe conſiſted in reſtricting their former commerce, but more eſpecially in ſubjecting them to taxation, by the Britiſh Parliament. By adhering to the ſpirit of the navigation act, in the courſe of a century, the trade of Great Britain had increaſed far beyond the expectation of her moſt ſanguine ſons, but by rigidly enforcing the ſtrict letter of the ſame, in a different ſituation of public affairs, effects directly the reverſe were produced.

From the enterpriſing commercial ſpirit of the coloniſts, the trade of America, after filling all its proper channels, ſwelled out on every ſide, and overflowed its proper banks with a rich redundance. In the cure of evils, which are cloſely connected with the cauſes of national proſperity, vulgar precaution ought not to be employed. In ſeverely checking a contraband trade, which was only the overflowing of an extenſive fair trade, the remedy was worſe than the diſeaſe.

For ſome time before and after the termination of the war of 1755, a conſiderable intercourſe had been carried on between the Britiſh and Spaniſh Colonies, conſiſting of the manufactures of Great Britain, imported by the former, and ſold by the latter, by which the Britiſh Colonies acquired gold and ſilver, and were enabled to make remittances to the Mother Country. This trade, though it did not claſh with the ſpirit of the Britiſh navigation laws, was forbidden by their letter. On account of the advantages which all parties, and particularly Great Britain, reaped from this intercourſe, it had long been winked at by perſons in power; but at the period before-mentioned, ſome new regulations were adopted, by which it was almoſt deſtroyed. This was effected by armed cutters, whoſe commanders were enjoined to take the uſual cuſtom-houſe oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers. So ſudden a ſtoppage of an accuſtomed and beneficial commerce, by an unuſually rigid execution of old laws, was a ſerious blow to the Northern Colonies. It was their misfortune, that though th y ood in need of vaſt quantities of Britiſh manufactures, their country produced very

little that afforded a direct remittance to pay for them. They were, therefore, under a neceſſity of ſeeking elſewhere, a market for their produce, and by a circuitous route, acquiring the means of ſupporting their credit with the Mother Country. This they found by trading with the Spaniſh and French Colonies in their neighbourhood. From them they acquired gold, ſilver, and valuable commodities, the ultimate profits of which centered in Great Britain. This intercourſe gave life to buſineſs of every denomination, and eſtabliſhed a reciprocal circulation of money and merchandize, to the benefit of all parties concerned. Why a trade eſſential to the Colonies, and which, ſo far from being detrimental, was indirectly advantageous to Great Britain, ſhould be ſo narrowly watched and ſo ſeverely reſtrained, could not be accounted for by the Americans, without ſuppoſing that the rulers of Great Britain were jealous of their adventurous commercial ſpirit, and of their increaſing number of ſeamen. Their actual ſufferings were great, but their apprehenſions were greater. Inſtead of viewing the Parent State as they had long done, in the light of an affectionate mother, they conceived her, as beginning to be influenced by the narrow views of an illiberal ſtep-dame.

After the 29th of September, 1764, the trade between the Britiſh, and the French, and Spaniſh Colonies, was in ſome degree legaliſed, but under circumſtances, that brought no relief to the Coloniſts, for it was loaded with ſuch enormous duties, as were equivalent to a prohibition. The preamble to the act for this purpoſe was alarming. "Whereas it is juſt and neceſſary, that a revenue be raiſed in America, for defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and ſecuring the ſame, We, the Commons, &c. towards raiſing the ſame, give and grant unto your Majeſty, the ſum of" (here followed a ſpecification of duties upon foreign clayed ſugar, indigo, and coffee, of foreign produce, upon all wines, except French, upon all wrought ſilk, and all calicoes, and upon every gallon of melaſſes and ſyrups, being the produce of a colony not under the dominion of his Majeſty). It was alſo enacted, that the monies ariſing from the importation of theſe articles into the Colonies, ſhould be paid into the receipt of his Majeſty's exchequer, there to be entered ſeparate, and reſerved, to be diſpoſed of by Parliament towards defraying the neceſſary expences of defending, protecting, and ſecuring America. Till that act paſſed, no act avowedly for the purpoſe of revenue, and with the ordinary title and recital of ſuch, was to be found in the parliamentary ſtatute book. The wording of it made the Coloniſts fear, that the Parliament would go on, in charging them with ſuch taxes as they pleaſed, and for the ſupport of ſuch military force as they ſhould think proper. The act was the more diſguſting, becauſe the monies

nies ariſing from it were ordered to be paid in ſpecie, and regulations were adopted, againſt colonial paper money. To obſtruct the avenues of acquiring gold and ſilver, and at the ſame time to interdict the uſe of paper money, appeared to the Coloniſts as a farther evidence that their intereſts were either miſunderſtood or diſregarded, The impoſition of duties, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in America, was conſidered as a dangerous innovation, but the methods adopted for ſecuring their collection, were reſented as arbitrary and unconſtitutional. It was enacted by Parliament, that whenever offences ſhould be committed againſt the acts, which impoſed them, the proſecutor might bring his action for the penalty in the courts of admiralty, by which means the defendant loſt the advantage of being tried by a jury, and was ſubjected to the neceſſity of having his caſe decided upon by a ſingle man, a creature of the crown, whoſe ſalary was to be paid out of forfeitures adjudged by himſelf; and alſo according to a courſe of law, which exempted the proſecutor from the trouble of proving his accuſation, and obliged the defendant, either to evince his innocence, or to ſuffer. By theſe regulations, the guards which the conſtitution had placed round property, and the fences which the anceſtors of both countries had erected againſt arbitrary power, were thrown down, as far as they concerned the Coloniſts, charged with violating the laws, for raiſing a revenue in America.

Thoſe who directed public affairs in Great Britain feared, that if the collection of theſe duties was enforced only in the cuſtomary way, payment would be often eluded. To obviate that diſpoſition which the Coloniſts diſcovered to ſcreen one another, in diſobeying offenſive acts of Parliament, regulations were adopted, bearing hard on their conſtitutional rights. Unwilling as the Coloniſts were to be excluded by the impoſition of enormous duties, from an accuſtomed and beneficial line of buſineſs, it is not wonderful that they were diſpoſed to repreſent the innovations of the mother country in the moſt unfavourable point of view. The heavy loſſes to which many individuals were ſubjected, and the general diſtreſs of the mercantile intereſt in ſeveral of the oldeſt Colonies, ſoured the minds of many. That the Mother Country ſhould infringe her own conſtitution, to cramp the commerce of her Colonies, was a fruitful ſubject of declamation; but theſe murmurings would have evaporated in words, had Great Britain proceeded to no farther innovations. Inſtead of this, ſhe adopted the novel idea of raiſing from the Colonies an efficient revenue, by direct internal taxes, laid by authority of her Parliament.

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Though all the Coloniſts diſreliſhed, and many, from the preſſure of actual ſufferings, complained of the Britiſh reſtrictions on their manufactures and commerce, yet a great majority was diſpoſed to ſubmit to both. Moſt of them acknowledged that the exerciſe of theſe powers was incident to the ſovereignty of the Mother Country, eſpecially when guarded by an implied contract, that they were to be only uſed for the common benefit of the empire. It was generally allowed, that as the planting of colonies was not deſigned to erect an independant government, but to extend an old one, the Parent State had a right to reſtrain their trade in every way, which conduced to the common emolument.

They for the moſt part conſidered the Mother Country as authoriſed to name ports and nations, to which alone their merchandize ſhould be carried, and with which alone they ſhould trade: but the novel claim of taxing them without their conſent, was univerſally reprobated, as contrary to their natural, chartered, and conſtitutional rights. In oppoſition to it, they not only alledged the general principles of liberty, but ancient uſage. During the firſt hundred and fifty years of their exiſtence, they had been left to tax themſelves and in their own way. If there were any exceptions to this general rule, they were too inconſiderable to merit notice. In the war of 1755, the events of which were freſh in the recollection of every one, the Parliament had in no inſtance attempted to raiſe either men or money in the Colonies by its own authority. As the claim of taxation on one ſide, and the refuſal of it on the other, was the very hinge on which the revolution turned, it merits a particular diſcuſſion.

Colonies were formerly planted by warlike nations, to keep their enemies in awe, to give vent to a ſurplus of inhabitants, or to diſcharge a number of diſcontented and troubleſome citizens. But in modern ages, the ſpirit of violence, being in ſome meaſure ſheathed in commerce, colonies have been ſettled, by the nations of Europe, for the purpoſes of trade. Theſe were to be attained by their raiſing, for the Mother County, ſuch commodities as ſhe did not produce, and ſupplying themſelves from her with ſuch things as they wanted. In ſubſerviency to theſe views, Great Britain planted Colonies, and made laws, obliging them to carry to her all their products which ſhe wanted, and all their raw materials which ſhe choſe to work up. Beſides this reſtriction, ſhe forbad them to procure manufacturers from any other part of the globe, or even the products of European countries, which could rival her, without being firſt brought to her ports. By a variety of laws ſhe regulated their trade, in ſuch a manner, as was thought moſt conducive to their mutual advantage, and her own particular welfare.

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This principle of commercial monopoly run through no leſs than twenty-nine acts of Parliament, from 1660 to 1764. In all theſe acts the ſyſtem of commerce was eſtabliſhed, as that, from which alone, their contributions to the ſtrength of the empire were expected. During this whole period, a parliamentary revenue was no part of the object of coloniſation. Accordingly, in all the laws which regarded them, the technical words of revenue laws were avoided, Such have uſually a title purporting their being "grants," and the words "give and grant," uſually precede their enacting clauſes, Although duties were impoſed on America by previous acts of Parliament, no one title of "giving an aid to his Majeſty," or any other of the uſual titles to the revenue acts, was to be found in any of them. They were intended as regulations of trade, and not as ſources of national ſupplies. Till the year 1764, all ſtood on commercial regulation and reſtraint.

While Great Britain attended to this firſt ſyſtem of coloniſation, her American ſettlements, though expoſed in unknown climates, and unexplored wilderneſſes, grew and flouriſhed, and in the ſame proportion the trade and riches of the Mother Country increaſed. Some eſtimate may be made of this increaſe, from the following ſtatement; the whole export trade of England, including that to the Colonies, in the year 1704, amounted to £.6,509,000 ſterling: but ſo immenſely had the Colonies increaſed, that the exports to them alone in the year 1772, amounted to £.6,022,132 ſterling, and they were yearly increaſing. In the ſhort ſpace of ſixty-eight years, the Colonies added nearly as much to the export commerce of Great Britain, as ſhe had grown to by a progreſſive increaſe of improvement in 1700 years. And this increaſe of colonial trade was not at the expence of the general trade of the kingdom, for that increaſed in the ſame time from ſix millions to ſixteen millions.

In this auſpicious period, the Mother Country contented herſelf with exerciſing her ſupremacy in ſuperintending the general concerns of the Colonies, and in harmoniſing the commercial intereſt of the whole empire. To this the moſt of them bowed down with ſuch a filial ſubmiſſion as demonſtrated that they, though not ſubjected to parliamentary taxes, could be kept in due ſubordination, and in perfect ſubſerviency to the grand views of coloniſation.

Immediately after the peace of Paris, 1763, a new ſcene was opened. The national debt of Great Britain then amounted to one hundred and forty-eight millions, for which an intereſt of nearly five millions was annually paid. While the Britiſh Miniſter was digeſting plans for diminiſhing this amazing load of debt, he conceived the idea of raiſing a ſub-

ſubſtantial revenue in the Britiſh Colonies, from taxes laid by the Parliament of the Parent State. On the one hand it was urged, that the late war originated on account of the Colonies—that it was reaſonable, more eſpecially as it had terminated in a manner ſo favourable to their intereſt, that they ſhould contribute to the defraying the expences it had occaſioned. Thus far both parties were agreed; but Great Britain contended, that her Parliament, as the ſupreme power, was conſtitutionally veſted with an authority to lay them on every part of the empire. This doctrine, plauſible in itſelf, and conformable to the letter of the Britiſh conſtitution, when the whole dominions were repreſented in one aſſembly, was reprobated in the Colonies, as contrary to the ſpirit of the ſame government, when the empire became ſo far extended, as to have many diſtinct repreſentative aſſemblies. The coloniſts believed that the chief excellence of the Britiſh conſtitution conſiſted in the right of the ſubjects to grant, or withold taxes, and in their having a ſhare in enacting the laws by which they were to be bound.

They conceived, that the ſuperiority of the Britiſh conſtitution, to other forms of government was, not becauſe their ſupreme council was called a Parliament, but becauſe the people had a ſhare in it by appointing members, who conſtituted one of its conſtituent branches, and without whoſe concurrence, no law, binding on them, could be enacted. In the Mother Country, it was aſſerted to be eſſential to the unity of the empire, that the Britiſh Parliament ſhould have a right of taxation over every part of the royal dominions. In the Colonies, it was believed, that taxation and repreſentation were inſeparable, and that they could neither be free nor happy if their property could be taken from them without their conſent. The common people in America reaſoned on this ſubject in a ſummary way: "If a Britiſh Parliament," ſaid they, "in which we are unrepreſented, and over which we have no controul, can take from us any part of our property, by direct taxation, they may take as much as they pleaſe, and we have no ſecurity for any thing that remains, but a forbearance on their part, leſs likely to be exerciſed in our favour, as they lighten themſelves of the burthens of government, in the ſame proportion that they impoſe them on us." They well knew, that communities of mankind, as well as individuals, have a ſtrong propenſity to impoſe on others, when they can do it with impunity, and, eſpecially, when there is a proſpect, that the impoſition will be attended with advantage to themſelves. The Americans, from that jealouſy of their liberties which their local ſituation nurtured, and which they inherited from their forefathers, viewed the excluſive right of laying taxes on themſelves, free from extraneous influence, in the ſame light as the

Britiſh Parliament views its peculiar privilege of raiſing money, independent of the crown. The Parent State appeared to the Coloniſts to ſtand in the ſame relation to their local legiſlatures, as the monarch of Great Britain to the Britiſh Parliament. His prerogative is limited by that palladium of the people's liberty, the excluſive privilege of granting their own money. While this right reſts in the hands of the people their liberties are ſecured. In the ſame manner reaſoned the Coloniſts, "in order to be ſtiled freemen, our local aſſemblies, elected by ourſelves, muſt enjoy the excluſive privilege of impoſing taxes upon us." They contended, that men ſettled in foreign parts to better their condition, and not to ſubmit their liberties—to continue the equals, not to become the ſlaves of their leſs-adventurous fellow-citizens, and that by the novel doctrine of parliamentary power, they were degraded from being the ſubjects of a king, to the low condition of being ſubjects of ſubjects. They argued, that it was eſſentially involved in the idea of property, that the poſſeſſor had ſuch a right therein, that it was a contradiction to ſuppoſe any other man, or body of men, poſſeſſed a right to take it from him without his conſent. Precedents, in the Hiſtory of England, juſtified this mode of reaſoning. The love of property ſtrengthened it, and it had a peculiar force on the minds of Coloniſts, three thouſand miles removed from the ſeat of government, and growing up to maturity, in a new world, where, from the extent of country, and the ſtate of ſociety, even the neceſſary reſtraints of civil government were impatiently borne. On the other hand, the people of Great-Britain revolted againſt the claims of the Coloniſts. Educated in habits of ſubmiſſion to parliamentary taxation, they conceived it to be the height of contumacy for their Coloniſts to refuſe obedience to the power, which they had been taught to revere. Not adverting to the common intereſt which exiſted between the people of Great-Britain and their repreſentatives, they believed, that the ſame right exiſted, although the ſame community of intereſts was wanting. The pride of an opulent, conquering nation, aided this mode of reaſoning. "What," ſaid they, "ſhall we, who have ſo lately humbled France and Spain, be dictated to by our Coloniſts? Shall our ſubjects, educated by our care, and defended by our arms, preſume to queſtion the rights of Parliament, to which we are obliged to ſubmit?" Reflections of this kind, congenial to the natural vanity of the human heart, operated ſo extenſively, that the people of Great Britain ſpoke of their Colonies and of their Coloniſts, as a kind of poſſeſſion annexed to their perſons. The love of power and of property on the one ſide of the Atlantic were oppoſed by the ſame powerful paſſions on the other.

The diſpoſition to tax the Colonies was alſo ſtrengthened by exaggerated accounts of their wealth. It was ſaid, "that the American planters lived in affluence, and with inconſiderable taxes, while the inhabitants of Great Britain were borne down by ſuch oppreſſive burdens as to make a bare ſubſiſtence a matter of extreme difficulty." The officers who had ſerved in America, during the late war, contributed to this deluſion. Their obſervations were founded on what they had ſeen in cities, and at a time, when large ſums were ſpent by government, in ſupport of fleets and armies, and when American commodities were in great demand. To treat with attention thoſe who came to fight for them, and alſo to gratify their own pride, the Coloniſts had made a parade of their riches, by frequently and ſumptuouſly entertaining the gentlemen of the Britiſh army. Theſe, judging from what they ſaw, without conſidering the general ſtate of the country, concurred in repreſenting the Coloniſts as very able to contribute largely towards defraying the common expences of the empire.

The charters, which were ſuppoſed to contain the principles on which the Colonies were founded, became the ſubject of ſerious inveſtigation on both ſides. One clauſe was found to run through the whole of them, except that which had been granted to Mr. Penn; this was a declaration, "that the emigrants to America ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges, as if they had remained, or had been born within the realm;" but ſuch was the ſubtilty of diſputants, that both parties conſtrued this general principle ſo as to favour their reſpective opinions. The American patriots contended, that as Engliſh freeholders could not be taxed but by repreſentatives, in chuſing whom they had a vote, neither could the Coloniſts: but it was replied, that if the Coloniſts had remained in England, they muſt have been bound to pay the taxes impoſed by Parliament. It was therefore inferred, that though taxed by that authority, they loſt none of the rights of native Engliſhmen reſiding at home. The partiſans of the Mother Country could ſee nothing in charters, but ſecurity againſt taxes by royal authority. The Americans, adhering to the ſpirit more than to the letter, viewed their charters as a ſhield againſt all taxes, not impoſed by repreſentatives of their own choice. This conſtruction they contended to be expreſsly recognized by the charter of Maryland. In that, King Charles bound both himſelf and his ſucceſſors, not to aſſent to any bill, ſubjecting the inhabitants to internal taxation by external legiſlation.

The nature and extent of the connection between Great Britain and America was a great conſtitutional queſtion, involving many intereſts, and the general principles of civil liberty. To decide this, recourſe was

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in vain had to parchment authorities, made at a diſtant time, when neither the grantors nor grantees of American territory had in contemplation any thing like the preſent ſtate of the two countries.

Great and flouriſhing Colonies, daily increaſing in numbers, and already grown to the magnitude of a nation, planted at an immenſe diſtance, and governed by conſtitutions reſembling that of the country from which they ſprung, were novelties in the hiſtory of the world. To combine Colonies, ſo circumſtanced, in one uniform ſyſtem of government with the Parent State, required a great knowledge of mankind, and an extenſive comprehenſion of things. It was an arduous buſineſs, far beyond the graſp of ordinary ſtateſmen, whoſe minds were narrowed by the formalities of laws, or the trammels of office. An original genius, unfettered with precedents, and exalted with juſt ideas of the rights of human nature, and the obligations of univerſal benevolence, might have ſtruck out a middle line, which would have ſecured as much liberty to the Colonies, and as great a degree of ſupremacy to the Parent State, as their common good required: But the helm of Great Britain was not in ſuch hands. The ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution on the one hand revolted at the idea, that the Britiſh Parliament ſhould exerciſe the ſame unlimited authority over the unrepreſented Colonies, which it exerciſed over the inhabitants of Great Britain. The Coloniſts on the other hand did not claim a total exemption from its authority They in general allowed the Mother Country a certain undefined prerogative over them, and acquieſced in the right of Parliament to make many acts, binding them in many ſubjects of internal policy, and regulating their trade. Where parliamentary ſupremacy ended, and at what point colonial independency began, was not aſcertained. Happy would it have been had the queſtion never been agitated, but much more ſo, had it been compromiſed by an amicable compact, without the horrors of a civil war.

The Engliſh Colonies were originally eſtabliſhed, not for the ſake of revenue, but on the principles of a commercial monopoly. While England purſued trade and forgot revenue, her commerce increaſed at leaſt fourfold. The Colonies took off the manufactures of Great Britain, and paid for them with proviſions or raw materials. They united their arms in war, their commerce and their councils in peace, without nicely inveſtigating the terms on which the connection of the two countries depended.

A perfect calm in the political world is not long to be expected. The reciprocal happineſs, both of Great Britain and of the Colonies, was too great to be of long duration. The calamities of the war of 1755 had

ſcarcely ended, when the germ of another war was planted, which ſoon grew up and produced deadly fruit.

At that time (1764) ſundry reſolutions paſſed the Britiſh Parliament relative to the impoſition of a ſtamp duty in America, which gave a general alarm. By them the right, the equity, the policy, and even the neceſſity of taxing the Colonies was formally avowed. Theſe reſolutions being conſidered as the preface of a ſyſtem of American revenue, were deemed an introduction to evils of much greater magnitude. They opened a proſpect of oppreſſion, boundleſs in extent, and endleſs in duration. They were nevertheleſs not immediately followed by any legiſlative act. Time and an invitation were given to the Americans to ſuggeſt any other mode of taxation that might be equivalent in its produce to the ſtamp act: but they objected, not only to the mode, but the principle, and ſeveral of their aſſemblies, though in vain, petitioned againſt it. An American revenue was in England a very popular meaſure. The cry in favour of it was ſo ſtrong, as to confound and ſilence the voice of petitions to the contrary. The equity of compelling the Americans to contribute to the common expences of the empire ſatisfied many, who, without enquiring into the policy or juſtice of taxing their unrepreſented fellow-ſubjects, readily aſſented to the meaſures adopted by the Parliament for this purpoſe. The proſpect of eaſing their own burdens, at the expence of the Coloniſts, dazzled the eyes of gentlemen of landed intereſt, ſo as to keep out of their view the probable conſequences of the innovation.

The omnipotence of Parliament was ſo familiar a phraſe on both ſides of the Atlantic, that few in America, and ſtill fewer in Great Britain, were impreſſed in the firſt inſtance, with any idea of the illegality of taxing the Colonies.

The illumination on that ſubject was gradual. The reſolutions in favour of an American ſtamp act, which paſſed in March 1764, met with no oppoſition. In the courſe of the year which intervened between theſe reſolutions, and the paſſing of a law grounded upon them, the ſubject was better underſtood, and conſtitutional objections againſt the meaſure were urged by ſeveral both in Great Britain and America. This aſtoniſhed and chagrined the Britiſh miniſtry; but as the principle of taxing America had been for ſome time determined upon, they were unwilling to give it up. Impelled by a partiality for a long cheriſhed idea, Mr. Grenville brought into the Houſe of Commons his long expected bill, for laying a ſtamp duty in America. March, 1765. By this, after paſſing through the uſual forms, it was enacted, that the inſtruments of writing which are in daily uſe among a commercial people, ſhould

ſhould be null and void, unleſs they were executed on ſtamped paper or parchment, charged with a duty impoſed by the Britiſh Parliament.

When the bill was brought in, Mr. Charles Townſend commended a ſpeech in its favour, with words to the following effect, "And now will theſe Americans, children planted by our care, nouriſhed up by our indulgence, till they are grown to a degree of ſtrength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?" To which Colonel Barré replied, "They planted by your care? No, your oppreſſions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhoſpitable country, where they expoſed themſelves to almoſt all the hardſhips to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelty of a ſavage foe the moſt ſubtle, and I will take upon me to ſay, the moſt formidable of any people upon the face of the earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true Engliſh liberty, they met all hardſhips with pleaſure compared with thoſe they ſuffered in their own country, from the hands of thoſe that ſhould have been their friends—They nouriſhed up by your indulgence? They grew up by your neglect of them. As ſoon as you began to care about them, that care was exerciſed in ſending perſons to rule them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to ſome members of this Houſe, ſent to ſpy out their liberties, to miſrepreſent their actions, and to prey upon them.—Men whoſe behaviour on many occaſions, has cauſed the blood of theſe ſons of liberty to recoil within them.—Men promoted to the higheſt ſeats of juſtice, ſome, who to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to eſcape being brought to the bar of a court of juſtice in their own.—They protected by your arms; They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour, amidſt their conſtant and laborious induſtry, for the defence of a country whoſe frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little ſavings to your emolument. And believe me, remember I this day told you ſo, that ſame ſpirit of freedom which actuated that people at firſt will accompany them ſtill: but prudence forbids me to explain myſelf farther. God knows, I do not at this time ſpeak from any motives of party heat; what I deliver are the genuine ſentiments of my heart. However ſuperior to me in general knowledge and experience the reſpectable body of this Houſe may be, yet I claim to know more of America than moſt of you, having ſeen and been converſant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly

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loyal as any ſubject the King has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they ſhould be violated: but the ſubject is too delicate—I will ſay no more."

During the debate on the bill, the ſupporters of it inſiſted much on the Colonies being virtually repreſented in the ſame manner as Leeds, Halifax, and ſome other towns were. A recurrence to this plea was a virtual acknowledgement, that there ought not to be taxation without repreſentation. It was replied, that the connexion between the electors and non-electors, of Parliament in Great Britain was ſo interwoven, from both being equally liable to pay the ſame common tax, as to give ſome ſecurity of property to the latter; but with reſpect to taxes laid by the Britiſh Parliament, and paid by the Americans, the ſituation of the parties was reverſed. Inſtead of both parties bearing a proportionable ſhare of the ſame common burden, what was laid on the one, was exactly ſo much taken off from the other.

The bill met with no oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, and on the 22d of March, 1765, it received the royal aſſent. The night after it paſſed, Dr. Franklin, wrote to Mr. Charles Thomſon, "The ſun of liberty is ſet, you muſt light up the candles of induſtry and economy." Mr. Thomſon anſwered, "He was apprehenſive that other lights would be the conſequence," and foretold the oppoſition that ſhortly took place. On its being ſuggeſted from authority, that the ſtamp officers would not be ſent from Great Britain; but ſelected from among the Americans, the Colony agents were deſired to point out proper perſons for the purpoſe. They generally nominated their friends, which affords a preſumptive proof, that they ſuppoſed the act would have gone down. In this opinion they were far from being ſingular. That the Coloniſts would be ultimately obliged to ſubmit to the ſtamp act, was at firſt commonly believed, both in England and America. The framers of it, in particular, flattered themſelves that the confuſion which would ariſe upon the diſuſe of writings, and the inſecurity of property, which would reſult from uſing any other than that required by law, would compel the Colonies, however reluctant, to uſe the ſtamp paper, and conſequently to pay the taxes impoſed thereon: they therefore boaſted that it was a law which would execute itſelf. By the terms of the ſtamp act, it was not to take effect till the firſt day of November, a period of more than ſeven months after its paſſing. This gave the Coloniſts an opportunity for leiſurely canvaſſing the new ſubject, and examining it fully on every ſide. In the firſt part of this interval, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, they lay in ſilent conſternation, and could not determine what courſe to purſue. By

degrees

degrees they recovered their recollection. Virginia led the way in oppoſition to the ſtamp act. Mr. Patrick Henry brought into the Houſe of Burgeſſes of that Colony, the following reſolutions, which were ſubſtantially adopted:

Reſolved, That the firſt adventurers, ſettlers of this his Majeſty's Colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them and tranſmitted to their poſterity, and all other his Majeſty's ſubjects, ſince inhabiting in this his Majeſty's ſaid Colony, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and poſſeſſed by the people of Great Britain.

Reſolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James the Firſt, the Colonies aforeſaid are declared, and entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens, and natural ſubjects, to all intents and purpoſes as if they had been abiding, and born within the realm of England.

Reſolved, That his Majeſty's liege people, of this his ancient colony, have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed by their own aſſembly, in the article of taxes, and internal police, and that the ſame have never been forfeited, or yielded up, but have been conſtantly recognized by the king and people of Britain.

Reſolved, therefore, That the general aſſembly of this Colony, together with his Majeſty, or his ſubſtitutes, have, in their repreſentative capacity, the only excluſive right and power, to lay taxes and impoſts upon the inhabitants of this Colony, and that every attempt to veſt ſuch power in any other perſon or perſons whatſoever, than the general aſſembly aforeſaid, is illegal, and unconſtitutional, and unjuſt, and hath a manifeſt tendency to deſtroy Britiſh, as well as American liberty.

Reſolved, That his Majeſty's liege people, the inhabitants of this Colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatever, deſigned to impoſe any taxation whatever upon them, other than the laws or ordinances of the general aſſembly aforeſaid.

Reſolved, That any perſon, who ſhall, by ſpeaking or writing, aſſert or maintain, that any perſon or perſons, other than the general aſſembly of this Colony, have any right or power to impoſe, or lay any taxation on the people here, ſhall be deemed an enemy to this his Majeſty's Colony.

Upon reading theſe reſolutions, the boldneſs and novelty of them affected one of the members to ſuch a degree, that he cried out, "Treaſon! Treaſon!" They were, nevertheleſs, well received by the people, and immediately forwarded to the other provinces. They circulated

culated extenſively, and gave a ſpring to all the diſcontented. Till they appeared, moſt were of opinion, that the act would be quietly adopted. Murmurs, indeed, were common, but they ſeemed to be ſuch, as would ſoon die away. The countenance of ſo reſpectable a Colony as Virginia, confirmed the wavering, and emboldened the timid. Oppoſition to the ſtamp act, from that period, aſſumed a bolder face. The fire of liberty blazed forth from the preſs; ſome well-judged publications ſet the rights of the Coloniſts in a plain, but ſtrong point of view. The tongues and the pens of the well-informed citizens laboured in kindling the latent ſparks of patriotiſm. The flame ſpread from breaſt to breaſt, till the conflagration became general. In this buſineſs, New-England had a principal ſhare. The inhabitants of that part of America, in particular, conſidered their obligations to the mother-country for paſt favours, to be very inconſiderable. They were fully informed, that their forefathers were driven by perſecution to the woods of America, and had there, without any expence to the parent ſtate, effected a ſettlement amidſt rude creation. Their reſentment for the invaſion of their accuſtomed right of taxation was not ſo much mitigated by the recollection of late favours, as it was heightened by the tradition of grievous ſufferings, to which their anceſtors, by the rulers of England, had been ſubjected. The deſcendants of the exiled, perſecuted, Puritans, of the laſt century, oppoſed the ſtamp act with the ſame ſpirit with which their forefathers were actuated, when they ſet themſelves againſt the arbitrary impoſitions of the houſe of Stuart.

The heavy burdens, which the operation of the ſtamp act would have impoſed on the Coloniſts, together with the precedent it would eſtabliſh of future exactions, furniſhed the American patriots with arguments, calculated as well to move the paſſions, as to convince the judgments of their Fellow Coloniſts. In great warmth they exclaimed, "If the Parliament has a right to level the ſtamp duties, they may, by the ſame authority, lay on us impoſts, exciſes, and other taxes, without end, till their rapacity is ſatisfied, or our abilities are exhauſted. We cannot at future elections, diſplace theſe men, who ſo laviſhly grant away our property. Their ſeats and their power are independent of us, and it will reſt with their generoſity where to ſtop, in transferring the expences of government from their own to our ſhoulders."

It was fortunate for the liberties of America, that news-papers were the ſubject of a heavy ſtamp duty. Printers, when uninfluenced by government, have generally arranged themſelves on the ſide of liberty,

nor are they leſs remarkable for attention to the profits of their profeſſion. A ſtamp duty, which openly invaded the firſt, and threatened a great diminution of the laſt, provoked their united zealous oppoſition. They daily preſented to the public, original diſſertations, tending to prove, that if the ſtamp act was ſuffered to operate, the liberties of America were at an end, and their property virtually transferred to their Trans-Atlantic fellow-ſubjects. The writers among the Americans, ſeriouſly alarmed for the fate of their country, came forward, with eſſays, to prove, that agreeable to the Britiſh Conſtitution, taxation and repreſentation were inſeparable, that the only conſtitutional mode of raiſing money from the Coloniſts was by acts of their own legiſlatures, that the Crown poſſeſſed no farther power than that of requiſition, and that the parliamentary right of taxation was confined to the Mother Country, and there originated, from the natural right of man, to do what he pleaſed with his own, transferred by conſent from the electors of Great Britain to thoſe whom they choſe to repreſent them in parliament. They alſo inſiſted much on the miſapplication of public money by the Britiſh miniſtry. Great pains were taken to inform the Coloniſts of the large ſums annually beſtowed on penſioned favourites, and for the various purpoſes of bribery. Their paſſions were enflamed by high-coloured repreſentations of the hardſhip of being obliged to pay the earnings of their induſtry into a Britiſh treaſury, well known to be a fund for corruption.

The writers on the American ſide were oppoſed by arguments, drawn from the unity of the Empire; the neceſſity of one ſupreme head, the unlimited power of parliament, and the great numbers in the Mother Country, who, though legally diſqualified from voting at elections, were, nevertheleſs, bound to pay the taxes impoſed by the repreſentatives of the nation. To theſe objections it was replied, that the very idea of ſubordination of parts excluded the notion of ſimple, undivided unity. That as England was the head, ſhe could not be the head and the members too—that in all extenſive empires, where the dead uniformity of ſervitude did not prevent, the ſubordinate parts had many local privileges and immunities—that between theſe privileges and the ſupreme common authority, the line was extremely nice; but nevertheleſs, the ſupremacy of the head had an ample field of exerciſe, without arrogating to itſelf the diſpoſal of the property of the unrepreſented ſubordinate parts. To the aſſertion, that the power of parliament was unlimited, the Coloniſts replied, that before it could conſtitutionally exerciſe that power, it muſt be conſtitutionally formed, and that, therefore, it muſt at leaſt, in one of its branches, be conſtituted by the peo-

ple over whom it exerciſed unlimited power. That with reſpect to Great Britain, it was ſo conſtituted—with reſpect to America it was not. They therefore inferred, that its power ought not to be the ſame over both countries. They argued alſo, that the delegation of the people was the ſource of power in regard to taxation, and as that delegation was wanting in America, they concluded, the right of parliament to grant away their property could not exiſt. That the defective repreſentation in Great Britain ſhould be urged as an argument for taxing the Americans, without any repreſentation at all, proved the incroaching nature of power. Inſtead of convincing the Coloniſts of the propriety of their ſubmiſſion, it demonſtrated the wiſdom of their reſiſtance; for, ſaid they, "one invaſion of natural right is made the juſtification of another, much more injurious and oppreſſive."

The advocates for parliamentary taxation laid great ſtreſs on the rights, ſuppoſed to accrue to Great Britian, on the ſcore of her having reared up and protected the Engliſh ſettlements in America at great expence. It was, on the other hand, contended by the Coloniſts, that in all the wars which were common to both countries, they had taken their full ſhare, but in all their own dangers, in all the difficulties belonging ſeparately to their ſituation, which did not immediately concern Great Britain, they were left to themſelves, and had to ſtruggle through a hard infancy; and in particular, to defend themſelves, without any aid from the Parent State, againſt the numerous ſavages in their vicinity. That when France had made war upon them, it was not on their own account, but as appendages to Great Britain. That confining their trade for the excluſive benefit of the Parent Sate, was an ample compenſation for her protection, and a ſufficient equivalent for their exemption from parliamentary taxation. That the taxes impoſed on the inhabitants of Great Britain were incorporated with their manufactures, and ultimately fell on the Coloniſts, who were the conſumers.

The advocates for the ſtamp act alſo contended, that as the Parliament was charged with the defence of the Colonies, it ought to poſſeſs the means of defraying the expences incurred thereby. The ſame argument had been uſed by King Charles the Firſt, in ſupport of ſhip money; and it was now anſwered in the ſame manner, as it was by the patriots of that day. "That the people who were defended or protected were the fitteſt to judge of and to provide the means of defraying the expences incurred on that account." In the mean time, the minds of the Americans underwent a total transformation. Inſtead of their late peaceable and ſteady attachment to the Britiſh nation, they were daily advancing

advancing to the oppoſite extreme. A new mode of diſplaying reſentment againſt the friends of the ſtamp act began in Maſſachuſetts, and was followed by the other Colonies. A few gentlemen hung out, early in the morning, Auguſt 14, on the limb of a large tree, towards the entrance of Boſton, two effigies, one deſigned for the ſtamp maſter, the other for a jack boot, with a head and horns peeping out at the top. Great numbers both from town and country came to ſee them. A ſpirit of enthuſiaſm was diffuſed among the ſpectators. In the evening the whole was cut down and carried in proceſſion by the populace ſhouting "liberty and property for ever; no ſtamps." They next pulled down a new building, lately erected by Mr. Oliver the ſtamp maſter. They then went to his houſe, before which they beheaded his effigy, and at the ſame time broke his windows. Eleven days after, ſimilar violences were repeated. The mob attacked the houſe of Mr. William Storey, deputy regiſter of the court of admiralty—broke his windows—forced into his dwelling houſe, and deſtroyed the books and files belonging to the ſaid court, and ruined a great part of his furniture. They next proceeded to the houſe of Benjamin Hallowel, Comptroller of the cuſtoms, and repeated ſimilar exceſſes, and drank and deſtroyed his liquors. They afterwards proceeded to the houſe of Mr. Hutchinſon, and ſoon demoliſhed it. They carried off his plate, furniture, and apparel, and ſcattered or deſtroyed manuſcrips and other curious and uſeful papers which for thirty years he had been collecting. About half a dozen of the meaneſt of the mob were ſoon after taken up and committed, but they either broke jail, or otherwiſe eſcaped all puniſhment. The town of Boſton condemned the whole proceeding, and for ſome time, private gentlemen kept watch at night, to prevent further violence.

Similar diſturbances broke out in the adjacent Colonies, nearly about the ſame time. On the 27th Auguſt, 1765, the people in New-Port in Rhode Iſland, exhibited three effigies intended for Meſſieurs Howard, Moffatt, and Johnſon, in a cart with halters about their necks, and after hanging them on a gallows for ſome time, cut them down and burnt them, amidſt the acclamations of thouſands. On the day following, the people collected at the houſe of Mr. Martin Howard, a lawyer, who had written in defence of the right of parliament to tax the Americans, and demoliſhed every thing that belonged to it. They proceeded to Dr. Moffatt's, who, in converſation, had ſupported the ſame right, and made a ſimilar devaſtation of his property.

In Connecticut they exhibited effigies in ſundry places, and afterwards committed them to the flames.

In New-York, the ſtamp maſter having reſigned, the ſtamp papers

were taken into Fort George, by Lieutenant Governor Colden, Nov. 1. The people, diſliking his political ſentiments, broke open his ſtable, took out his coach, and carried it in triumph through the principal ſtreets to the gallows. On one end of this they ſuſpended the effigy of the Lieut. Governor, having in his right hand a ſtamped bill of lading, and in the other a figure of the devil. After ſome time, they carried the apparatus to the gate of the fort, and from thence to the bowling-green, under the muzzles of the guns, and burned the whole amid the acclamations of many thouſands. They went thence to Mayor James' houſe, ſtripped it of every article, and conſumed the whole, becauſe he was a friend to the ſtamp act.

The next evening the mob re-aſſembled, and inſiſted upon the Lieutenant Governor delivering the ſtamped papers into their hands, and threatened, in caſe of a refuſal, to take them by force. After ſome negociation, it was agreed that they ſhould be delivered to the corporation, and they were depoſited in the city hall. Ten boxes of the ſame, which came by another conveyance, were burned.

The ſtamp act was not leſs odious to many of the inhabitants of the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands, than to thoſe on the continent of North America. The people of St. Kitts obliged the ſtamp officer and his deputy to reſign. Barbadoes, Canada, and Halifax, ſubmitted to the act.

But when the ſhip which brought the ſtamp papers to Philadelphia, firſt appeared round Glouceſter Point, all the veſſels in the harbour hoiſted their colours half maſt high. The bells were rung muffled till evening, and every countenance added to the appearance of ſincere mourning. A large number of people aſſembled, and endeavoured to procure the reſignation of Mr. Hughes, the ſtamp diſtributor. He held out long, but at length found it neceſſary to comply.

As opportunities offered, the aſſemblies generally paſſed reſolutions, aſſerting their excluſive right to lay taxes on their conſtituents. The people, in their town meetings, inſtructed their repreſentatives to oppoſe the ſtamp act. As a ſpecimen of theſe, the inſtructions given to Thomas Forſter, their repreſentative, by the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Plymouth, are ſubjoined. In theſe the yeomanry of the country ſpoke the determined language of freedom. After expreſſing the higheſt eſteem for the Britiſh conſtitution, and ſetting forth their grievances, they proceeded as follows:

"You, Sir, repreſent a people, who are not only deſcended from the firſt ſettlers of this country, but inhabit the very ſpot they firſt poſſeſſed. Here was firſt laid the foundation of the Britiſh empire, in this part of America, which, from a very ſmall beginning, has increaſed

creaſed and ſpread in a manner very ſurpriſing, and almoſt incredible, eſpecially, when we conſider, that all this has been effected without the aid or aſſiſtance of any power on earth; that we have defended, protected, and ſecured ourſelves againſt the invaſions and cruelties of ſavages, and the ſubtlety and inhumanity of our inveterate and natural enemies, the French; and all this without the appropriation of any tax by ſtamps, or ſtamp acts, laid upon our fellow ſubjects, in any part of the King's dominions, for defraying the expence thereof. This place, Sir, was at firſt the aſylum of liberty, and we hope, will ever be preſerved ſacred to it, though it was then no more than a barren wilderneſs, inhabited only by ſavage men and beaſts. To this place our fathers, (whoſe memories be revered) poſſeſſed of the principles of liberty in their purity, diſdaining ſlavery, fled to enjoy thoſe privileges, which they had an undoubted right to, but were deprived of, by the hands of violence and oppreſſion, in their native country. We, Sir, their poſterity, the freeholders, and other inhabitants of this town, legally aſſembled for that purpoſe, poſſeſſed of the ſame ſentiments and retaining the ſame ardour for liberty, think it our indiſpenſable duty, on this occaſion, to expreſs to you theſe our ſentiments of the ſtamp act, and its fatal conſequences to this country, and to enjoin upon you, as you regard not only the welfare, but the very being of this people, that you (conſiſtent with our allegiance to the King, and relation to the government of Great Britain) diſregarding all propoſals for that purpoſe, exert all your power and influence in oppoſition to the ſtamp act, at leaſt till we hear the ſucceſs of our petitions for relief. We likewiſe, to avoid diſgracing the memories of our anceſtors, as well as the reproaches of our own conſciences, and the curſes of poſterity, recommend it to you, to obtain, if poſſible, in the honourable houſe of repreſentatives of this province, a full and explicit aſſertion of our rights, and to have the ſame entered on their public records, that all generations yet to come may be convinced, that we have not only a juſt ſenſe of our rights and liberties, but that we never, with ſubmiſſion to Divine Providence, will be ſlaves to any power on earth."

The expediency of calling a continental Congreſs to be compoſed of deputies from each of the provinces, had early occurred to the people of Maſſachuſetts. The aſſembly of that province paſſed a reſolution in favour of that meaſure, and fixed on New-York as the place, and the ſecond Tueſday of October, 1765, as the time for holding the ſame. Soon after, they ſent circular letters to the ſpeakers of the ſeveral aſſemblies, requeſting their concurrence. This firſt advance towards continential union

union was ſeconded in South-Carolina, before it had been agreed to by any Colony to the ſouthward of New-England. The example of this province had a conſiderable influence in recommending the meaſure to others, who were divided in their opinions, on the propriety of it.

The aſſemblies of Virgina, North-Carolina, and Georgia, were prevented, by their governors, from ſending a deputation to this Congreſs. Twenty-eight deputies from Maſſachuſetts, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, met at New-York; and after mature deliberation agreed on a declaration of their rights, and on a ſtatement of their grievances. They aſſerted in ſtrong terms, their exemption from all taxes, not impoſed by their own repreſentatives. They alſo concurred in a petition to the King, and memorial to the Houſe of Lords, and a petition to the Houſe of Commons. The Colonies that were prevented from ſending their repreſentatives to this Congreſs, forwarded petitions, ſimilar to thoſe which were adopted by the deputies which attended.

While a variety of legal and illegal methods were adopted to oppoſe the ſtamp act, the firſt of November, on which is was to commence its operation, approached. This in Boſton was uſhered in by a funeral tolling of bells. Many ſhops and ſtores were ſhut. The effigies of the planners and friends of the ſtamp act were carried about the ſtreets in public deriſion, and then torn in pieces by the enraged populace. It was remarkable that though a large crowd was aſſembled, there was not the leaſt violence or diſorder.

At Portſmouth in New-Hampſhire, the morning of Nov. 1. was uſhered in with tolling all the bells in town. In the courſe of the day, notice was given to the friends of liberty to attend her funeral. A coffin neatly ornamented, inſcribed with the word *Liberty* in large letters, was carried to the grave. The funeral proceſſion began from the ſtate houſe, attended with two unbraced drums. While the inhabitants who followed the coffin were in motion, minute guns were fired, and continued till the corpſe arrived at the place of interment. Then an oration in favour of the deceaſed was pronounced. It was ſcarcely ended before the corpſe was taken up, it having been perceived that ſome remains of life were left, at which the inſcription was immediately altered to "Liberty revived." The bells immediately exchanged their melancholy for a more joyful ſound, and ſatisfaction appeared in every countenance. The whole was conducted with decency, and without injury or inſult to any man's perſon or property.

In Maryland, the effigy of the ſtamp maſter, on one ſide of which was

was written, "Tyranny," on the other, "Oppreſſion," and acroſs the breaſt, "Damn my country, I'll get money," was carried through the ſtreets from the place of confinement to the whipping poſt, and from thence to the pillory. After ſuffering many indignities, it was firſt hanged and then burnt.

The general averſion to the ſtamp act was, by ſimilar methods, in a variety of places demonſtrated. It is remarkable, that the proceedings of the populace on theſe occaſions, were carried on with decorum and regularity. They were not ebullitions of a thoughtleſs mob, but for the moſt part planned by leading men of character and influence, who were friends to peace and order. Theſe, knowing well that the bulk of mankind are more led by their ſenſes than by their reaſon, conducted the public exhibitions on that principle, with a view of making the ſtamp act and its friends both ridiculous and odious.

Though the ſtamp act was to have operated from the firſt of November, yet legal proceedings in the court were carried on as before. Veſſels entered and departed without ſtamped papers. The printers boldly printed and circulated their newſpapers, and found a ſufficient number of readers, though they uſed common paper, in defiance of the act of parliament. In moſt departments, by common conſent, buſineſs was carried on as though no ſtamp act had exiſted. This was accompanied by ſpirited reſolutions to riſque all conſequences, rather than ſubmit to uſe the paper required by law. While theſe matters were in agitation, the Coloniſts entered into aſſociations againſt importing Britiſh manufactures, till the ſtamp act ſhould be repealed. In this manner Britiſh liberty was made to operate againſt Britiſh tyranny. Agreeably to the free conſtitution of Great Britain, the ſubject was at liberty to buy, or not to buy, as he pleaſed. By ſuſpending their future purchaſes till the repeal of the ſtamp act, the Coloniſts made it the intereſt of merchants and manufacturers to ſolicit for that repeal. They had uſually taken off ſo great a proportion of Britiſh manufactures, that the ſudden ſtoppage of all their orders, amounting annually to ſeveral millions ſterling, threw ſome thouſands in the Mother Country out of employment, and induced them, from a regard to their own intereſt, to advocate the meaſures wiſhed for by America. The petitions from the Colonies were ſeconded by petitions from the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. What the former prayed for as a matter of right, and connected with their liberties, the latter alſo ſolicited from motives of immediate advantage. In order to remedy the deficiency of Britiſh goods, the Coloniſts betook themſelves to a variety of neceſſary domeſtic manufactures. In a little time, large

large quantities of coarſe and common cloaths were brought to market, and theſe, though dearer, and of a worſe quality, were cheerfully preferred to ſimilar articles imported from Britain. That wool might not be wanting, they entered into reſolutions to abſtain from eating lambs. Foreign elegancies were generally laid aſide. The women were as exemplary as the men in various inſtances of ſelf-denial. With great readineſs, they refuſed every article of decoration for their perſons, and of luxury for their tables. Theſe reſtrictions, which the Coloniſts had voluntarily impoſed on themſelves, were ſo well obſerved, that multitudes of artificers in England were reduced to great diſtreſs, and ſome of their moſt flouriſhing manufactories were, in a great meaſure, at a ſtand. An aſſociation was entered into by many of the ſons of liberty, the name given to thoſe who were oppoſed to the ſtamp act, by which they agreed "to march with the utmoſt expedition, at their own proper coſt and expence, with their whole force, to the relief of thoſe that ſhould be in danger from the ſtamp act, or its promoters and abettors, or any thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been done in oppoſition to its obtaining." This was ſubſcribed by ſo many in New York and New England, that nothing but a repeal could have prevented the immediate commencement of a civil war.

From the decided oppoſition to the ſtamp act, which had been adopted by the Colonies, it became neceſſary for Great Britain to enforce or repeal it. Both methods of proceeding had ſupporters. The oppoſers of a repeal urged arguments, drawn from the dignity of the nation, the danger of giving way to the clamours of the Americans, and the conſequences of weakening parliamentary authority over the Colonies. On the other hand, it was evident, from the determined oppoſition of the Colonies, that it could not be enforced without a civil war, by which, in every event, the nation muſt be a loſer. In the courſe of theſe diſcuſſions, Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, and gave extenſive information on the ſtate of American affairs, and the impolicy of the ſtamp act, which contributed much to remove prejudices, and to produce a diſpoſition that was friendly to a repeal.

Some ſpeakers of great weight, in both Houſes of Parliament, denied their right of taxing the Colonies. The moſt diſtinguiſhed ſupporters of this opinion were Lord Camden in the Houſe of Peers, and Mr. Pitt in the Houſe of Commons. The former, in ſtrong language, ſaid, "My poſition is this, I repeat it, I will maintain it to my laſt hour. Taxation and repreſentation are inſeparable. This poſition is founded on the laws of nature. It is more, it is itſelf an eternal law

of nature. For whatever is a man's own is abſolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him without his conſent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery." Mr. Pitt, with an original boldneſs of expreſſion, juſtified the Coloniſts in oppoſing the ſtamp act. "You have no right," ſaid he, "to tax America. I rejoice that America has reſiſted. Three millions of our fellow ſubjects ſo loſt to every ſenſe of virtue, as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit inſtruments to make ſlaves of the reſt." He concluded with giving his advice, that the ſtamp act be repealed abſolutely, totally, and immediately,—that the reaſon for the repeal be aſſigned, that it was founded on an erroneous principle. "At the ſame time," ſaid he, "let the ſovereign authority of this country over the Colonies, be aſſerted in as ſtrong terms as can be deviſed, and be made to extend to every point of legiſlation whatſoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exerciſe every power, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their conſent." The approbation of this illuſtrious ſtateſman, whoſe diſtinguiſhed abilities had raiſed Great Britain to the higheſt pitch of renown, inſpired the Americans with additional confidence, in the rectitude of their claims of exemption from parliamentary taxation, and emboldened them to farther oppoſition, when at a future day, as ſhall be hereafter related, the project of an American revenue was reſumed. After much debating, and two proteſts in the Houſe of Lords, and paſſing an act "for ſecuring the dependence of America on Great Britain," the repeal of the ſtamp act was finally carried March 18, 1766. This event gave great joy in London. Ships in the river Thames diſplayed their colours, and houſes were illuminated all over the city. It was no ſooner known in America, than the Coloniſts reſcinded their reſolutions, and recommenced their mercantile intercourſe with the Mother Country. They preſented their homeſpun cloaths to the poor, and imported more largely than ever. The churches reſounded with thankſgivings, and their public and private rejoicings knew no bounds. By letters, addreſſes, and other means, almoſt all the Colonies ſhewed unequivocal marks of acknowledgement and gratitude. So ſudden a calm recovered after ſo violent a ſtorm, is without a parallel in hiſtory. By the judicious ſacrifice of one law, the parliament of Great Britain procured an acquieſcence in all that remained.

There were enlightened patriots, fully impreſſed with an idea, that the immoderate joy of the Coloniſts was diſproportioned to the advantage they had gained.

The ſtamp act, though repealed, was not repealed on American prin-

ciples. The preamble aſſigned as the reaſon thereof, "That the collecting the ſeveral duties and revenues, as by the ſaid act was directed, would be attended with many inconveniencies, and productive of conſequences dangerous to the commercial intereſts of theſe kingdoms." Though this reaſon was a good one in England, it was by no means ſatisfactory in America. At the ſame time that the ſtamp act was repealed, the abſolute, unlimited ſupremacy of parliament was, in words, aſſerted. The oppoſers of the repeal contended for this as eſſential, the friends of that meaſure acquieſced in it to ſtrengthen their party, and make ſure of their object. Many of both ſides thought, that the dignity of Great Britain required ſomething of the kind to counterbalance the loſs of authority, that might reſult from her yielding to the clamours of the Coloniſts. The act for this purpoſe was called the Declaratory Act, and was in principle more hoſtile to American rights than the ſtamp act; for it annulled thoſe reſolutions and acts of the Provincial Aſſemblies, in which they had aſſerted their right to exemption from all taxes, not impoſed by their own repreſentatives; and alſo enacted, "That the parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the Colonies, in all caſes whatſoever."

The bulk of the Americans, intoxicated with the advantage they had gained, overlooked this ſtatute, which, in one comprehenſive ſentence, not only deprived them of liberty and property, but of every right incident to humanity. They conſidered it as a ſalvo for the honour of parliament, in repealing an act, which had ſo lately received their ſanction, and flattered themſelves it would remain a dead letter, and that although the right of taxation was in words retained, it would never be exerciſed. Unwilling to contend about paper claims of ideal ſupremacy, they returned to their habits of good humour with the Parent State.

The repeal of the ſtamp act, in a relative connection with all its circumſtances and conſequences, was the firſt direct ſtep to American independency. The claims of the two countries were not only left undecided, but a foundation was laid for their extending at a future period, to the impoſſibility of a compromiſe. Though for the preſent Great Britain receded from enforcing her claim of American revenue, a numerous party, adhering to that ſyſtem, reſerved themſelves for more favourable circumſtances to enforce it; and at the ſame time the Coloniſts, more enlightened on the ſubject, and more fully convinced of the rectitude of their claims, were encouraged to oppoſe it, under whatſoever form it ſhould appear, or under whatſoever diſguiſe it ſhould cover itſelf.

Elevated

Elevated with the advantage they had gained, from that day forward, inſtead of feeling themſelves dependent on Great Britain, they conceived that, in reſpect to commerce, ſhe was dependent on them. It inſpired them with ſuch high ideas of the importance of their trade, that they conſidered the Mother Country to be brought under greater obligations to them, for purchaſing her manufactures, than they were to her for protection and the adminiſtration of civil government. The Freemen of Britiſh America, impreſſed with the exalting ſentiments of patriotiſm and of liberty, conceived it to be within their power, by future combinations, at any time to convulſe, if not to bankrupt, the nation from which they ſprung.

Opinions of this kind were ſtrengthened by their local ſituation, favouring ideas, as extenſive as the unexplored continent of which they were inhabitants. While the pride of Britons revolted at the thought of their Colonies refuſing ſubjection to that Parliament which they obeyed, the Americans with equal haughtineſs exclaimed "ſhall the petty iſland of Great Britain, ſcarce a ſpeck on the map of the world, controul the free citizens of the great continent of America?"

Theſe high ſounding pretenſions would have been harmleſs, or at moſt, ſpent themſelves in words, had not a ruinous policy, untaught by recent experience, called them into ſerious action. Though the ſtamp act was repealed, an American revenue was ſtill a favourite object with many in Great Britain. The equity and the advantage of taxing the Coloniſts by parliamentary authority were very apparent to their underſtandings, but the mode of effecting it, without hazarding the public tranquility, was not ſo obvious. Mr. Charles Townſend, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, pawned his credit to accompliſh what many ſo earneſtly deſired. He accordingly brought into parliament, in 1767, a bill for granting duties in the Britiſh Colonies on glaſs, paper, painters colours, and tea, which was afterwards enacted into a law. If the ſmall duties impoſed on theſe articles had preceded the ſtamp act, they might have paſſed unobſerved: but the late diſcuſſions occaſioned by that act, had produced amongſt the Coloniſts, not only an animated conviction of their exemption from parliamentary taxation, but a jealouſy of the deſigns of Great Britain. The ſentiments of the Americans on this ſubject bore a great reſemblance to thoſe of their Britiſh countrymen of the preceding century, in the caſe of ſhip money. The amount of that tax was very moderate, little exceeding twenty thouſand pounds. It was diſtributed upon the people with equality, and expended for the honour and advantage of the kingdom, yet all theſe circumſtances could not reconcile the people

of England to the impoſition. It was entirely arbitrary. "By the ſame right," ſaid they, "any other tax may be impoſed." In like manner the Americans conſidered theſe ſmall duties in the nature of an entering wedge, deſigned to make way for others, which would be greater and heavier. In a relative connection with late acts of Parliament, reſpecting domeſtic manufactures and foreign commerce, laws for impoſing taxes on Britiſh commodities exported to the Colonies, formed a complete circle of oppreſſion, from which there was no poſſibility of eſcaping. The Coloniſts had been, previouſly, reſtrained from manufacturing certain articles for their own conſumption. Other acts confined them to the excluſive uſe of Britiſh merchandize. The addition of duties put them wholly in the power and diſcretion of Great Britain; "We are not," ſaid they, "permitted to import from any nation, other than our own Parent State, and have been in ſome caſes by her reſtrained from manufacturing for ourſelves, and ſhe claims a right to do ſo in every inſtance which is incompatible with her intereſt. To theſe reſtrictions we have hitherto ſubmitted, but ſhe now riſes in her demands, and impoſes duties on thoſe commodities, the purchaſing of which, elſewhere than at her market, her law forbids, and the manufacturing of which for our own uſe, ſhe may, any moment ſhe pleaſes, reſtrain. If her right is valid to lay a ſmall tax, it is equally ſo to lay a large one, for from the nature of the caſe, ſhe muſt be guided excluſively by her own opinions of our ability, and of the propriety of the duties ſhe may impoſe. Nothing is left for us but to complain and pay." They contended that there was no real difference between the principle of theſe new duties and the ſtamp act, they were both deſigned to raiſe a revenue in America, and in the ſame manner. The payment of the duties impoſed by the ſtamp act, might have been eluded by the total diſuſe of ſtamped paper, and ſo might the payment of theſe duties, by the total diſuſe of thoſe articles on which they were laid, but in neither caſe, without great difficulty. The Coloniſts were therefore reduced to the hard alternative of being obliged totally to diſuſe articles of the greateſt neceſſity in human life, or to pay a tax without their conſent. The fire of oppoſition, which had been ſmothered by the repeal of the ſtamp act, burned afreſh againſt the ſame principle of taxation, exhibited in its new form. Mr. Dickenſon, of Pennſylvania, on this occaſion preſented to the public a ſeries of letters ſigned the Farmer, proving the extreme danger which threatened the liberties of America, from their acquieſcence in a precedent which might eſtabliſh the claim of parliamentary taxation. They were written with great animation, and were read with uncommon

common avidity. Their reaſoning was ſo convincing, that many of the candid and diſintereſted citizens of Great Britain acknowledged that the American oppoſition to parliamentary taxation was juſtifiable. The enormous ſums which the ſtamp act would have collected, had thoroughly alarmed the Coloniſts for their property. It was now demonſtrated by ſeveral writers, eſpecially by the Pennſylvania Farmer, that a ſmall tax, though more ſpecious, was equally dangerous, as it eſtabliſhed a precedent which eventually annihilated American property. The declaratory act, which at firſt was the ſubject of but a few comments, was now dilated upon as a foundation for every ſpecies of oppreſſion: and the ſmall duties lately impoſed were conſidered as the beginning of a train of much greater evils.

Had the Coloniſts admitted the propriety of raiſing a parliamentary revenue among them, the erection of an American board of commiſſioners for managing it, which was about this time inſtituted at Boſton, would have been a convenience rather than an injury; but united as they were in ſentiments, of the contrariety of that meaſure to their natural and conſtitutional rights, they ill brooked the innovation. As it was coeval with the new duties, they conſidered it as a certain evidence that the project of an extenſive American revenue, notwithſtanding the repeal of the ſtamp act, was ſtill in contemplation. A diſlike to Britiſh taxation naturally produced a diſlike to a board which was to be inſtrumental in that buſineſs, and occaſioned many inſults to its commiſſioners.

The revenue act of 1767 produced reſolves, petitions, addreſſes, and remonſtrances, ſimilar to thoſe with which the Coloniſts oppoſed the ſtamp act. It alſo gave riſe to a ſecond aſſociation for ſuſpending farther importations of Britiſh manufactures, till theſe offenſive duties ſhould be taken off. Uniformity, in theſe meaſures, was promoted by a circular letter from the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts to the ſpeakers of other aſſemblies. This ſtated the petitions and repreſentations, which they had forwarded againſt the late duties, and ſtrongly pointed out the great difficulties, that muſt ariſe to themſelves and their conſtituents, from the operation of acts of parliament impoſing duties on the unrepreſented American Colonies, and requeſted a reciprocal free communication on public affairs. Moſt of the Provincial Aſſemblies, as they had opportunities of deliberating on the ſubject, approved of the proceedings of the Maſſachuſetts Aſſembly, and harmonized with them in the meaſures which they had adopted. In reſolves, they ſtated their rights, in firm but decent language; and in petitions, they prayed for

for a repeal of the late acts, which they conſidered as infringements on their liberties.

It is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Miniſter who planned theſe duties, hoped that they would be regarded as regulations of trade. He might alſo preſume, that as they amounted only to an inconſiderable ſum, they would not give any alarm. The circular letter of the Maſſachuſetts Aſſembly, which laid the foundation for united petitions againſt them, gave, therefore, great offence. Lord Hillſborough, who had lately been appointed Secretary of State for the American department, wrote letters to the governors of the reſpective provinces, urging them to exert their influence, to prevent the aſſemblies from taken any notice of it, and he called on the Maſſachuſetts Aſſembly to reſcind their proceedings on that ſubject. This meaſure was both injudicious and irritating. To require a public body to reſcind a reſolution, for ſending a letter, which was already ſent, anſwered, and acted upon, was a bad ſpecimen of the wiſdom of the new miniſter. To call a vote, for ſending a circular letter to invite the aſſemblies of the neighbouring colonies to communicate together in the purſuit of legal meaſures to obtain a redreſs of grievances, "a flagitious attempt to diſturb the public peace," appeared to the Coloniſts a very injudicious application of harſh epithets to their conſtitutional right of petitioning. To threaten a new houſe of aſſembly with diſſolution, in caſe of their not agreeing to reſcind an act of a former aſſembly which was not executory, but executed, claſhed no leſs with the dictates of common ſenſe, than the conſtitutional rights of Britiſh Coloniſts. The propoſition for reſcinding was negatived, by a majority of ninety-two to ſeventeen. The aſſembly was immediately diſſolved, as had been threatened. This procedure of the new Secretary was conſidered by the Coloniſts as an attempt to ſuppreſs all communication of ſentiment between them, and to prevent their united ſupplications from reaching the royal ear. It anſwered no one valuable purpoſe, but naturally tended to miſchief.

The bad humour, which from ſucceſſive irritation already too much prevailed, was about this time, June 10, 1768, wrought up to a high pitch of reſentment and violence, on occaſion of the ſeizure of Mr. Hancock's ſloop Liberty, for not having entered all the wines ſhe had brought from Madeira. The popularity of her owner, the name of the ſloop, and the general averſion to the board of commiſſioners and parliamentary taxation, concurred to inflame the minds of the people. They reſented the removal of the ſloop from the wharf, as implying an apprehenſion of a reſcue. They uſed every means in their power to interrupt the officers in the execution of their buſineſs; and numbers

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ſwore that they would be revenged. Mr. Harriſon the collector, Mr. Hallowell the comptroller, and Mr. Irwine the inſpector of imports and exports, were ſo roughly handled, as to bring their lives in danger. The windows of ſome of their houſes were broken, and the boat of the collector was dragged through the town, and burned on the common. Such was the temper and diſpoſition of many of the inhabitants, that the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms thought proper to retire on board the Romney man of war; and afterwards to Caſtle William. The commiſſioners, from the firſt moment of their inſtitution, had been an eyeſore to the people of Boſton. This, though partly owing to their active zeal in detecting ſmugglers, principally aroſe from the aſſociation which exiſted in the minds of the inhabitants, between that board and an American revenue. The declaratory act of 1766, the revenue act of 1767; together with the pomp and expence of this board, ſo diſproportionate to the ſmall income of the preſent duties, conſpired to convince not only the few who were benefited by ſmuggling, but the great body of enlightened freemen, that farther and greater impoſitions of parliamentary taxes were intended. In proportion, as this opinion gained ground, the inhabitants became more diſreſpectful to the executive officers of the revenue, and more diſpoſed, in the frenzy of patriotiſm, to commit outrages on their perſons and property. The conſtant bickering that exiſted between them and the inhabitants, together with the ſteady oppoſition given by the latter to the diſcharge of the official duties of the former, induced the commiſſioners and friends of the American revenue, to ſolicit the protection of a regular force, to be ſtationed at Boſton. In compliance with their wiſhes, his Majeſty ordered two regiments and ſome armed veſſels to repair thither, for ſupporting and aſſiſting the officers of the cuſtoms in the execution of their duty. This reſtrained the active exertion of that turbulent ſpirit, which ſince the paſſing of the late revenue laws had revived, but it added to the pre-exiſting cauſes thereof.

When it was reported in Boſton, that one or more regiments were ordered there, a meeting of the inhabitants was called, and a committee appointed to requeſt the Governor to iſſue precepts for convening a general aſſembly. He replied, "that he could not comply with their requeſt, till he had received his Majeſty's commands for that purpoſe." The anſwer being reported, September 13, ſome ſpirited reſolutions were adopted. In particular, it was voted, that the ſelect men of Boſton ſhould write to the ſelect men of other towns, to propoſe, that a convention be held, of deputies from each, to meet at Faneuil-hall, in Boſton, on the 22d inſtant. It was afterwards voted, "That

"That as there is apprehenſion in the minds of many, of an approaching war with France, thoſe inhabitants, who are not provided, be requeſted to furniſh themſelves forthwith with arms."

Ninety-ſix towns, and eight diſtricts, agreed to the propoſal made by the inhabitants of Boſton, and appointed deputies to attend a convention, but the town of Hatfield refuſed its concurrence. When the deputies met, they conducted themſelves with moderation, diſclaimed all legiſlative authority, adviſed the people to pay the greateſt deference to government, and to wait patiently for a redreſs of their grievances from his Majeſty's wiſdom and moderation. After ſtating to the world the cauſes of their meeting, and an account of their proceedings, they diſſolved themſelves, after a ſhort ſeſſion, and went home.

Within a day after the convention broke up, the expected regiments arrived, and were peaceably received. Hints had been thrown out by ſome idle people that they ſhould not be permitted to come on ſhore. Preparations were made by the captains of the men of war in the harbour, to fire on the town, in caſe oppoſition had been made to their landing, but the criſis for an appeal to arms was not yet arrived. It was hoped by ſome, that the folly and rage of the Boſtonians would have led them to this raſh meaſure, and thereby have afforded an opportunity for giving them ſome naval and military correction, but both prudence and policy induced them to adopt a more temperate line of conduct.

While the contention was kept alive by the ſucceſſive irritations, which have been mentioned, there was, particularly in Maſſachuſetts, a ſpecies of warfare carried on between the royal governors, and the provincial aſſemblies. Each watched the other with all the jealouſy, which ſtrong diſtruſt could inſpire. The latter regarded the former as inſtruments of power, wiſhing ro pay their court to the Mother Country, by curbing the ſpirit of American freedom, and the former kept a ſtrict eye on the latter, leſt they might ſmooth the way to independence, at which they were charged with aiming. Lieutenant Governor Hutchinſon, of Maſſachuſſetts, virtually challenged the aſſembly to a diſpute, on the ground of the controverſy between the two countries. This was accepted by the latter, and the ſubject diſcuſſed with all the ſubtilty of argument, which the ingenuity of either party could ſuggeſt.

Whe war of words was not confined to the Colonies. While the American aſſemblies paſſed reſolutions, aſſerting their excluſive right to tax their conſtituents, the Parliament by reſolves aſſerted their unlimited ſupremacy in and over the Colonies. While the former, in their public acts, diſclaimed all views of independence, they were ſucceſſively repreſented in parliamentary reſolves, royal ſpeeches, and addreſſes from

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Lords and Commons, as being in a ſtate of diſobedience to law and government, and as having proceeded to meaſures ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and manifeſting a diſpoſition to throw off all ſubordination to Great-Britain.

In February, 1769, both Houſes of Parliament went one ſtep beyond all that had preceded. They then concurred in a joint addreſs to his Majeſty, in which they expreſſed their ſatisfaction in the meaſures his Majeſty had purſued—gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they would effectually ſupport him in ſuch farther meaſures as might be found neceſſary to maintain the civil magiſtrates in a due execution of the laws, in Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and beſeeched him "to direct the governor to take the moſt effectual methods for procuring the fulleſt information, touching all treaſons or miſpriſions of treaſons committed within the government, ſince the 30th day of December, 1767; and to tranſmit the ſame, together with the names of the perſons who were moſt active in the commiſſion of ſuch offences, to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, in order that his Majeſty might iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion for enquiring of, hearing, and determining, the ſaid offences, within the realm of Great Britain, purſuant to the proviſions of the ſtatute of the 35th of King Henry the 8th." The latter part of this addreſs, which propoſed the bringing of delinquents from Maſſachuſetts, to be tried at a tribunal in Great Britain, for crimes committed in America, underwent many ſevere animadverſions.

It was aſſerted to be totally inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution, for in England a man charged with a crime, had a right to be tried in the country in which his offence was ſuppoſed to have been committed. "Juſtice is regularly and impartially adminiſtered in our court," ſaid the Coloniſts, "and yet by direction of Parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all ſuch perſons as may be pointed out as witneſſes, and carried to England, there to be tried in a diſtant land, by a jury of ſtrangers, and ſubject to all the diſadvantages which reſult from want of friends, want of witneſſes, and want of money."

The Houſe of Burgeſſes of Virginia met ſoon after official accounts of the joint addreſſes of Lords and Commons on this ſubject reached America; and in a few days after their meeting, paſſed reſolutions expreſſing "their excluſive right to tax their conſtituents, and their right to petition their Sovereign for redreſs of grievances, and the lawfulneſs of procuring the concurrence of the other Colonies in praying for the royal interpoſition in favour of the violated rights of America; and that all trials for treaſon, or for any crime whatſoever, committed in

that Colony, ought to be before his Majeſty's courts within the ſaid Colony; and that the ſeizing any perſon reſiding in the ſaid Colony, ſuſpected of any crime whatſoever committed therein, and ſending ſuch perſon to places beyond the ſea to be tried, was highly derogatory of the rights of Britiſh ſubjects." The next day Lord Botetourt, the governor of Virginia, ſent for the Houſe of Burgeſſes and addreſſed them as follows: "Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the Houſe of Burgeſſes, I have heard of your reſolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to diſſolve you, and you are diſſolved accordingly."

The Aſſembly of North-Carolina adopted reſolutions, ſimilar to thoſe of Virginia, for which Tyron their governor diſſolved them. The members of the Houſe of Burgeſſes in Virginia, and of the Aſſembly of North-Carolina, after their diſſolution, met as private gentlemen, choſe their late ſpeakers moderators, and adopted reſolutions againſt importing Britiſh goods. The non-importation agreement was in this manner forwarded by the very meaſures which were intended to curb the ſpirit of American freedom, from which it ſprung. Meetings of the aſſociators were regularly held in the various provinces. Committees were appointed to examine all veſſels arriving from Britain. Cenſures were freely paſſed on ſuch as refuſed to concur in theſe aſſociations, and their names publiſhed in the newſpapers as enemies to their country. The regular acts of the Provincial Aſſemblies were not ſo much reſpected and obeyed as the decrees of theſe committees, the aſſociations were in general, as well obſerved as could be expected, notwithſtanding there were ſome colluſions. The fear of mobs, of public reſentment and contempt, co-operating with patriotiſm, preponderated over private intereſt and convenience. One of the importing merchants of Boſton, who heſitated in his compliance with the determination of the inhabitants, was waited upon by a committee of tradeſmen, with an axeman and carpenter at their head, who informed him, "that one thouſand men were waiting for his anſwer, and that if he refuſed to comply, they could not tell what might be the conſequence." He complied, and the newſpapers ſoon after publiſhed, that he did it voluntarily.

In Boſton, Lieut. Governor Hutchinſon endeavoured to promote a counter aſſociation, but without effect. The friends of importation objected, that till Parliament made proviſion for the puniſhment of the confederacies againſt importation, a counter-aſſociation would anſwer no other purpoſe, than to expoſe the aſſociators to popular rage.

The Boſtonians, about this time, went one ſtep farther. They reſhipped goods to Great Britain, inſtead of ſtoring them as formerly. This was reſolved upon in a town meeting, on the information of an

inhabitant, who communicated a letter that he had lately received from a Member of Parliament, in which it was ſaid, "that ſhipping back ten thouſand pounds worth of goods would do more than ſtoring a hundred thouſand." This turned the ſcale, and procured a majority of votes for re-ſhipping. Not only in this, but in many other inſtances, the violences of the Coloniſts were foſtered by individuals in Great Britain. A number of theſe were in principle with the Americans, in denying the right of Parliament to tax them, but others were more influenced by a ſpirit of oppoſition to the miniſterial majority, than by a regard to the conſtitutional liberties of either country.

The non-importation agreement had now laſted ſome time, and by degrees had become general. Several of the colonial aſſemblies had been diſſolved, or prorogued, for aſſerting the rights of their conſtituents. The royal governors, and other friends to an American revenue, were chagrined. The Coloniſts were irritated. Good men, both in England and America, deplored theſe untoward events, and beheld with concern an increaſing ill humour between thoſe, who were bound by intereſt and affection to be friends to each other.

In conſequence of the American non-importation agreement, founded in oppoſition to the duties in 1767, the manufacturers of Great Britain experienced a renewal of the diſtreſſes, which followed the adoption of ſimilar reſolutions in the year 1765, the repeal of theſe duties was therefore ſolicited by the ſame influence, which had procured the repeal of the ſtamp act. The rulers of Great Britain acted without deciſion. Inſtead of perſevering in their own ſyſtem of coercion, or indeed in any one uniform ſyſtem of colonial government, they ſtruck out a middle line, embarraſſed with the conſequences, both of ſeverity and of lenity, and which was without the complete benefits of either. Soon after the ſpirited addreſs to his Majeſty, laſt mentioned, had paſſed both Houſes of Parliament, aſſurances were given for repealing all the duties impoſed in 1767, excepting that of three-pence per pound on tea.

Anxious on the one hand to eſtabliſh parliamentary ſupremacy, and on the other, afraid to ſtem the torrent of oppoſition, they conceded enough to weaken the former, and yet not enough to ſatisfy the latter. Had Great Britain generouſly repealed the whole, and for ever relinquiſhed all claim to the right, or even the exerciſe of the right of taxation, the union of the two countries might have laſted for ages. Had ſhe ſeriouſly determined to compel the ſubmiſſion of the Colonies, nothing could have been more unfriendly to this deſign, than her repeated conceſſions to their reiterated aſſociations. The declaratory act, and the reſervation of the duty on tea, left the cauſe of contention between the two countries in

full force; but the former was only a claim on paper, and the latter might be evaded, by refuſing to purchaſe any tea on which the parliamentary tax was impoſed. The Coloniſts, therefore, conceiving that their commerce might be re-newed, without eſtabliſhing any precedent injurious to their liberties, relaxed in their aſſociations, in every particular, except tea, and immediately recommenced the importation of all other articles of merchandiſe. A political calm once more took place. The Parent State might now have cloſed the diſpute for ever, and honourably receded, without a formal relinquiſhment of her claims. Neither the reſervation of the duty on tea, by the Britiſh Parliament, nor the exceptions made by the Coloniſts, of importing no tea, on which a duty was impoſed, would, if they had been left to their own operation, have diſturbed the returning harmony of the two countries. Without freſh irritation, their wounds might have healed, and not a ſcar been left behind.

Theſe two abortive attempts to raiſe a parliamentary revenue in America, cauſed a fermentation in the minds of the Coloniſts, and gave birth to many inquiries reſpecting their natural rights. Reflections and reaſonings on this ſubject produced a high ſenſe of liberty, and a general conviction that there could be no ſecurity for their property, if they were to be taxed at the diſcretion of a Britiſh Parliament, in which they were unrepreſented, and over which they had no controul. A determination not only to oppoſe this new claim of taxation, but to keep a ſtrict watch, leſt it might be eſtabliſhed in ſome diſguiſed form, took poſſeſſion of their minds.

It commonly happens in the diſcuſſion of doubtful claims between ſtates, that the ground of the original diſpute inſenſibly changes. When the mind is employed in inveſtigating one ſubject, others aſſociated with it, naturally preſent themſelves. In the courſe of inquiries on the ſubject of parliamentary taxation, the reſtriction on the trade of the Colonies, the neceſſity that was impoſed on them to purchaſe Britiſh and other manufactures, loaded with their full proportion of all taxes paid by thoſe who made or ſold them, became more generally known. While American writers were vindicating their country from the charge of contributing nothing to the common expences of the empire, they were led to ſet off to their credit, the diſadvantage of their being confined excluſively to purchaſe ſuch manufactures in Britain. They inſtituted calculations, by which they demonſtrated that the monopoly of their trade, drew from them greater ſums for the ſupport of government, than were uſually paid by an equal number of their fellow citizens of Great Britain; and that taxation, ſuperadded to ſuch a monopoly, would

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leave them in a ſtate of perfect uncompenſated ſlavery. The inveſtigation of theſe ſubjects brought matters into view which the friends of union ought to have kept out of ſight, Theſe circumſtances, together with the extenſive population of the Eaſtern States, and their adventurous ſpirit of commerce, ſuggeſted to ſome bold ſpirits, that not only Britiſh taxation, but Britiſh navigation laws, were unfriendly to the intereſts of America. Speculations of this magnitude ſuited well with the extenſive views of ſome capital merchants, but never would have roufed the bulk of the people, had not new matter brought the diſpute between the two countries to a point, in which every individual was intereſted,

On reviewing the conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry reſpecting the Colonies, much weakneſs as well as folly appears. For a ſucceſſion of years there was a ſteady purſuit of American revenue, but great inconſiſtence in the projects for obtaining it. In one moment the Parliament was for enforcing their laws, the next for repealing them. Doing and undoing, menacing and ſubmitting, ſtraining and relaxing, followed each other in alternate ſucceſſion. The object of adminiſtration, though twice relinquiſhed as to preſent efficiency, was invariably purſued, but without any unity of ſyſtem.

On the 9th of May, 1769, the King in his ſpeech to Parliament highly applauded their hearty concurrence, in maintaining the execution of the laws in every part of his dominions. Five days after this ſpeech, Lord Hillſborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Lord Botetourt, governor of Virginia: "I can take upon me to aſſure you, notwithſtanding informations to the contrary, from men with factious and ſeditious views, that his Majeſty's preſent adminiſtration have at no time entertained a deſign to propoſe to Parliament to lay any farther taxes upon America, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue, and that it is at preſent their intention to propoſe the next ſeſſion of Parliament, to take off the duties upon glaſs, paper, and colours, upon conſideration of ſuch duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce." The governor was alſo informed, that "his Majeſty relied upon his prudence and fidelity, to make ſuch an explanation of his Majeſty's meaſures, as would tend to remove prejudices, and to reeſtabliſh mutual confidence and affection between the Mother Country and the Colonies." In the exact ſpirit of his inſtructions, Lord Botetourt addreſſed the Virginia Aſſembly as follows: "It may poſſibly be objected, that as his Majeſty's preſent adminiſtation are not immortal, their ſucceſſors may be inclined to attempt to undo what the preſent miniſters ſhall have attempted to perform, and to that objection I can give but

but this anſwer, that it is my firm opinion that the plan I have ſtated to you will certainly take place, that it will never be departed from; and ſo determined am I for ever to abide by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the laſt hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occaſions, exert every power, with which I either am, or ever ſhall be legally inveſted, in order to obtain and maintain for the continent of America, that ſatisfaction which I have been authoriſed to promiſe this day, by the confidential ſervants of our gracious Sovereign, who, to my certain knowledge, rates his honour ſo high, that he would rather part with his crown, than preſerve it by deceit."

Theſe aſſurances were received with tranſports of joy by the Virginians. They viewed them as pledging his Majeſty for ſecurity, that the late deſign for raiſing a revenue in America was abandoned, and never more to be reſumed. The Aſſembly of Virginia, in anſwer to Lord Botetourt, expreſſed themſelves thus: "We are ſure our moſt gracious ſovereign, under whatever changes may happen in his confidential ſervants, will remain immutable in the ways of truth and juſtice, and that he is incapable of deceiving his faithful ſubjects; and we eſteem your Lordſhip's information not only as warranted, but even ſanctified by the royal word."

How far theſe ſolemn engagements with the Americans were obſerved, ſubſequent events will demonſtrate. In a perfect reliance on them, moſt of the Coloniſts returned to their ancient habits of good humour, and flattered themſelves that no future Parliament would undertake to give or grant away their property.

From the royal and miniſterial aſſurances given in favour of America in the year 1769, and the ſubſequent repeal in 1770, of five ſixths of the duties which had been impoſed in 1767, together with the conſequent renewal of the mercantile intercourſe between Great Britain and the Colonies, many hoped that the contention between the two countries was finally cloſed. In all the provinces, excepting Maſſachuſetts, appearances ſeemed to favour that opinion. Many incidents operated there to the prejudice of that harmony, which had begun elſewhere to return. The ſtationing a military force among them was a fruitful ſource of uneaſineſs. The royal army had been brought thither, with the avowed deſign of enforcing ſubmiſſion to the Mother Country. Speeches from the throne, and addreſſes from both Houſes of Parliament, had taught them to look upon the inhabitants as a factious, turbulent people, who aimed at throwing off all ſubordination to Great Britain. They, on the other hand, were accuſtomed to look upon the ſoldiery

ſoldiery as inſtruments of tyranny, ſent on purpoſe to dragoon them out of their liberties.

Reciprocal inſults ſoured the tempers, and mutual injuries embittered the paſſions, of the oppoſite parties: beſides, ſome fiery ſpirits who thought it an indignity to have troops quartered among them, were conſtantly exciting the towns-people to quarrel with the ſoldiers.

On the 2d of March, a fray took place near Mr. Gray's ropewalk, between a private ſoldier of the 29th regiment and an inhabitant. The former was ſupported by his comrades, the latter by the rope-makers, till ſeveral on both ſides were involved in the conſequences. On the 5th a more dreadful ſcene was preſented. The ſoldiers, when under arms, were preſſed upon, inſulted, and pelted, by a mob armed with clubs, ſticks, and ſnowballs covering ſtones: they were alſo dared to fire. In this ſituation, one of the ſoldiers who had received a blow, in reſentment fired at the ſuppoſed aggreſſor. This was followed by a ſingle diſcharge from ſix others. Three of the inhabitants were killed, and five were dangerouſly wounded. The town was immediately in commotion. Such was the temper, force, and number of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townſmen from falling on the ſoldiers. The killed were buried in one vault, and in a moſt reſpectful manner, to expreſs the indignation of the inhabitants at the ſlaughter of their brethren by ſoldiers quartered among them, in violation of their civil liberties. Preſton the captain who commanded, and the party which fired on the inhabitants, were committed to jail, and afterwards tried. The captain and ſix of the men were acquitted. Two were brought in guilty of manſlaughter. It appeared on the trial, that the ſoldiers were abuſed, inſulted, threatened, and pelted, before they fired. It was alſo proved, that only ſeven guns were fired by the eight priſoners. Theſe circumſtances induced the jury to make a favourable verdict. The reſult of the trial reflected great honour on John Adams and Joſiah Quincy, the council for the priſoners, and alſo on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions.

The events of this tragical night ſunk deep in the minds of the people, and were made ſubſervient to important purpoſes. The anniverſary of it was obſerved with great ſolemnity. Eloquent orators were ſucceſſively employed to deliver an annual oration, to preſerve the remembrance of it freſh in their minds. On theſe occaſions the bleſſings of liberty—the horrors of ſlavery—the dangers of a ſtanding army—the rights of the Colonies, and a variety of ſuch topics were preſented to the public view

view, under their moſt pleaſing and alarming forms. Theſe annual orations adminiſtered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an inceſſant flame.

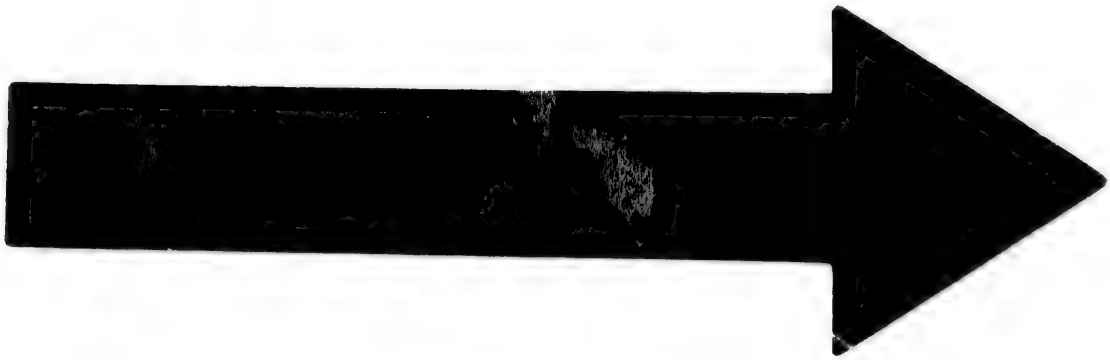
The obſtacles to returning harmony, which have already been mentioned, were increaſed, by making the governor and judges in Maſſachuſetts independent of the province. Formerly, they had been paid by yearly grants from the Aſſembly, but about this time proviſion was made for paying their ſalaries by the crown. This was reſented as a dangerous innovation, as an infraction of their charters, and as deſtroying that balance of power which is eſſential to free governments. That the Crown ſhould pay the ſalary of the chief juſtice, was repreſented by the Aſſembly, as a ſpecies of bribery, tending to bias his judicial determinations. They made it the foundation for impeaching Mr. Juſtice Oliver, before the Governor, but he excepted to their proceedings as unconſtitutional. The Aſſembly, nevertheleſs, gained two points: they rendered the governor more odious to the inhabitants, and increaſed the public reſpect for themſelves, as the counterpart of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, and as guardians of the rights of the people.

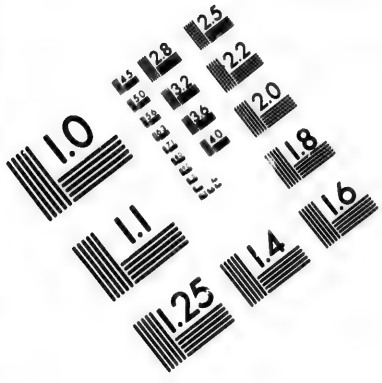
A perſonal animoſity between Lieut. Governor Hutchinſon and ſome diſtinguiſhed patriots in Maſſachuſetts, contributed to perpetuate a flame of diſcontent in that province after it had elſewhere viſibly abated. This was worked up, in the year 1773, to a high pitch, by a ſingular combination of circumſtances. Some letters had been written, in the courſe of the diſpute, by Governor Hutchinſon, Lieut. Governor Oliver, and others, in Boſton, to perſons in power and office in England, which contained a very unfavorable repreſentation of the ſtate of public affairs, and tended to ſhew the neceſſity of coercive meaſures, and of changing the chartered ſyſtem of government, to ſecure the obedience of the province. Theſe letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who tranſmitted them to Boſton. The indignation and animoſity which was excited on the receipt of this, knew no bounds. The Houſe of Aſſembly agreed on a petition and remonſtrance to his Majeſty, in which they charged their Governor and Lieut. Governor with being betrayers of their truſts and of the people they governed, and of giving private, partial, and falſe information. They alſo, Jan. 29, 1774, declared them enemies to the Colonies, and prayed for juſtice againſt them, and for their ſpeedy removal from their places. Theſe charges were carried through by a majority of eighty-two to twelve.

This petition and remonſtrance being tranſmitted to England, the merits of it were diſcuſſed before his Majeſty's privy-council. After an hearing

hearing before that board, in which Dr. Franklin repreſented the province of Maſſachuſetts, the Governor and Lieut. Governor were acquitted. Mr. Wedderburne, who defended the accuſed royal ſervants, in the courſe of his pleadings, inveighed againſt Dr. Franklin in the ſevereſt language, as the fomenter of the diſputes between the two countries. It was no protection to this venerable ſage, that being the agent of Maſſachuſſets, he conceived it his duty to inform his conſtituents of letters written on public affairs, calculated to overturn their chartered conſtitution. The age, reſpectability, and high literary character of the ſubject of Mr. Wedderburne's philippic, turned the attention of the public on the tranſaction. The inſult offered to one of their public agents, and eſpecially to one who was both the idol and ornament of his native country, ſunk deep in the minds of the Americans. That a faithful ſervant, whom they loved and almoſt [illegible]ed, ſhould be inſulted for diſcharging his official duty, rankled [illegible]eir hearts. Dr. Franklin was alſo immediately diſmiſſed from the office of deputy poſt-maſter general, which he held under the crown. It was not only by his tranſmiſſion of theſe letters that he had given offence to the Britiſh miniſtry, but by his popular writings in favour of America. Two pieces of his, in particular, had lately attracted a large ſhare of public attention, and had an extenſive influence on both ſides the Atlantic. The one purported to be an edict from the King of Pruſſia, for taxing the inhabitants of Great Britain, as deſcendants of emigrants from his dominions. The other was entitled, "Rules for reducing a great empire to a ſmall one." In both theſe he had expoſed the claims of the Mother Country, and the proceedings of the Britiſh miniſtry, with the ſeverity of poignant ſatire.

For ten years there had now been but little intermiſſion to the diſputes between Great Britain and her colonies. Their reſpective claims had never been compromiſed on middle ground. The calm which followed the repeal of the ſtamp act, was in a few months diſturbed by the revenue act of the year 1767. The tranquillity which followed the repeal of five ſixths of that act in the year 1770, was nothing more than a truce. The reſervation of the duty on tea, made as an avowed evidence of the claims of Great Britain to tax her colonies, kept alive the jealouſy of the coloniſts, while at the ſame time the ſtationing of a ſtanding army in Maſſachuſetts—the continuance of a board of commiſſioners in Boſton—the conſtituting the governors and judges of that province independent of the people, were conſtant ſources of irritation. The altercations which, at this period, were common between the royal governors and the principal aſſemblies, together with numerous vindica-





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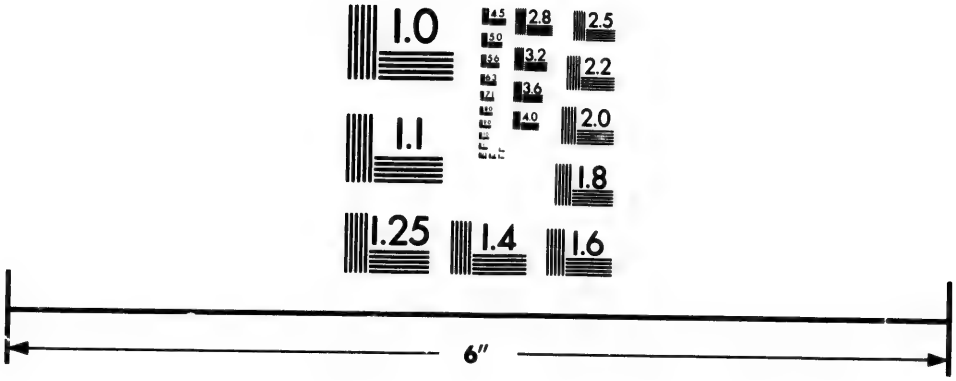

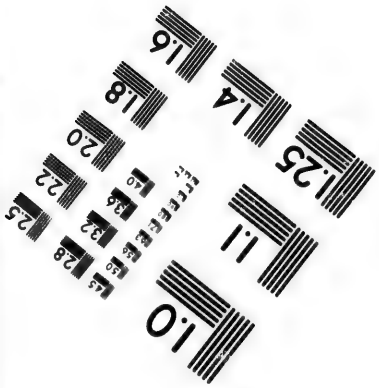

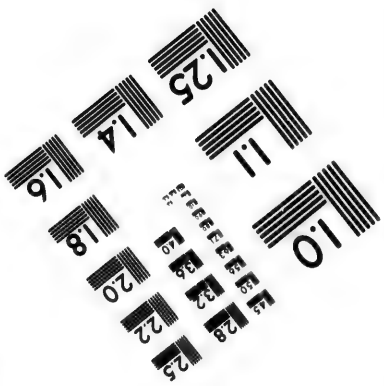

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tions of the claims of America, made the ſubject familiar to the coloniſts. The ground of the controverſy was canvaſſed in every company. The more the Americans read, reaſoned, and converſed on the ſubject, the more were they convinced of their right to the excluſive diſpoſal of their property. This was followed by a determination to reſiſt all encroachments on that palladium of Britiſh liberty. They were as ſtrongly convinced of their right to refuſe and reſiſt parliamentary taxation, as the ruling powers of Great Britain, of their right to demand and enforce their ſubmiſſion to it.

The claims of the two countries being thus irreconcileably oppoſed to each other, the partial calm which followed the conceſſion of Parliament in 1770, was liable to diſturbance from every incident. Under ſuch circumſtances, nothing leſs than the moſt guarded conduct on both ſides could prevent a renewal of the controverſy. Inſtead of following thoſe prudential meaſures which would have kept the ground of the diſpute out of ſight, an impolitic ſcheme was concerted between the Britiſh miniſtry and the Eaſt India Company, which placed the claims of Great Britain and of her colonies in hoſtile array againſt each other.

Matters were now ripe for the utmoſt extremities on the part of the Americans; and they were brought on in the following manner:—Though the coloniſts had entered into a non-importation agreement againſt tea, as well as all other commodities from Britain, it had nevertheleſs found its way into America, though in ſmaller quantities than before. This was ſenſibly felt by the Eaſt India Company, who had now agreed to pay a large ſum annually to government; in recompence for which compliance, and to make up their loſſes in other reſpects, they were empowered to export their tea from any duty payable in Britain; and in conſequence of this permiſſion, ſeveral ſhips freighted with the commodity were ſent to North America, and proper agents appointed for diſpoſing of it. The Americans now perceiving that the tax was thus likely to be enforced whether they would or not, determined to take every poſſible method to prevent the tea from being landed, as well knowing that it would be impoſſible to hinder the ſale, ſhould the commodity once be brought on ſhore. For this purpoſe the people aſſembled in great numbers, forcing thoſe to whom the tea was conſigned to reſign their offices, and to promiſe ſolemnly never to reſume them; and committees were appointed to examine the accounts of merchants, and make public teſts, declaring ſuch as would not take them enemies to their country. Nor was this behaviour confined to the colony of Maſſachuſſet's Bay; the reſt of the provinces entered into the

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conteſt with the ſame warmth, and manifeſted the ſame reſolution to oppoſe the mother country.

In the midſt of this confuſion three ſhips laden with tea arrived at Boſton; but ſo much were the captains alarmed at the diſpoſition which ſeemed to prevail among the people, that they offered, providing they could obtain the proper diſcharges from the tea-conſignees, cuſtomhouſe, and governor, to return to Britain without landing their cargoes. The parties concerned, however, though they durſt not order the tea to be landed, refuſed to grant the diſcharges required. The ſhips, therefore, would have been obliged to remain in the harbour; but the people, apprehenſive that if they remained there the tea would be landed in ſmall quantities, and diſpoſed of in ſpite of every endeavour to prevent it, reſolved to deſtroy it at once. This reſolution was executed with equal ſpeed and ſecrecy. The very evening after the above-mentioned diſcharges had been refuſed, a number of people dreſſed like Mohawk Indians, boarded the ſhips, and threw into the ſea their whole cargoes, conſiſting of three hundred and forty-two cheſts of tea; after which they retired without making any further diſturbance, or doing any more damage. No tea was deſtroyed in other places, though the ſame ſpirit was every where manifeſted. At Philadelphia the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the veſſels up the river; and at New York, though the governor cauſed ſome tea to be landed under the protection of a man of war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the cuſtody of the people, to prevent its being ſold.

The deſtruction of the tea at Boſton, which happened in November 1773, was the immediate prelude to the diſaſters attending civil diſcord. Government finding themſelves every where inſulted and deſpiſed, reſolved to enforce their authority by all poſſible means; and as Boſton had been the principle ſcene of the riots and outrages, it was determined to puniſh that city in an exemplary manner. Parliament was acquainted by a meſſage from his Majeſty with the undutiful behaviour of the city of Boſton, as well as of all the colonies, recommending at the ſame time the moſt vigorous and ſpirited exertions to reduce them to obedience. The parliament in its addreſs promiſed a ready compliance; and indeed the Americans, by their ſpirited behaviour, had now loſt many of their partiſans. It was propoſed to lay a fine on the town of Boſton equal to the price of the tea which had been deſtroyed, and to ſhut up its port by armed veſſels until the refractory ſpirit of the inhabitants ſhould be ſubdued; which it was thought muſt quickly yield, as a total ſtop would thus be put to their trade. The bill was ſtrongly oppoſed on the ſame grounds that the

other had been; and it was predicted, that inſtead of having any tendency to reconcile or ſubdue the Americans, it would infallibly exaſperate them beyond any poſſibility of reconciliation. The petitions againſt it, preſented by the colony's agent, pointed out the ſame conſequences in the ſtrongeſt terms, and in the moſt poſitive manner declared that the Americans never would ſubmit to it; but ſuch was the infatuation attending every rank and degree of men, that it never was imagined the Americans would dare to reſiſt the parent ſtate openly, but in the end would ſubmit implicitly to her commands. In this confidence a third bill was propoſed for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice on ſuch perſons as might be employed in the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults in the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay. By this act it was provided, that ſhould any perſons acting in that capacity be indicted for murder, and not able to obtain a fair trial in the province, they might be ſent by the governor to England, or to ſome other colony, if neceſſary, to be tried for the ſuppoſed crime.

Theſe three bills having paſſed ſo eaſily, the miniſtry propoſed a fourth, relative to the government of Canada; which, it was ſaid, had not been ſettled on any proper plan. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the direction of a council, in which Roman Catholics were to be admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were ſecured in their poſſeſſions, and the uſual perquiſites from thoſe of their own profeſſion. The council above mentioned were to be appointed by the crown, to be removeable at its pleaſure; and to be inveſted with every legiſlative power, excepting that of taxation.

No ſooner were theſe laws made known in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies beyond any poſſibility of diſſolving it. The aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts Bay had paſſed a vote againſt the judges accepting ſalaries from the crown, and put the queſtion, Whether they would accept them as uſual from the general aſſembly? Four anſwered in the affirmative; but Peter Oliver the chief-juſtice refuſed. A petition againſt him, and an accuſation, were brought before the governor; but the latter refuſed the accuſation, and declined to interfere in the matter; but as they ſtill inſiſted for what they called juſtice againſt Mr. Oliver, the governor thought proper to put an end to the matter by diſſolving the aſſembly.

In this ſituation of affairs a new alarm was occaſioned by the news of the port-bill. This had been totally unexpected, and was received with the moſt extravagant expreſſions of diſpleaſure among the populace; and while theſe continued, the new governor, General Gage, arrived from England,

England. He had been chosen to this office on account of his being well acquainted in America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wisdom could not now point out a method by which the flame could be allayed. The first act of his office as governor was to remove the assembly to Salem, a town seventeen miles distant, in consequence of the late act. When this was intimated to the assembly, they replied by requesting him to appoint a day of public humiliation for deprecating the wrath of heaven, but met with a refusal. When met at Salem, they passed a resolution, declaring the necessity of a general congress composed of delegates from all the provinces, in order to take the affairs of the colonies at large into consideration; and five gentlemen, remarkable for their opposition to the British measures, were chosen to represent that of Massachusetts Bay. They then proceeded with all expedition to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances they laboured under, and the necessity of exerting themselves against lawless power; they set forth the difregard shown to their petitions, and the attempts of Great Britain to destroy their ancient constitution; and concluded with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony to obstruct, by every method in their power, such evil designs, recommending at the same time a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great Britain till a redress of grievances could be procured.

Intelligence of this declaration was carried to the governor on the very day that it was completed; on which he dissolved the assembly. This was followed by an address from the inhabitants of Salem in favour of those of Boston, and concluding with these remarkable words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

It had been fondly hoped by the ministerial party at home, that the advantages which other towns of the colony might derive from the annihilation of the trade of Boston would make them readily acquiesce in the measure of shutting up that port, and rather rejoice in it than otherwise; but the words of the address above mentioned seemed to preclude all hope of this kind; and subsequent transactions soon manifested it to be totally vain. No sooner did intelligence arrive of the remaining bills passed in the session of 1774, than the cause of Boston became the cause of all the colonies. The port-bill had already occasioned violent com-

motions throughout them all. It had been reprobated in provincial meetings, and reſiſtance even to the laſt had been recommended againſt ſuch oppreſſion. In Virginia, the 1ſt of June, the day on which the port of Boſton was to be ſhut up, was held as a day of humiliation, and a public interceſſion in favour of America was enjoined. The ſtyle of the prayer enjoined at this time was, that "God would give the people one heart and one mind, firmly to oppoſe every invaſion of the American rights." The Virginians, however, did not content themſelves with acts of religion. They recommended in the ſtrongeſt manner a general congreſs of all the colonies, as fully perſuaded that an attempt to tax any colony in an arbitrary manner was in reality an attack upon the whole, and muſt ultimately end in the ruin of them all.

The provinces of New York and Pennſylvania, however, were leſs ſanguine than the reſt, being ſo cloſely connected in the way of trade with Great Britain, that the giving it up entirely appeared a matter of the moſt ſerious magnitude, and not to be thought of but after every other method had failed. The intelligence of the remaining bills reſpecting Boſton, however, ſpread a freſh alarm throughout the continent, and fixed thoſe who had ſeemed to be the moſt wavering. The propoſal of giving up all commercial intercourſe with Britain was again propoſed; contributions for the inhabitants of Boſton were raiſed in every quarter; and they every day received addreſſes commending them for the heroic courage with which they ſuſtained their calamity.

The Boſtonians on their part were not wanting in their endeavours to promote the general cauſe. An agreement was framed, which, in imitation of former times, they called a Solemn League and Covenant. By this the ſubſcribers moſt religiouſly bound themſelves to break off all communication with Britain after the month of Auguſt enſuing, until the obnoxious acts were repealed; at the ſame time they engaged neither to purchaſe nor uſe any goods imported after that time, and to renounce all connection with thoſe who did, or who refuſed to ſubſcribe to this covenant; threatening to publiſh the names of the refractory, which at this time was a puniſhment by no means to be deſpiſed. Agreements of a ſimilar kind were almoſt inſtantaneouſly entered into throughout all America. General Gage indeed attempted to counteract the covenant by a proclamation, wherein it was declared an illegal and traiterous combination, threatening with the pains of law ſuch as ſubſcribed or countenanced it. But matters were too far gone for his proclamations to have any effect. The Americans retorted the charge of illegality on his own proclamation, and inſiſted that the law allowed ſubjects to meet

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in order to conſider of their grievances, and aſſociate for relief from oppreſſion.

Preparations were now made for holding the general congreſs ſo often propoſed. Philadelphia, as being the moſt centrical and conſiderable town, was pitched upon for the place of its meeting. The delegates of whom it was to be compoſed were choſen by the repreſentatives of each province, and were in number from two to ſeven for each colony, though no province had more than one vote. The firſt congreſs which met at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September 1774, conſiſted of fifty-one delegates. The novelty and importance of the meeting excited an univerſal attention; and their tranſactions were ſuch as could not but tend to render them reſpectable.

The firſt act of congreſs was an approbation of the conduct of Maſſachuſet's Bay, and an exhortation to continue in the ſame ſpirit with which they had begun. Supplies for the ſuffering inhabitants, whom indeed the operation of the port-bill had reduced to great diſtreſs, were ſtrongly recommended; and it was declared, that in caſe of attempts to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America ſhould join to aſſiſt the town of Boſton; and ſhould the inhabitants be obliged, during the courſe of hoſtilities, to remove farther up the country, the loſſes they might ſuſtain ſhould be repaired at the public expence.

They next addreſſed General Gage by letter; in which, having ſtated the grievances of the people of Maſſachuſet's colony, they informed him of the fixed and unalterable determination of all the other provinces to ſupport their brethren, and to oppoſe the Britiſh acts of parliament; that they themſelves were appointed to watch over the liberties of America; and intreated him to deſiſt from military operations, leſt ſuch hoſtilities might be brought on as would fruſtrate all hopes of reconciliation with the parent ſtate.

The next ſtep was to publiſh the following declaration of their rights.

Declaration of Rights.

The good people of the ſeveral Colonies of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, alarmed at the arbitrary proceedings of the Britiſh Parliament and Adminiſtration, having ſeverally elected deputies to meet and ſit in General Congreſs in the city of Philadelphia, and thoſe deputies ſo choſen being aſſembled on the 5th day of September, after ſettling ſeveral neceſſary preliminaries, proceeded to take into their moſt ſerious conſideration the

the beſt means of attaining the redreſs of grievances. In the firſt place, they, as Engliſhmen, (and as their anceſtors, in like caſes, have uſually done, for aſſerting and vindicating their rights and liberties,) DECLARE,

That the inhabitants of the Engliſh Colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the Engliſh Conſtitution, and the ſeveral Charters or Compacts, have the following RIGHTS:—

Reſolved, *nem. con.* 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property; and have never ceded, to any ſovereign power whatever, a right to diſpoſe of either without their conſent.

Reſoved, *n. c.* 2. That our anceſtors were, at the time of their emigration from the Mother-Country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities, of free and natural-born ſubjects within the realm of England.

Reſolved, *n. c.* 3. That, by ſuch emigration, they neither forfeited, furrendered, nor loſt, any of thoſe rights.

Reſolved, *n. c.* 4. That the foundation of Engliſh liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their Legiſlative Council; and as the Engliſh Coloniſts are not repreſented, and, from their local and other circumſtances, cannot properly be repreſented in the Britiſh Parliament, they are entitled to a free and excluſive power of legiſlation, in their ſeveral Provincial Legiſlatures, where their right of repreſentation can alone be preſerved, in all caſes of taxation and internal polity, ſubject only to the negative of their Sovereign, in ſuch manner as has been heretofore uſed and accuſtomed: but, from the neceſſity of the caſe, and a regard to the mutual intereſts of both countries, we chearfully conſent to the operation of ſuch Acts of the Britiſh Parliament as are, *bona fide*, reſtrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the commercial advantages of the whole Empire to the Mother-Country, and the commercial benefits of its reſpective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raiſing a revenue, on the ſubjects in America without their conſent.

Reſolved, *n. c.* 5. That the reſpective Colonies are entitled to the Common Law of England, and, more eſpecially, to the great and inеſtimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the courſe of that law.

Reſolved, 6. That they are entitled to the benefit of ſuch of the Engliſh Statutes as exiſted at the time of their colonization, and which they have, by experience, reſpectively found to be applicable to their ſeveral local and other circumſtances.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, *n. c.* 7. That theſe, his Majeſty's Colonies, are likewiſe entitled to all the immunities and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by Royal Charters, or ſecured by their ſeveral codes of Provincial Laws.

Reſolved, *n. c.* 8. That they have a right peaceably to aſſemble, conſider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all proſecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the ſame, are illegal.

Reſolved, *n. c.* 9. That the keeping a ſtanding army in theſe Colonies, in times of peace, without the conſent of the legiſlature of that colony in which ſuch army is kept, is againſt law.

Reſolved, *n. c.* 10. It is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to good government, and rendered eſſential by the Engliſh Conſtitution, that the conſtituent branches of the legiſlature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exerciſe of legiſlative power, in ſeveral Colonies, by a Council appointed during pleaſure by the Crown, is unconſtitutional, dangerous, and deſtructive to the freedom of American legiſlation.

All and each of which, the aforeſaid Deputies, in behalf of themſelves and their conſtituents, do claim, demand, and inſiſt on, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own conſent, by their Repreſentatives in their ſeveral provincial legiſlatures.

Reſolved, *n. c.* That the following Acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the Coloniſts; and that the repeal of them is eſſentially neceſſary, in order to reſtore harmony between Great Britain and the American colonies, viz.

The ſeveral Acts of 4 Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34.—5 Geo. III. ch. 25.—6 Geo. III. ch. 52.—7 Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46.—8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which impoſe duties for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in America, extend the powers of the Admiralty Courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American ſubject of trial by Jury, authoriſe the Judges certificate to indemnify the proſecutor from damages that he might otherwiſe be liable to, requiring oppreſſive ſecurity from a claimant of ſhips and goods ſeized, before he ſhall be allowed to defend his property, and are ſubverſive of American rights.

Alſo 12 Geo. III. ch. 24. intituled, "An Act for the better ſecuring his Majeſty's dock-yards, magazines, ſhips, ammunition, and ſtores;" which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American ſubjects of a conſtitutional trial by Jury of the vicinage, by authoriſing the trial of any perſon charged with the committing any offence de-

ſcribed in the ſaid Act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the ſame in any ſhire or county within the realm.

Alſo the three Acts paſſed in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for ſtoping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boſton, for altering the charter and government of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and that which is inticuled, "An Act for the better adminiſtration of juſtice, &c."

Alſo the Act paſſed in the ſame Seſſion for eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholic religion in the Province of Quebec, aboliſhing the equitable ſyſtem of Engliſh laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from ſo total a diſſimilarity of religion, law, and government, of the neighbouring Britiſh Colonies, by the aſſiſtance of whoſe blood and treaſure the ſaid country was conquered from France.

Alſo the Act paſſed in the ſame Seſſion for the better providing ſuitable quarters for officers and ſoldiers in his Majeſty's ſervice in North-America.

Reſolved, That this Congreſs do approve of the oppoſition made by the inhabitants of the Maſſachuſett's-bay, to the execution of the ſaid late Acts of Parliament; and if the ſame ſhall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in ſuch caſe, all America ought to ſupport them in their oppoſition.

Reſolved, That the removal of the people of Boſton into the country, would be not only extremely difficult in the execution, but ſo important in its conſequences, as to require the utmoſt deliberation before it is adopted. But in caſe the Provincial Meeting of that Colony ſhall judge it *abſolutely* neceſſary, it is the opinion of this Congreſs, that all America ought to contribute towards recompenſing them for the injury they may thereby ſuſtain.

Reſolved, That this Congreſs do recommend to the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's-bay, to ſubmit to a ſuſpenſion of the adminiſtration of juſtice, where it cannot be procured in a legal and peaceable manner, under the rules of the charter, and the laws founded thereon, until the effects of our application for the repeal of the Acts by which their charter-rights are infringed, is known.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That every perſon who ſhall take, accept, or act under any commiſſion or authority, in any wiſe derived from the act paſſed in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, changing the form of Government, and violating the charter of the Province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, ought to be held in deteſtation, and conſidered as the wicked tool of that deſpotiſm which is preparing to deſtroy thoſe rights which God, nature, and compact, hath given to America.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the people of Boſton and the Maſſachuſett's-bay, be adviſed ſtill to conduct themſelves peaceably towards his Excellency General Gage, and his Majeſty's troops now ſtationed in the town of Boſton, as far as can poſſibly conſiſt with their immediate ſafety and the ſecurity of the town; avoiding and diſcountenancing every violation of his Majeſty's property, or any inſult to his troops; and that they peaceably and firmly perſevere in the line in which they are now conducting themſelves on the defenſive.

Reſolved, That the ſeizing, or attempting to ſeize, any perſon in America, in order to tranſport ſuch perſon beyond the ſea, for trial of offences, committed within the body of a county in America, being againſt law, will juſtify, and ought to meet with reſiſtance and repriſal.

A copy of a letter to General Gage was brought into Congreſs, and, agreeable to order, ſigned by the Preſident, and is as follows:

Philadelphia, Oct. 10, 1774.

"SIR,

"The inhabitants of the town of Boſton have informed us, the Repreſentatives of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in all the Colonies from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, that the fortifications erecting within that town, the frequent invaſions of private property, and the repeated inſults they receive from the ſoldiery, hath given them great reaſon to ſuſpect a plan is formed very deſtructive to them, and tending to overthrow the liberties of America.

"Your Excellency cannot be a ſtranger to the ſentiments of America with reſpect to the late Acts of Parliament, under the execution of which thoſe unhappy people are oppreſſed; the approbation univerſally expreſſed of their conduct, and the determined reſolution of the Colonies, for the preſervation of their Common Rights, to unite in their oppoſition to thoſe Acts. In conſequence of theſe ſentiments, they have appointed us the guardians of their rights and liberties, and we are under the deepeſt concern, that, whilſt we are purſuing every dutiful and peaceable meaſure, to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies, your Excellency ſhould proceed in a manner that bears ſo hoſtile an appearance, and which even thoſe oppreſſive Acts do not warrant.

We entreat your Excellency to conſider, what tendency this conduct muſt have to irritate and force a people, however well diſpoſed to peaceable meaſures, into hoſtilities, which may prevent the endeavours of this Congreſs to reſtore a good underſtanding with a Parent State, and may involve us in the horrors of a civil war.

"In order therefore to quiet the minds, and remove the reaſonable jealouſies of the people, that they may not be driven to a ſtate of deſperation, being fully perſuaded of their pacific diſpoſition towards the King's troops, could they be aſſured of their own ſafety; we hope, Sir, you will diſcontinue the fortifications in and about Boſton, prevent any further invaſions of private property, reſtrain the irregularities of the ſoldiers, and give orders that the communications between that town and country may be open, unmoleſted, and free.

"Signed, by order and in behalf of the General Congreſs,

PEYTON RANDOLPH, Preſident."

They further declared in favour of a non-importation and non-conſumption of Britiſh goods until the acts were repealed by which duties were impoſed upon tea, coffee, wine, ſugar, and molaſſes, imported into America, as well as the Boſton port-act, and the three others paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion of parliament. The new regulations againſt the importation and conſumption of Britiſh commodities were then drawn up with great ſolemnity; and they concluded with returning the warmeſt thanks to thoſe members of parliament who had with ſo much zeal, though without any ſucceſs, oppoſed the obnoxious acts of parliament.

Their next proceedings were to frame a petition to the King, an addreſs to the Britiſh nation, and another to the colonies; all of which were ſo much in the uſual ſtrain of American language for ſome time paſt, that it is needleſs to enter into any particular account of them. It is ſufficient to ſay that they were all drawn up in a maſterly manner, and ought to have impreſſed the people of this country with a more favourable idea of the Americans than they could at that time be induced to entertain.

All this time the diſpoſition of the people had correſponded with the warmeſt wiſhes of congreſs. The firſt of June had been kept as a faſt, not only throughout Virginia, where it was firſt propoſed, but through the whole continent. Contributions for the diſtreſſes of Boſton had been raiſed throughout America, and people of all ranks ſeemed to be particularly touched with them. Even thoſe who ſeemed to be moſt likely to derive advantages from them took no opportunity, as has been already inſtanced in the caſe of Salem. The inhabitants of Marblehead alſo ſhewed a noble example of magnanimity in the preſent caſe. Though ſituated in the neighbourhood of Boſton, and moſt likely to derive benefit from their diſtreſſes, they did not attempt to take any advantage, but generouſly offered the uſe of their harbour to the Boſtonians,

ians, as well as their wharfs and warehouſes, free of all expence. In the mean time the Britiſh forces at Boſton were continually increaſing in number, which greatly augmented the general jealouſy and diſaffection; the country were ready to riſe at a moment's warning; and the experiment was made by giving a falſe alarm that the communication between the town and country was to be cut off, in order to reduce the former by famine to a compliance with the acts of parliament. On this intelligence the country people aſſembled in great numbers, and could not be ſatisfied till they had ſent meſſengers into the city to enquire into the truth of the report. Theſe meſſengers were enjoined to inform the town's people, that if they ſhould be ſo puſillanimous as to make a ſurrender of their liberties, the province would not think itſelf bound by ſuch examples; and that Britain, by breaking their original charter, had annulled the contract ſubſiſting between them, and left them to act as they thought proper.

The people in every other reſpect manifeſted their inflexible determination to adhere to the plan they had ſo long followed. The new counſellors and judges were obliged to reſign their offices, in order to preſerve their lives and properties from the fury of the multitude. In ſome places they ſhut up the avenues to the court-houſes; and when required to make way for the judges, replied, that they knew of none but ſuch as were appointed by the ancient uſage and cuſtom of the province. Every where they manifeſted the moſt ardent deſire of learning the art of war; and every individual who could bear arms, was moſt aſſiduous in procuring them, and learning their exerciſe.

Matters at laſt proceeded to ſuch an height, that General Gage thought proper to fortify the neck of land, which joins the town of Boſton to the continent. This, though undoubtedly a prudent meaſure in his ſituation, was exclaimed againſt by the Americans in the moſt vehement manner; but the General, inſtead of giving ear to their remonſtrances, deprived them of all power of acting againſt himſelf, by ſeizing the provincial powder, amunition, and military ſtores, at Cambridge and Charleſtown. This excited ſuch indignation, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the people could be reſtrained from marching to Boſton and attacking the troops. Even in the town itſelf, the company of cadets that uſed to attend him diſbanded themſelves and returned the ſtandard, he had as uſual preſented them with on his acceſſion to the government. This was occaſioned by his having deprived the celebrated John Hancock, afterwards preſident of the congreſs, of his commiſſion as colonel of the cadets. A ſimilar inſtance happened of a provincial colonel

colonel having accepted a ſeat in the new council; upon which twenty-four officers of his regiment reſigned their commiſſions in one day.

In the mean time a meeting was held of the principal inhabitants of the towns adjacent to Boſton. The purport of this was publicly to renounce all obedience to the late acts of parliament, and to form an engagement to indemnify ſuch as ſhould be proſecuted on that account; the members of the new council were declared violaters of the rights of their country; all ranks and degrees were exhorted to learn the uſe of arms; and the receivers of the public revenue were ordered not to deliver it into the treaſury, but retain it in their own hands till the conſtitution ſhould be reſtored, or a provincial congreſs diſpoſe of it otherwiſe.

A remonſtrance againſt the fortifications on Boſton Neck was next prepared; in which, however, they ſtill pretended their unwillingneſs to proceed to any hoſtile meaſures; aſſerting only as uſual their firm determination not to ſubmit to the acts of parliament they had already ſo much complained of. The Governor, to reſtore tranquillity, if poſſible, called a general aſſembly; but ſo many of the council had reſigned their ſeats, that he was induced to countermand its ſitting by proclamation. This meaſure, however, was deemed illegal; the aſſembly met at Salem; and after waiting a day for the Governor, voted themſelves into a provovincial congreſs, of which Mr. Hancock was choſen Preſident. A committee was inſtantly appointed, who waited on the governor with a remonſtrance concerning the fortifications on Boſton Neck; but nothing of conſequence took place, both parties mutually criminating each other. The winter was now coming on, and the Governor, to avoid quartering the ſoldiers upon the inhabitants, propoſed to erect barracks for them; but the ſelect men of Boſton compelled the workmen to deſiſt. Carpenters were ſent for to New York, but they were refuſed; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he could procure winter lodgings for his troops. Nor was the difficulty leſs in procuring clothes; as the merchants of New York told him, that "they would never ſupply any article for the benefit of men ſent as enemies to their country."

This diſpoſition, known to be almoſt univerſal throughout the continent, was in the higheſt degree ſatisfactory to congreſs. Every one ſaw that the enſuing ſpring was to be the ſeaſon for commencing hoſtilities, and the moſt indefatigable diligence was uſed for the colonies to be well provided againſt ſuch a formidable enemy. A liſt of the fencible men in each colony was made out, and eſpecially of thoſe who had ſerved in the former war; of whom they had the ſatisfaction to find

that

that two-thirds were ſtill alive and fit to bear arms. Magazines of arms were collected, and money was provided for the payment of troops. The governors in vain attempted to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings by proclamations; the fatal period was now arrived; and the more the ſervants of government attempted to repreſs the ſpirit of the Americans, the more violent it appeared.

The beginning of ſtriſe between the Parent State and her Colonies was like the letting out of waters. From inconſiderable cauſes love was changed into ſuſpicion that gradually ripened into ill will, and ſoon ended in hoſtility. Prudence, policy, and reciprocal intereſt, urged the expediency of conceſſion; but pride, falſe honour, and miſconceived dignity drew in an oppoſite direction. Undecided claims and doubtful rights, which under the influence of wiſdom and humility might have been eaſily compromiſed, imperceptibly widened into an irreconcileable breach. Hatred at length took the place of kind affections, and the calamities of war were ſubſtituted in lieu of the benefits of commerce.

From the year 1768, in which a military force had been ſtationed in Boſton, there was a conſtant ſucceſſion of inſulting words, looks, and geſtures. The inhabitants were exaſperated againſt the ſoldiers, and they againſt the inhabitants. The former looked on the latter as the inſtruments of tyranny, and the latter on the former as ſeditious rioters, or fraudulent ſmugglers. In this irritable ſtate, every incident, however trifling, made a ſenſible impreſſion. The citizens apprehended conſtant danger from an armed force, in whoſe power they were; the ſoldiers, on the other hand, conſidered themſelves as in the midſt of their enemies, and expoſed to attacks from within and without. In proportion as the breach between Great Britain and her colonies widened, the diſtruſt and animoſity between the people and the army increaſed. From the latter end of 1774, hoſtile appearances daily threatened that the flames of war would be kindled from the colliſion of ſuch inflammable materials. Whatſoever was done by either party by way of precaution, for the purpoſes of ſelf-defence, was conſtrued by the other as preparatory to an intended attack. Each diſclaimed all intentions of commencing hoſtilities, but reciprocally manifeſted ſuſpicion of the other's ſincerity. As far as was practicable without an open rupture, the plans of the one were reſpectively thwarted by the other. From every appearance it became daily more evident that arms muſt ultimately decide the conteſt. To ſuffer an army that was ſoon expected to be an enemy, quietly to fortify themſelves, when the inhabitants were both able and willing to cut them off, appeared to ſome warm ſpirits the height of folly; but the prudence and moderation of others, and eſpe-

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cially the advice and recommendation of Congreſs, reſtrained their impetuoſity. It was a fortunate circumſtance for the colonies that the royal army was poſted in New England. The people of that northern country have their paſſions more under the command of reaſon and intereſt, than in the ſouthern latitudes, where a warmer ſun excites a greater degree of iraſcibility. One raſh offenſive action againſt the royal forces at this early period, though ſucceſsful, might have done great miſchief to the cauſe of America. It would have loſt them European friends, and weakened the diſpoſition of the other colonies to aſſiſt them. The patient and politic New-England men, fully ſenſible of their ſituation, ſubmitted to many inſults, and bridled their reſentment. In civil wars or revolutions, it is a matter of much conſequence who ſtrikes the firſt blow. The compaſſion of the world is in favour of the attacked, and the diſpleaſure of good men on thoſe who are the firſt to imbrue their hands in human blood. For the ſpace of nine months after the arrival of General Gage, the behaviour of the people of Boſton is particularly worthy of imitation, by thoſe who wiſh to overturn eſtabliſhed gevernments. They conducted their oppoſition with exquiſite addreſs. They avoided every kind of outrage and violence, preſerved peace and good order among themſelves, ſucceſsfully engaged the other Colonies to make a common cauſe with them, and counteracted General Gage ſo effectually, as to prevent his doing any thing for his royal maſter, while by patience and moderation they ſkreened themſelves from cenſure. Though reſolved to bear as long as prudence and policy dictated, they were all the time preparing for the laſt extremity. They were furniſhing themſelves with arms and ammunition, and training their militia.

Proviſions were alſo collected and ſtored in different places, particularly at Concord, about twenty miles from Boſton. General Gage, though zealous for his royal maſter's intereſt, diſcovered a prevailing deſire after a peaceable accommodation. He wiſhed to prevent hoſtilities by depriving the inhabitants of the means neceſſary for carrying them on. With this view he determined to deſtroy the ſtores which he knew were collected for the ſupport of a provincial army. Wiſhing to accompliſh this without bloodſhed, he took every precaution to effect it by ſurpriſe, and without alarming the country. At eleven o'clock at night on April 18, eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the royal army, embarked at the Common, landed at Phipps's farm, and marched for Concord, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith. Neither the ſecrecy with which this expedition was planned,

planned, the privacy with which the troops marched out, nor an order that no one inhabitant ſhould leave Boſton, were ſufficient to prevent intelligence from being ſent to the country militia, of what was going on. About two in the morning one hundred and thirty of the Lexington militia had aſſembled to oppoſe them, but the air being chilly, and intelligence reſpecting the regulars uncertain, they were diſmiſſed, with orders to appear again at beat of drum. They collected a ſecond time to the number of ſeventy, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and the Britiſh regulars ſoon after made their appearance. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up to them and called out, "Diſperſe, you rebels; throw down your arms and diſperſe." They ſtill continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer—diſcharged his piſtol—and ordered his ſoldiers to fire. This was done with a huzza. A diſperſion of the militia was the conſequence, but the firing of the regulars was nevertheleſs continued. Individuals finding they were fired upon, though diſperſing, returned the fire. Three or four of the militia were killed on the green; a few more were ſhot after they had begun to diſperſe. The royal detachment proceeded on to Concord, and executed their commiſſion. They diſabled two twenty-four pounders —threw five hundred pounds of ball into rivers and wells, and broke in pieces about ſixty barrels of flour. Mr. John Butterick of Concord, major of a minute regiment, not knowing what had paſſed at Lexington, ordered his men not to give the firſt fire, that they might not be the aggreſſors. Upon his approaching near the regulars, they fired, and killed Captain Iſaac Davis, and one private of the provincial minute men. The fire was returned, and a ſkirmiſh enſued. The King's troops having done their buſineſs, began their retreat towards Boſton. This was conducted with expedition, for the adjacent inhabitants had aſſembled in arms, and began to attack them in every direction. In their return to Lexington they were exceedingly annoyed, both by thoſe who preſſed on their rear, and others who pouring in on all ſides, fired from behind ſtone walls, and ſuch like coverts, which ſupplied the place of lines and redoubts. At Lexington the regulars were joined by a detachment of nine hundred men, under Lord Piercy, which had been ſent out by General Gage to ſupport Lieutenant-colonel Smith. This reinforcement having two pieces of cannon awed the provincials, and kept them at a greater diſtance, but they continued a conſtant, though irregular and ſcattering fire, which did great execution. The cloſe firing from behind the walls by good markſmen, put the regular troops in no ſmall confuſion, but they nevertheleſs kept up a briſk retreating fire on the militia and minute men. A little after ſunſet the regulars

reached Bunker's Hill, worn down with exceſſive fatigue, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. On the next day they croſſed Charleſtown ferry, and returned to Boſton.

There never were more than four hundred provincials engaged at one time, and often not ſo many; as ſome tired and gave out, others came up and took their places. There was ſcarcely any diſcipline obſerved among them: officers and privates fired when they were ready, and ſaw a royal uniform, without waiting for the word of command. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to gain opportunities by croſſing fields and fences, and to act as flanking parties againſt the King's troops who kept to the main road.

The regulars had ſixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made priſoners. Of the provincials fifty were killed, and thirty-eight wounded and miſſing.

As arms were to decide the controverſy, it was fortunate for the Americans that the firſt blood was drawn in New England. The inhabitants of that country are ſo connected with each other by deſcent, manners, religion, politics, and a general equality, that the killing of a ſingle individual intereſted the whole, and made them conſider it as a common cauſe. The blood of thoſe who were killed at Lexington and Concord proved the firm cement of an extenſive union.

To prevent the people within Boſton from co-operating with their countrymen without, in caſe of an aſſault, which was now daily expected, General Gage, April 22, agreed with a committee of the town, that upon the inhabitants lodging their arms in Faneuil-hall, or any other convenient place, under the care of the ſelect men, all ſuch inhabitants as were inclined, might depart from the town, with their families and effects. In five days after the ratification of this agreement, the inhabitants had lodged one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight fire arms, ſix hundred and thirty-four piſtols, two hundred and ſeventy-three bayonets, and thirty-eight blunberbuſſes. The agreement was well obſerved in the begining, but after a ſhort time obſtructions were thrown in the way of its final completion, on the plea that perſons who went from Boſton to bring in the goods of thoſe who choſe to continue within the town, were not properly treated. Congreſs remonſtrated on the infraction of the agreement, but without effect. The General, on a farther conſideration of the conſequences of moving the whigs out of Boſton, evaded it in a manner not conſiſtent with good faith. He was in ſome meaſure compelled to adopt this diſhonourable meaſure, from the clamour of the tories, who alledged that none but enemies to the Britiſh government were diſpoſed to remove

remove, and that when they were all safe with their families and effects, the town would be set on fire. To prevent the provincials from obtaining supplies which they much wanted, a quibble was made on the meaning of the word effects, which was construed by the General as not including merchandize. By this construction, unwarranted by every rule of genuine interpretation, many who quitted the town were deprived of their usual resources for a support. Passports were not universally refused, but were given out very slowly, and the business was so conducted that families were divided,—wives were separated from their husbands, children from their parents, and the aged and infirm, from their relations and friends. The General discovered a disinclination to part with the women and children, thinking that, on their account, the provincials would be restrained from making an assault on the town. The select-men gave repeated assurance that the inhabitants had delivered up their arms, but as a cover for violating the agreement, General Gage issued a proclamation, in which he asserted that he had full proof to the contrary. A few might have secreted some favourite arms, but nearly all the training arms were delivered up. On this flimsy pretence the General sacrificed his honour, to policy and the clamours of the tories. Contrary to good faith he detained many, though fairly entitled by agreement to go out, and when he admitted the departure of others he would not allow them to move their families and effects.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, which was in session at the time of the Lexington battle, dispatched an account of it to Great Britain, accompanied with many depositions, to prove that the British troops were the aggressors. They also made an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which, after complaining of their sufferings, they say, "these have not detached us from our royal Sovereign; we profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and though hardly dealt with, as we have been, are still ready with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, crown, and dignity; nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his evil Ministry, we will not tamely submit. Appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free." From the commencement of hostilies, the dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies took a new direction.

Intelligence that the British troops had marched out of Boston into the country on some hostile purpose, being forwarded by expresses from one committee to another, great bodies of the militia, not only from Massachusetts but the adjacent Colonies, grasped their arms and

marched to oppoſe them. The Colonies were in ſuch a ſtate of irritability, that the leaſt ſhock in any part was, by a powerful and ſympathetic affection, inſtantaneouſly felt throughout the whole. The Americans who fell were revered by their countrymen, as martyrs who had died in the cauſe of liberty. Reſentment againſt the Britiſh burned more ſtrongly than ever. Martial rage took poſſeſſion of the breaſts of thouſands. Combinations were formed and aſſociations ſubſcribed, binding the inhabitants to one another by the ſacred ties of honour, religion and love of country, to do whatever their public bodies directed for the preſervation of their liberties. Hitherto the Americans had no regular army. From principles of policy they cautiouſly avoided that meaſure, leſt they might ſubject themſelves to the charge of being aggreſſors. All their military regulations were carried on by their militia, and under the old eſtabliſhed laws of the land. For the defence of the Colonies, the inhabitants had been, from their early years, enrolled in companies, and taught the uſe of arms. The laws for this purpoſe had never been better obſerved than for ſome months previous to the Lexington battle. Theſe military arrangements, which had been previouſly adopted for defending the Colonies from hoſtile French and Indians, were on this occaſion turned againſt the troops of the Parent State. Forts, magazines, and arſenals, by the conſtitution of the country, were in the keeping of his Majeſty. Immediately after the Lexington battle, theſe were for the moſt part taken poſſeſſion of throughout the Colonies, by parties of the provincial militia. Ticonderoga, in which was a ſmall royal garriſon, was ſurpriſed and taken by adventurers from different ſtates. Public money which had been collected in conſequence of previous grants, was alſo ſeized for common ſervices. Before the commencement of hoſtilities theſe meaſures would have been condemned by the moderate even among the Americans, but that event juſtified a bolder line of oppoſition than had been adopted. Sundry citizens having been put to death by Britiſh troops, ſelf-preſervation dictated meaſures which, if adopted under other circumſtances, would have diſunited the Coloniſts. One of the moſt important of this kind was the raiſing an army. Men of warm tempers, whoſe courage exceeded their prudence, had for months urged the neceſſity of raiſing troops; but they were reſtrained by the more moderate, who wiſhed that the Colonies might avoid extremities, or at leaſt that they might not lead in bringing them on. The Provincial Congreſs of Maſſachuſetts being in ſeſſion at the time the battle of Lexington was fought, voted that "an army of thirty thouſand men be immediately raiſed, that thirteen thouſand

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ſix hundred be of their own province, and that a letter and delegate be ſent to the ſeveral Colonies of New-Hampſhire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Iſland. In conſequence of this vote, the buſineſs of recruiting was begun, and in a ſhort time a provincial army was paraded in the vicinity of Boſton, which, though far below what had been voted by the Provincial Congreſs, was much ſuperior in numbers to the royal army. The command of this force was given to General Ward.

Had the Britiſh troops confined themſelves to Boſton, as before the 18th of April, the aſſembling an American army, though only for the purpoſe of obſervation and defence, would have appeared in the nature of a challenge, and would have made many leſs willing to ſupport the people of Maſſachuſetts, but after the Britiſh had commenced hoſtilities the ſame meaſure was adopted, without ſubjecting the authors of it to cenſure, and without giving offence or hazarding the union. The Lexington battle not only furniſhed the Americans with a juſtifying apology for raiſing an army, but inſpired them with ideas of their own proweſs. Amidſt the moſt animated declarations of ſacrificing fortune, and riſquing life itſelf for the ſecurity of American rights, a ſecret ſigh would frequently eſcape from the breaſts of her moſt determined friends, for fear that they could not ſtand before the bravery and diſcipline of Britiſh troops. Hoary ſages would ſhake their heads and ſay, "Your cauſe is good, and I wiſh you ſucceſs, but I fear that your undiſciplined valour muſt be overcome in the unequal conteſt. After a few thouſands of you have fallen, the Provinces muſt ultimately bow to that power which has ſo repeatedly humbled France and Spain." So confident were the Britiſh of their ſuperiority in arms, that they ſeemed deſirous that the conteſt might be brought to a military deciſion. Some of the diſtinguiſhed ſpeakers in Parliament had publicly aſſerted that the natives of America had nothing of the ſoldier in them, and that they were in no reſpect qualified to face a Britiſh army. European philoſophers had publiſhed theories, ſetting forth that not only vegetables and beaſts, but that even men degenerated in the weſtern hemiſphere. Departing from the ſpirit of true philoſophy, they overlooked the ſtate of ſociety in the new world, and charged a comparative inferiority on every production that was American. The Coloniſts themſelves had imbibed opinions from their forefathers, that no people on earth were equal to thoſe with whom they were about to contend. Impreſſed with high ideas of Britiſh ſuperiority, and diffident of themſelves, their beſt informed citizens, though willing to run all riſques, feared the conſequence of an appeal to arms. The ſucceſs that attended their firſt military enterprize in ſome degree baniſhed theſe

ſuggeſtions.

ſuggeſtions. Perhaps in no ſubſequent battle did the Americans appear to greater advantage than in their firſt eſſay at Lexington. It is almoſt without parallel in military hiſtory, for the yeomenry of the country to come forward in a ſingle disjointed manner, without order, and for the moſt part without officers, and by an irregular fire put to flight troops equal in diſcipline to any in the world. In oppoſition to the bold aſſertions of ſome, and the deſponding fears of others, experience proved that Americans might effectually reſiſt Britiſh troops. The diffident grew bold in their country's cauſe, and indulged in cheerful hopes that Heaven would finally crown their labours with ſucceſs.

Soon after the Lexington battle, and in conſequence of the event, not only the arms, ammunition, forts, and fortifications, in the Colonies were ſecured for the uſe of the Provincials, but regular forces were raiſed, and money ſtruck for their ſupport. Theſe military arrangements were not confined to the New England ſtates, but were general throughout the Colonies. The determination of the king and parliament to enforce ſubmiſſion to their acts, and the news of the Lexington battle, came to the diſtant provinces nearly about the ſame time. It was ſuppoſed by many that the latter was in conſequence of the former, and that General Gage had recent orders to proceed immediately to ſubdue the refractory Coloniſts.

From a variety of circumſtances the Americans had good reaſon to conclude that hoſtilities would ſoon be carried on vigorouſly in Maſſachuſetts, and alſo to apprehend that, ſooner or later, each province would be the theatre of war. "The more ſpeedily, therefore, ſaid they, we are prepared for that event, the better chance we have for defending ourſelves." Previous to this period, or rather to the 19th of April, 1775, the diſpute had been carried on by the pen, or at moſt by aſſociations and legiſlative acts; but from this time forward it was conducted by the ſword. The criſis was arrived when the Colonies had no alternative, but either to ſubmit to the mercy, or to reſiſt the power of Great Britain. An unconquerable love of liberty could not brook the idea of ſubmiſſion, while reaſon, more temperate in her deciſions, ſuggeſted to the people their inſufficiency to make effectual oppoſition. They were fully apprized of the power of Britain—they knew that her fleets covered the ocean, and that her flag had waved in triumph through the four quarters of the globe; but the animated language of the time was, "It is better to die freemen than to live ſlaves." Though the juſtice of their cauſe, and the inſpiration of liberty gave, in the opinion of diſintereſted judges, a ſuperiority to the writings of Americans, yet in the latter mode of conducting their oppoſition, the candid

candid among themſelves acknowledged an inferiority. Their form of government was deficient in that deciſion, diſpatch, and coercion, which are neceſſary in military operations.

In the year 1775, a martial ſpirit pervaded all ranks of men in the Colonies. They believed their liberties to be in danger, and were generally diſpoſed to riſque their lives for their eſtabliſhment. Their ignorance of the military art prevented their weighing the chances of war with that exactneſs of calculation which, if indulged, might have damped their hopes. They conceived that there was little more to do than fight manfully for their country. They conſoled themſelves with the idea, that though their firſt attempt might be unſucceſsful, their numbers would admit of a repetition of the experiment, till the invaders were finally exterminated. Not conſidering that in modern war the longeſt purſe decides oftener than the longeſt ſword; they feared not the wealth of Britain. They both expected and wiſhed that the whole diſpute would be ſpeedily ſettled in a few deciſive engagements. Elevated with the love of liberty, and buoyed above the fear of conſequences, by an ardent military enthuſiaſm, unabated by calculations about the extent, duration, or probable iſſue of the war, the people of America ſeconded the voice of their rulers, in an appeal to Heaven for the vindication of their rights. At the time the Colonies adopted theſe ſpirited reſolutions, they poſſeſſed not a ſingle ſhip of war, nor ſo much as an armed veſſel of any kind. It had often been ſuggeſted, that their ſeaport towns lay at the mercy of the navy of Great Britain; this was both known and believed, but diſregarded. The love of property was abſorbed in the love of liberty. The animated votaries of the equal rights of human nature, conſoled themſelves with the idea, that though their whole ſea coaſt ſhould be laid in aſhes, they could retire to the weſtern wilderneſs, and enjoy the luxury of being free; on this occaſion it was obſerved in Congreſs by Chriſtopher Gadſden, one of the South Carolina delegates, "Our houſes being conſtructed of brick, ſtone, and wood, though deſtroyed may be rebuilt, but liberty once gone is loſt for ever."†

The ſober diſcretion of the preſent age will more readily cenſure than admire, but can more eaſily admire than imitate the fervid zeal of the patriots of 1775, who in idea ſacrificed property in the cauſe of liberty, with the eaſe that they now ſacrifice almoſt every other conſideration for the acquiſition of property.

The Revenues of Britain were immenſe, and her people were habituated to the payment of large ſums, in every form which contributions to government have aſſumed; but the American Colonies poſſeſſed neither money

money nor funds, nor were their people accuſtomed to taxes equal to the exigences of war. The conteſt having begun about taxation, to have raiſed money by taxes for carrying it on would have been impolitic. The temper of the times precluded the neceſſity of attempting the dangerous expedient, for ſuch was the enthuſiaſm of the day, that the Coloniſts gave up both their perſonal ſervices and their property to the public, on the vague promiſes that they ſhould at a future time be reimburſed. Without enquiring into the ſolidity of the funds, or the preciſe period of payment, the reſources of the country were commanded on general aſſurances, that all expences of the war ſhould ultimately be equaliſed. The Parent State abounded with experienced ſtateſmen and officers, but the dependent form of government exerciſed in the Colonies, precluded their citizens from gaining that practical knowledge which is acquired from being at the head of public departments. There were very few in the Colonies who underſtood the buſineſs of providing for an army, and ſtill fewer who had experience and knowledge to direct its operations. The diſpoſition of the finances of the country, and the moſt effectual mode of drawing forth its reſources, were ſubjects with which ſcarce any of the inhabitants were acquainted. Arms and ammunition were almoſt wholly deficient; and though the country abounded with the materials of which they are manufactured, yet there was neither time nor artiſts enough to ſupply an army with the means of defence. The country was deſtitute both of fortifications and engineers. Amidſt ſo many diſcouragements there were ſome flattering circumſtances. The war could not be carried on by Great Britain, but to a great diſadvantage, and at an immenſe expence. It was eaſy for Miniſters at St. James's to plan campaigns, but hard was the fate of the officer from whom the execution of them in the woods of America was expected. The country was ſo extenſive, and abounded ſo much with defiles, that by evacuating and retreating, the Americans, though they could not conquer, yet might ſave themſelves from being conquered. The authors of the acts of parliament for reſtraining the trade of the Colonies were moſt excellent recruiting officers for the Congreſs. They impoſed a neceſſity on thouſands to become ſoldiers. All other buſineſs being ſuſpended, the whole reſources of the country were applied in ſupporting an army. Though the Coloniſts were without diſcipline, they poſſeſſed native valour. Though they had neither gold nor ſilver, they poſſeſſed a mine in the enthuſiaſm of their people. Paper for upwards of two years produced to them more ſolid advantages than Spain derived from her ſuper-abounding precious metals. Though they had no ſhips to protect their trade

trade or their towns, they had ſimplicity enough to live without the former, and enthuſiaſm enough to riſque the latter, rather than ſubmit to the power of Britain. They believed their cauſe to be juſt, and that Heaven approved their exertions in defence of their rights. Zeal originating from ſuch motives ſupplied the place of diſcipline, and inſpired a confidence and military ardour which overleaped all difficulties.

Reſiſtance being reſolved upon by the Americans—the pulpit—the preſs—the bench, and the bar, ſeverally laboured to unite and encourage them. The clergy of New England were a numerous, learned, and reſpectable body, who had a great aſcendancy over the minds of their hearers. They connected religion and patriotiſm, and in their ſermons and prayers repreſented the cauſe of America as the cauſe of Heaven. The ſynod of New York and Philadelphia alſo ſent forth a paſtoral letter, which was publicly read in their churches. This earneſtly recommended, ſuch ſentiments and conduct as were ſuitable to their ſituation. Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers, and next to them had the greateſt hand in animating their countrymen. Gentlemen of the bench and of the bar denied the charge of rebellion, and juſtified the reſiſtance of the Coloniſts. A diſtinction founded on law between the king and his miniſtry was introduced: the former, it was contended, could do no wrong. The crime of treaſon was charged on the latter, for uſing the royal name to varniſh their own unconſtitutional meaſures. The phraſe of a miniſterial war became common, and was uſed as a medium for reconciling reſiſtance with allegiance.

Coeval with the reſolutions for organizing an army, was one, appointing the 20th day of July, 1775, a day of public humiliation, faſting and prayer to Almighty God, "to bleſs their rightful Sovereign King George, and to inſpire him with wiſdom to diſcern and purſue the true intereſt of his ſubjects; and that the Britiſh nation might be influenced to regard the things that belonged to her peace, before they were hid from her eyes—that the Colonies might be ever under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be proſpered in all their intereſts—that America might ſoon behold a gracious interpoſition of Heaven for the redreſs of her many grievances, the reſtoration of her invaded rights, and a reconciliation with the Parent State on terms conſtitutional and honourable to both."—The forces which had been collected in Maſſachuſetts, were ſtationed in convenient places for guarding the country from farther excurſions of the regulars from Boſton. Breaſtworks were alſo erected in different places for the ſame purpoſe. While

both parties were attempting to carry off ſtock from the ſeveral iſlands, with which the bay of Boſton is agreeably diverſified, ſundry ſkirmiſhes took place. Theſe were of real ſervice to the Americans. They habituated them to danger, and perhaps much of the courage of old ſoldier, is derived from an experimental conviction that the chance of eſcaping unhurt from engagements, is muſt greater than young recruits ſuppoſe.

About the latter end of May, a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great Britain, arrived at Boſton. Three Britiſh generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, whoſe behaviour in the preceding war had gained them great reputation, alſo arrived about the ſame time, May 25. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared for acting with more deciſion; but before he proceeded to extremities, he conceived it due to ancient forms to iſſue a proclamation, holding forth to the inhabitants the alternative of peace or war. He therefore June 12, offered pardon, in the king's name, to all who ſhould forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their reſpective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only from the benefit of that pardon "Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whoſe offences were ſaid to be of too flagitious a nature, to admit of any other conſideration than that of condign puniſhment." He alſo proclaimed, that not only the perſons above named and excepted, but alſo all their adherents, aſſociates, and correſpondents, ſhould be deemed guilty of treaſon and rebellion, and treated accordingly. By this proclamation it was alſo declared, "that as the courts of judicature were ſhut, marſhal law ſhould take place, till a due courſe of juſtice ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed." It was ſuppoſed that this proclamation was a prelude to hoſtilities, and preparations were accordingly made by the Americans. A conſiderable height, known by the name of Bunker's-Hill, juſt at the entrance of the peninſula of Charleſtown, was ſo ſituated as to make the poſſeſſion of it a matter of great conſequence to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore, June 16, iſſued by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of a thouſand men ſhould entrench upon this height. By ſome miſtake Breed's Hill, high and large like the other, but ſituated near Boſton, was marked out for the entrenchments, inſtead of Bunker's Hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's Hill, and worked with ſo much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a ſmall redoubt about eight rods ſquare. They kept ſuch a profound ſilence, that they were not heard by the Britiſh, on board their veſſels, though very near. Theſe having derived their firſt information of what was going on from the ſight of the work near completion,

completion, began an inceſſant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmneſs, and though they were only young ſoldiers, continued to labour till they had thrown up a ſmall breaſtwork, extending from the eaſt ſide of the breaſtwork to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boſton, General Gage thought it neceſſary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, therefore, he detached Major General Howe, and Brigadier General Pigot, with the flower of the army, conſiſting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this buſineſs. Theſe troops landed at Moreton's Point, and, June 17, formed after landing, but remained in that poſition till they were reinforced by a ſecond detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and a battalion of marines, making in the whole near three thouſand men. While the troops who firſt landed were waiting for this re-inforcement, the provincials, for their farther ſecurity, pulled up ſome adjoining poſt and rail fences, and ſet them down in two parallel lines at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and filled the ſpace between with hay, which having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced ſlowly, to give their artillery time to demoliſh the American works. While the Britiſh were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charleſtown. This was not done, becauſe they were fired upon from the houſes in that town, but from the military policy of depriving enemies of a cover in their approaches. In a ſhort time this ancient town, conſiſting of about five hundred buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The lofty ſteeple of the meeting-houſe formed a pyramid of fire above the reſt, and ſtruck the aſtoniſhed eyes of numerous beholders with a magnificent but awful ſpectacle. In Boſton, the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and ſuch of the king's troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country which afforded a ſafe and diſtinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country.

Thouſands, both within and without Boſton, were anxious ſpectators of the bloody ſcene. The honour of Britiſh troops beat high in the breaſts of many, while others, with a keener ſenſibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The Britiſh moved on but ſlowly, which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim, The latter, in general, reſerved themſelves till their adverſaries were within ten or twelve rods, but then began a furious diſcharge of ſmall arms. The ſtream of the American fire was ſo inceſſant, and did

ſo great execution, that the king's troops retreated in diſorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and puſhed them forward with their ſwords, but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The Americans again reſerved their fire till their adverſaries were near, and then put them a ſecond time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were at laſt ſucceſsful, though the ſoldiers diſcovered a great averſion to going on. By this time the powder of the Americans began ſo far to fail, that they were not able to keep up the ſame briſk fire as before. The Britiſh alſo brought ſome cannon to bear, which raked the inſide of the breaſt-work from end to end. The fire from the ſhips, batteries, and field artillery was redoubled—the ſoldiers in the rear were goaded on by their officers. The redoubt was attacked on three ſides at once. Under theſe circumſtances a retreat from it was ordered, but the provincials delayed, and made reſiſtance with their diſcharged muſkets as if they had been clubs, ſo long that the king's troops, who eaſily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt before it was given up to them.

While theſe operations were going on at the breaſt-work and redoubt, the Britiſh light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the moſt undaunted courage, they met with an oppoſition which called for its greateſt exertions. The provincials here, in like manner, reſerved their fire till their adverſaries were near, and then poured it upon the light infantry, with ſuch an inceſſant ſtream, and in ſo true a direction, as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both ſides with great reſolution. The perſevering exertions of the King's troops could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they obſerved that their main body had left the hill. This, when begun, expoſed them to new danger, for it could not be effected but by marching over Charleſtown Neck, every part of which was raked by the ſhot of the Glaſgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. The inceſſant fire kept up acroſs this Neck prevented any conſiderable re-inforcement from joining their countrymen who were engaged; but the few who fell on their retreat over the ſame ground proved, that the apprehenſions of thoſe provincial officers who declined paſſing over to ſuccour their companions, were without any ſolid foundation.

The number of Americans engaged amounted only to one thouſand five hundred. It was apprehended that the conquerors would puſh the advantages they had gained, and march immediately to American head quarters at Cambridge, but they advanced no farther than Bunker's Hill;

Hill; there they threw up works for their own ſecurity. The provincials did the ſame on Proſpect Hill in front of them. Both were guarding againſt an attack, and both were in a bad condition to receive one. The loſs of the peninſula depreſſed the ſpirits of the Americans, and their great loſs of men produced the ſame effect on the Britiſh. There have been few battles in modern wars, in which, all circumſtances conſidered, there was a greater deſtruction of men than in this ſhort engagement. The loſs of the Britiſh, as acknowledged by General Gage, amounted to one thouſand and fifty-four. Nineteen commiſſioned officers were killed, and ſeventy more were wounded. The battle of Quebec in 1759, which gave Great Britain the province of Canada, was not ſo deſtructive to Britiſh officers as this affair of a ſlight entrenchment, the work only of a few hours. That the officers ſuffered ſo much, muſt be imputed to their being aimed at. None of the provincials in this engagement were riflemen, but they were all good markſmen. The whole of their previous military knowledge had been derived from hunting, and the ordinary amuſements of ſportſmen. The dexterity which by long habit they had acquired in hitting beaſts, birds, and marks, was fatally applied to the deſtruction of Britiſh officers. From their fall much confuſion was expected; they were therefore particularly ſingled out. Moſt of thoſe who were near the perſon of General Howe were either killed or wounded, but the General, though he greatly expoſed himſelf, was unhurt. The light infantry and grenadiers loſt three-fourths of their men. Of one company not more than five, and of another, not more than fourteen eſcaped. The unexpected reſiſtance of the Americans was ſuch as wiped away the reproaches of cowardice, which had been caſt on them by their enemies in Britain. The ſpirited conduct of the Britiſh officers merited and obtained great applauſe, but the provincials were juſtly entitled to a large portion of the fame, for having made the utmoſt exertions of their adverſaries neceſſary to diſlodge them from lines, which were the work only of a ſingle night. The Americans loſt five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine. Their wounded and miſſing to three hundred and fourteen. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of General Warren. To the pureſt patriotiſm and moſt undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domeſtic life, the eloquence of an accompliſhed orator, and the wiſdom of an able ſtateſman. Nothing but a regard to the liberty of his country induced him to oppoſe the meaſures of Government. He aimed not at a ſeparation from, but a coalition with the Mother Country.

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He took an active part in defence of his country, not that he might be applauded and rewarded for a patriotic ſpirit, but becauſe he was, in the beſt ſenſe of the word, a real patriot. Having no intereſted or perſonal views to anſwer, the friends of liberty confided in his integrity. The ſoundneſs of his judgment, and his abilities as a public ſpeaker, enabled him to make a diſtinguiſhed figure in public councils, but his intrepidity and active zeal induced his countrymen to place him in the military line. Within four days after he was appointed a Major General, he fell a noble ſacrifice to a cauſe which he had eſpouſed from the pureſt principles. Like Hampden he lived and like Hampden he died, univerſally beloved and univerſally regretted. His many virtues were celebrated in an elegant eulogim written by Dr. Ruſh, in language equal to the illuſtrious ſubject. The burning of Charleſtown, though a place of great trade, did not diſcourage the provincials. It excited reſentment and execration, but not any diſpoſition to ſubmit. Such was the high-toned ſtate of the public mind, and ſo great the indifference for property, when put in competition with liberty, that military conflagrations, though they diſtreſſed and impoveriſhed, had no tendency to ſubdue the Coloniſts. They might anſwer in the old world, but were not calculated for the new, where the war was undertaken, not for a change of maſters, but for ſecuring eſſential rights. The action at Breed's Hill, or Bunker's Hill, as it has been commonly called, produced many and very important conſequences. It taught the Britiſh ſo much reſpect for Americans intrenched behind works, that their ſubſequent operations were retarded with a caution that waſted away a whole campaign to very little purpoſe. It added to the confidence the Americans began to have in their own abilities; but inferences, very injurious to the future intereſts of America, were drawn from the good conduct of the new troops on that memorable day. It inſpired ſome of the leading members of Congreſs with ſuch high ideas of what might be done by militia, or men engaged for a ſhort term of inliſtment, that it was long before they aſſented to the eſtabliſhment of a permanent army. Not diſtinguiſhing the continued exertions of an army through a ſeries of years, from the gallant efforts of the yeomanry of the country, led directly to action, they were ſlow in admitting the neceſſity of permanent troops. They conceived the country might be defended by the occaſional exertions of her ſons, without the expence and danger of an army engaged for the war. In the progreſs of hoſtilities, as will appear in the ſequel, the militia loſt much of their firſt ardour, while leading men in the councils of America, truſting to its continuance, neglected the proper time of recruiting

recruiting for a ſeries of years. From the want of perſeverance in the militia, and the want of a diſciplined ſtanding army, the cauſe for which arms were at firſt taken up, was more than once brought to the brink of deſtruction.

In other places the ſame determined ſpirit of reſiſtance appeared on the part of the Americans. Lord North's conciliatory ſcheme was utterly rejected by the aſſemblies of Pennſylvania and New Jerſey, and afterwards in every other colony. The commencement of hoſtilities at Lexington determined the colony of New York, which had hitherto continued to waver, to unite with the reſt; and as the ſituation of New York renders it unable to reſiſt an attack from the ſea, it was reſolved, before the arrival of a Britiſh fleet, to ſecure the military ſtores, ſend off the women and children, and to ſet fire to the city if it was ſtill found incapable of defence. The exportation of proviſions was every where prohibited, particularly to the Britiſh fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or to ſuch colonies of America as ſhould adhere to the Britiſh intereſt. Congreſs reſolved on the eſtabliſhment of an army, and of a large paper currency in order to ſupport it. In the inland northern colonies, Colonels Eaſton and Ethan Allen, without receiving any orders from Congreſs, or communicating their deſign to any body, with a party of only two hundred and fifty men, ſurpriſed the forts or Crown Point, Ticonderago, and the reſt that form a communication betwixt the Colonies and Canada. On this occaſion two hundred pieces of cannon fell into their hands, beſides mortars, and a large quantity of military ſtores, together with two armed veſſels, and materials for the conſtruction of others.

After the battle of Bunker's Hill, the provincials erected fortifications on the heights which commanded Charleſtown, and ſtrengthened the reſt in ſuch a manner that there was no hope of driving them from thence; at the ſame time that their activity and boldneſs aſtoniſhed the Britiſh officers, who had been accuſtomed to entertain too mean an opinion of their courage.

The troops, thus ſhut up in Boſton, were ſoon reduced to diſtreſs. Their neceſſities obliged them to attempt the carrying off the American cattle on the iſlands before Boſton, which produced frequent ſkirmiſhes; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of theſe ſhores, landed on the iſlands, deſtroyed or carried off whatever was of any uſe, burned the light houſe at the entrance of the harbour, and took priſoners the workmen ſent to repair it, as well as a party of marines who guarded them. Thus the garriſon were reduced to the neceſſity of ſending out armed veſſels to make prizes indiſcriminately of all

all that came in their way, and of landing in different places to plunder for ſubſiſtence as well as they could.

The Congreſs, in the mean time, continued to act with all the vigour which its conſtituents had expected. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up and ſolemnly agreed upon; by which they bound themſelves.

After the action of Bunker's Hill, however, when the power of Great Britain appeared leſs formidable in the eyes of America than before, Congreſs proceeded formally to juſtify their proceedings in a declaration drawn up in terms more expreſſive, and well calculated to excite attention.

"Were it poſſible (ſaid they) for men who exerciſe their reaſon, to believe that the divine Author of our exiſtence intended a part of the human race to hold an abſolute property in and unbounded power over others, marked out by His infinite goodneſs and wiſdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully reſiſtable, however ſevere and oppreſſive; the inhabitants of theſe Colonies might at leaſt require from the parliament of Great Britain ſome evidence that this dreadful authority over them had been granted to that body; but a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common ſenſe muſt convince all thoſe who reflect upon the ſubject, that government was inſtituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be adminiſtered for the attainment of that end.

"The legiſlature of Great Britain, however, ſtimulated by an inordinate paſſion for power, not only unjuſtifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very conſtitution of that kingdom; and deſpairing of ſucceſs in any mode of conteſt, where regard ſhould be had to law, truth, or right; have at length, deſerting thoſe, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpoſe of enſlaving theſe Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it neceſſary for us to cloſe with their laſt appeal from reaſon to arms. Yet, however blinded that aſſembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, ſo to ſlight juſtice in the opinion of mankind, we eſteem ourſelves bound by obligations to the reſt of the world to make known the juſtice of our cauſe."

After taking notice of the manner in which their anceſtors left Britain, the happineſs attending the mutual friendly commerce betwixt that country and her Colonies, and the remarkable ſucceſs of the late war, they proceed as follows: "The new miniſtry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet ſtill contending, took up

up the unfortunate idea of granting them a haſty peace, and of then ſubduing her faithful friends.

"Theſe devoted colonies were judged to be in ſuch a ſtate as to preſent victories without bloodſhed, and all the eaſy emoluments of ſtatutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and reſpectful behaviour from the beginning of their colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and uſeful ſervices during the war, though ſo recently and amply acknowledged in the moſt honourable manner by his Majeſty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not ſave them from the intended innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and aſſuming a new power over them, has in the courſe of eleven years given ſuch deciſive ſpecimens of the ſpirit and conſequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects of acquieſcence under it.

"They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our conſent, though we have ever exerciſed an excluſive right to diſpoſe of our own property. Statutes have been paſſed for extending the juriſdiction of the courts of admiralty, and vice-admiralty, beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accuſtomed and ineſtimable rights of trial by jury, in caſes affecting both life and property; for ſuſpending the legiſlature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government eſtabliſhed by charter, and ſecured by acts of its own legiſlature; and ſolemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the murderers of coloniſts from legal trial, and in effect from puniſhment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a deſpotiſm dangerous to our very exiſtence; and for quartering ſoldiers upon the coloniſts in time of a profound peace. It has alſo been reſolved in parliament, that coloniſts charged with committing certain offences, ſhall be tranſported to England to be tried.

"But why ſhould we enumerate our injuries in detail?—By one ſtatute it was declared, that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all caſes whatever, What is to defend us againſt ſo enormous, ſo unlimited a power? Not a ſingle perſon who aſſumes it is choſen by us, or is ſubject to our controul or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of ſuch laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the oſtenſible purpoſes from which it is raiſed, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as it increaſes ours.

"We ſaw the miſery to which ſuch deſpotiſm would reduce us. We for ten years inceſſantly and ineffectually beſieged the throne as ſuppli-

cants; we reaſoned, we remonſtrated with parliament in the moſt mild and decent language; but adminiſtration, ſenſible that we ſhould regard theſe meaſures as freemen ought to do, ſent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

"We have purſued every temperate, every reſpectful meaſure; we have even proceeded to break off all commercial intercourſe with our fellow-ſubjects as our laſt peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth would ſupplant our attachment to liberty: this we flattered ourſelves was the ultimate ſtep of the controverſy; but ſubſequent events have ſhown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies!

"The Lords and Commons, in their addreſs in the month of February, ſaid, that a rebellion at that time actually exiſted in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay; and that thoſe concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his Majeſty's ſubjects in ſeveral of the colonies; and therefore they beſought his Majeſty that he would take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature. Soon after the commercial intercourſe of whole colonies with foreign countries was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, ſeveral of them were entirely prohibited from the fiſheries in the ſeas near their coaſts, on which they always depended for their ſubſiſtence; and large reinforcements of ſhips and troops were immediately ſent over to General Gage."

"Fruitleſs were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illuſtrious band of the moſt diſtinguiſhed peers and commoners, who nobly and ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the juſtice of our cauſe, to ſtay, or even to mitigate, the heedleſs fury, with which theſe accumulated outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitleſs was the interference of the city of London, of Briſtol, and many other reſpectable towns in our favour."

After having reproached parliament, General Gage, and the Britiſh government in general, they proceeded thus: "We are reduced to the alternative of chooſing an unconditional ſubmiſſion to tyranny or reſiſtance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the coſt of this conteſt, and find nothing ſo dreadful as voluntary ſlavery. Honour, juſtice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to ſurrender that freedom which we received from our gallant anceſtors, and which our innocent poſterity have a right to receive from us. Our cauſe is juſt; our union is perfect; our internal reſources are great; and, if neceſſary, foreign aſſiſtance is undoubtedly attainable. We fight not for glory or conqueſt; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable ſpectacle of a people attacked

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by unprovoked enemies. They boaſt of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than ſervitude or death. In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property acquired by the honeſt induſtry of our forefathers and our own, againſt violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we ſhall lay them down when hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on the part of our aggreſſors, and all danger of their being renewed ſhall be removed,—and not before."

Theſe are ſome of the moſt ſtriking paſſages in the declaration of congreſs on taking up arms againſt Great Britain, and dated July 6th 1775. The determined ſpirit which it ſhews, ought to have convinced England, that the conqueſt of America was an event ſcarce ever to be expected. In every other reſpect an equal ſpirit was ſhewn; and the rulers of the Britiſh nation had the mortification to ſee thoſe whom they ſtyled rebels and traitors, ſucceed in negociations in which they themſelves were utterly foiled. In the paſſing of the Quebec bill, miniſtry had flattered themſelves that the Canadians would be ſo much attached to them, on account of reſtoring the French laws, that they would very readily join in any attempt againſt the coloniſts who had reprobated that bill in ſuch ſtrong terms: but in this, as in every thing elſe indeed, they found themſelves miſtaken. The Canadians having been ſubject to Britain for a period of fifteen years, and being thus rendered ſenſible of the ſuperior advantages of Britiſh government, received the bill itſelf with evident marks of diſapprobation; nay, reprobated it as tyrannical and oppreſſive. A ſcheme had been formed for General Carleton, governor of the province, to raiſe an army of Canadians wherewith to act againſt the Americans; and ſo ſanguine were the hopes of adminiſtration in this reſpect, that they had ſent twenty thouſand ſtand of arms, and a great quantity of military ſtores, to Quebec for the purpoſe. But the people, though they did not join the Americans, yet were found immoveable in their purpoſe to ſtand neuter. Application was made to the biſhop; but he declined to interpoſe his influence, as contrary to the rules of the Popiſh clergy: ſo that the utmoſt efforts of government in this province were found to anſwer little or no purpoſe.

The Britiſh adminiſtration next tried to engage the Indians in their cauſe. But though agents were diſperſed among them with large preſents to the chiefs, they univerſally replied, that they did not underſtand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they diſtinguiſh whether thoſe who dwelt in America or on the other ſide of the ocean were in fault: but they were ſurpriſed to ſee Engliſhmen aſk their aſſiſtance againſt one another; and adviſed them to be reconciled, and not to think of ſhed-

ding the blood of their brethren.—To the repreſentations of Congreſs they paid more reſpect. Theſe ſet forth, that the Engliſh on the other ſide of the ocean had taken up arms to enſlave, not only their countrymen in America, but the Indians alſo; and if the latter ſhould enable them to overcome the coloniſts, they themſelves would ſoon be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery alſo. By arguments of this kind theſe ſavages were engaged to remain neuter; and thus the coloniſts were freed from a moſt dangerous enemy. On this occaſion the Congreſs thonght proper to hold a ſolemn conference with the different tribes of Indians. The ſpeech made by them on the occaſion is curious, but too long to be fully inſerted. The following is a ſpecimen of the European mode of addreſſing theſe people:

"Brothers, Sachems, and Warriors!

"We, the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, now ſitting in general Congreſs at Philadelphia, ſend their talk to you our brothers.

"Brothers and Friends now attend!

"When our fathers croſſed the great water, and came over to this land, the King of England gave them a talk, aſſuring them that they and their children ſhould be his children; and that if they would leave their native country, and make ſettlements, and live here, and buy and ſell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they ſhould ſtill keep hold of the ſame covenant-chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houſes, goods, and poſſeſſions, which our fathers ſhould acquire, ſhould remain to them as their own, and be their childrens for ever, and at their ſole diſpoſal.

"Brothers and Friends open a kind ear!

"We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counſellors of King George and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

"Many of his counſellors have perſuaded him to break the covenant-chain, and not to ſend us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant againſt us; and have torn aſunder, and caſt behind their backs, the good old covenant which their anceſtors and ours entered into, and took ſtrong hold of. They now tell us they will put their hands into our pocket without aſking, as though it were their own; and at their pleaſure they will take from us our charters, or written civil conſtitution, which we love as our lives; alſo our plantations, our houſes, and goods, whenever they pleaſe, without aſking our leave. They tell us, that our veſſels may go to that or this iſland in the ſea, but to this or that particular iſland we ſhall not trade any more;

and

and in caſe of our non-compliance with theſe new orders, they ſhut up our harbours.

"Brothers, we live on the ſame ground with you; the ſame land is our common birth-place. We deſire to ſit down under the ſame tree of peace with you; let us water its roots, and cheriſh the growth, till the large leaves and flouriſhing branches ſhall extend to the ..tting ſun, and reach the ſkies. If any thing diſagreeable ſhould ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately ſeek meaſures for healing the breach. From the preſent ſituation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle up a ſmall fire at Albany, where we may hear each other's voice, and diſcloſe our minds fully to one another."

The other remarkable tranſactions of this Congreſs were the ultimate refuſal of the conciliatory propoſal made by Lord North, of which ſuch ſanguine expectations had been formed by the Engliſh miniſtry; and appointing a generaliſſimo to command their armies, which were now very numerous. The perſon choſen for this purpoſe was George Waſhington: a man ſo univerſally beloved, that he was raiſed to ſuch an high ſtation by the unanimous voice of Congreſs: and his ſubſequent conduct ſhowed him every way worthy of it. Horace Gates and Charles Lee, two Engliſh officers of conſiderable reputation, were alſo choſen; the former an adjutant-general, the ſecond a major-general. Artemus Ward, Philip Schuyler, and Iſrael Putnam, were likewiſe nominated major-generals. Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooſter, William Heath, Joſeph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Green, were choſen brigadier-generals at the ſame time.

Congreſs had now alſo the ſatisfaction to receive deputies from the colony of Georgia, expreſſing a deſire to join the confederacy. The reaſons they gave for renouncing their allegiance to Britain were, that the conduct of parliament towards the other colonies had been oppreſſive; that though the obnoxious acts had not been extended to them, they could view this only as an omiſſion, becauſe of the ſeeming little conſequence of their colony: and therefore looked upon it rather to be a ſlight than a favour. At the ſame time they framed a petition to the King, ſimilar to that ſent by the other colonies, and which met with a ſimilar reception.

The ſucceſs which had hitherto attended the Americans in all their meaſures, now emboldened them to think not only of defending themſelves, but likewiſe of acting offenſively againſt Great Britain. The conqueſt of Canada appeared an object within their reach, and that one would be attended with many advantages; and as an invaſion

invaſion of that province was lately facilitated by the taking of Crown point and Ticonderago, it was reſolved, if poſſible, to penetrate that way into Canada, and reduce Quebec during the winter, before the fleets and armies, which they were well aſſured would ſail thither from Britain, ſhould arrive. By order of Congreſs, therefore, three thouſand men were put under the command of Generals Montgomery and Schuyler, with orders to proceed to Lake Champlain, from whence they were to be conveyed in flat-bottomed boats to the mouth of the river Sorel, a branch of the great river St. Laurence, and on which is ſituated a fort of the ſame name with the river. On the other hand, they were oppoſed by General Carleton, governor of Canada; a man of great activity and experience in war; who, with a very few troops, had hitherto been able to keep in awe the diſaffected people of Canada, notwithſtanding all the repreſentations of the coloniſts. He had now augmented his army by a conſiderable number of Indians, and promiſed even in his preſent ſituation to make a very formidable reſiſtance.

As ſoon as General Montgomery arrived at Crown Point, he received information that ſeveral armed veſſels were ſtationed at St. John's, a ſtrong fort on the Sorel, with a view to prevent his croſſing the lake; on which he took poſſeſſion of the iſland which commands the mouth of the Sorel, and by which he could prevent them from entering the lake. In conjunction with General Schuyler, he next proceeded to St. John's: but finding that place too ſtrong, he landed on a part of the country conſiderably diſtant, and full of woods and ſwamps. From thence, however, they were driven by a party of Indians whom General Carleton had employed.

The provincial army was now obliged to retreat to the iſland of which they had at firſt taken poſſeſſon; where General Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left to command alone. His firſt ſtep was to gain over the Indians whom General Carleton had employed, and this he in a great meaſure accompliſhed; after which, on receiving the full number of troops appointed for his expedition, he determined to lay ſiege to St. John's. In this he was facilitated by the reduction of Chamblee, a ſmall fort in the neighbourhood, where he found a large ſupply of powder. An attempt was made by General Carleton to relieve the place; for which purpoſe he with great pains collected about one thouſand Canadians, while Colonel Maclean propoſed to raiſe a regiment of the Highlanders who had emigrated from their own country to America.

But while General Carleton was on his march with theſe new levies, he was attacked by a ſuperior force of provincials, and utterly defeated; which

which being made known to another body of Canadians who had joined Colonel Maclean, they abandoned him without ſtriking a blow, and he was obliged to retreat to Quebec.

The defeat of General Carleton was a ſufficient recompence to the Americans for that of Colonel Ethan Allen, which had happened ſome time before. The ſucceſs which had attended this gentleman againſt Crown Point and Ticonderago had emboldened him to make a ſimilar attempt on Montreal; but being attacked by the militia of the place, ſupported by a detachment of regulars, he was entirely defeated and taken priſoner.

As the defeat of General Carleton and the deſertion of Maclean's forces left no room for the garriſon of St. John's to hope for any relief, they now conſented to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; but were in other reſpects treated with great humanity. They were in number five hundred regulars and two hundred Canadians, among whom were many of the French nobility, who had been very active in promoting the cauſe of Britain, among their countrymen.

General Montgomery next took meaſures to prevent the Britiſh ſhipping from paſſing down the river from Montreal to Quebec. This he accompliſhed ſo effectually, that the whole were taken. The town itſelf was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that General Carleton eſcaped in an open-boat by the favour of a dark night.

No further obſtacle now remained in the way of the Americans to the capital, except what aroſe from the nature of the country; and theſe indeed were very conſiderable. Nothing, however, could damp the ardour of the provincials. Notwithſtanding it was now the middle of November, and the depth of winter was at hand, Colonel Arnold formed a deſign of penetrating through woods, moraſſes, and the moſt frightful ſolitudes, from New England to Canada, by a nearer way than that which Montgomery had choſen; and this he accompliſhed in ſpite of every difficulty, to the aſtoniſhment of all who ſaw or heard of the attempt. This deſperate march, however, cannot be looked upon as conducive to any good purpoſe. A third part of his men under another colonel had abandoned him by the way, under pretence of want of proviſions; the total want of artillery rendered his preſence inſignificant before a place ſtrongly fortified; and the ſmallneſs of his army rendered it even doubtful whether he could have taken the town by ſurpriſe. The Canadians indeed were amazed at the exploit, and their inclination to revolt from Britain was ſomewhat augmented; but none of them as yet took up arms in behalf of America. The conſternation into which

the town of Quebec was thrown, proved detrimental rather than otherwiſe to the expedition; as it doubled the vigilance and activity of the inhabitants to prevent any ſurpriſe; and the appearance of common danger united all parties, who, before the arrival of Arnold, were contending moſt violently with one another. He was therefore obliged to content himſelf with blocking up the avenues to the town, in order to diſtreſs the garriſon for want of proviſions; and even this he was unable to do effectually, by reaſon of the ſmall number of his men.

The matter was not much mended by the arrival of General Montgomery. The force he had with him, even when united with that of Arnold, was too inſignificant to attempt the reduction of a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, eſpecially with the aſſiſtance only of a few mortars and field-pieces. After the ſiege had continued through the month of December, General Montgomery, conſcious that he could accompliſh his end no other way than by ſurpriſe, reſolved to make an attempt on the laſt day of the year 1775. The method he took at this time was perhaps the beſt that human wiſdom could deviſe. He advanced by break of day, in the midſt of an heavy fall of ſnow, which covered his men from the ſight of the enemy. Two real attacks were made by himſelf and Colonel Arnold, at the ſame time that two feigned attacks were made on two other places, thus to diſtract the garriſon, and make them divide their forces. One of the real attacks was made by the people of New York, and the other by thoſe of New England, under Arnold. Their hopes of ſurpriſing the place, however, were defeated by the ſignal for the attack being, through ſome miſtake, given too ſoon. General Montgomery himſelf had the moſt dangerous place, being obliged to paſs between the river and ſome high rocks on which the Upper Town ſtands; ſo that he was forced to make what haſte he could to cloſe with the enemy. His fate, however, was now decided. Having forced the firſt barrier, a violent diſcharge of muſketry and grape-ſhot from the ſecond killed him, his principal officers, and the moſt of the party he commanded; on which thoſe who remained immediately retreated. Colonel Arnold in the mean time made a deſperate attack on the Lower Town, and carried one of the barriers after an an obſtinate reſiſtance of an hour; but in the action he himſelf received a wound, which obliged him to withdraw. The attack, however, was continued by the officers whom he had left, and another barrier forced: but the garriſon, now perceiving that nothing was to be feared except from that quarter, collected their whole force againſt it; and, after a deſperate engagement of three hours, overpowered the Provincials, and obliged them to ſurrender.

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In this action the valour of the provincial troops could not be exceeded. Such a terrible diſaſter left no hope remaining of the accompliſhment of their purpoſe, as General Arnold could now ſcarce number eight hundred effective men under his command. He did not, however, abandon the province, or even remove to a greater diſtance than three miles from Quebec; and here he ſtill found means to annoy the garriſon very conſiderably by intercepting their proviſions. The Canadians, notwithſtanding the bad ſucceſs of the American arms, ſtill continued friendly; and thus he was enabled to ſuſtain the hardſhips of a winter encampment in that moſt ſevere climate. The Congreſs, far from paſſing any cenſure on him for his misfortune, created him a brigadier-general.

While hoſtilities were thus carried on with vigour in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itſelf in the ſouth. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in diſputes ſimilar to thoſe which had taken place in other colonies. Theſe had proceeded ſo far that the aſſembly was diſſolved; which in this province was attended with a conſequence unknown to the reſt. As Virginia contained a great number of ſlaves, it was neceſſary that a militia ſhould be kept conſtantly on foot to keep them in awe. During the diſſolution of the aſſembly the militia-laws expired; and the people, after complaining of the danger they were in from the negroes, formed a convention, which enacted, that each county ſhould raiſe a quota for the defence of the province. Dunmore, on this, removed the powder from Williamſburg; which created ſuch diſcontents, that an immediate quarrel would probably have enſued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain ſatisfaction for the injury ſuppoſed to be done to the community. This tranquillity, however, was ſoon interrupted; the people, alarmed by a report that an armed party on their way from the man of war where the powder had been depoſited, aſſembled in arms, and determined to oppoſe by force any farther removals. In ſome of the conferences which paſſed at this time, the Governor let fall ſome unguarded expreſſions, ſuch as threatening them with ſetting up the royal ſtandard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, deſtroying the town of Williamſburg, &c. which were afterwards made public, and exaggerated in ſuch a manner as greatly to increaſe the public ferment.

The people now held frequent aſſemblies. Some of them took up arms with a deſign to force the governor to reſtore the powder, and to take the public money into their own poſſeſſion: but on their way to Williamſburgh for this purpoſe, they were met by the receiver-general, who

became ſecurity for the payment for the gunpowder, and the inhabitants promiſed to take care of the magazine and public revenue.

By this inſurrection the governor was ſo much intimidated, that he ſent his family on board a man of war. He himſelf, however, iſſued a proclamation, in which he declared the behaviour of the perſon who promoted the tumult treaſonable, accuſed the people of diſaffection, &c. On their part they were by no means deficient in recriminating; and ſome letters of his to Britain being about the ſame time diſcovered, conſequences enſued extremely ſimilar to thoſe which had been occaſioned by thoſe of Mr. Hutchinſon at Boſton.

In this ſtate of confuſion the Governor thought it neceſſary to fortify his palace with artillery, and procure a party of marines to guard it. Lord North's conciliatory propoſal arriving alſo about the ſame time, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to cauſe the people to comply with it. The arguments he uſed were ſuch as muſt do him honour; and had not matters already gone to ſuch a pitch, it is highly probable that ſome attention would have been paid to them. "The view, he ſaid, in which the colonies ought to behold this conciliatory propoſal was no more than an earneſt admonition from Great Britain to relieve her wants: that the utmoſt condeſcendence had been uſed in the mode of application; no determinate ſum having been fixed, as it was thought moſt worthy of Britiſh generoſity to take what they thought could be convenient ſpared, and likewiſe to leave the mode of raiſing it to themſelves," &c. But the clamour and diſſatisfaction were now ſo univerſal, that nothing elſe could be attended to. The Governor had called an aſſembly for the purpoſe of laying this conciliatory propoſal before them; but it had been little attended to. The aſſembly began their ſeſſion by inquiries into the ſtate of the magazine. It had been broken into by ſome of the townſmen; for which reaſon ſpring-guns had been placed there by the Governor, which diſcharged themſelves upon the offenders at their entrance: theſe circumſtances, with others of a ſimilar kind, raiſed ſuch a violent uproar, that as ſoon as the preliminary buſineſs of the ſeſſion was over, the Governor retired on board a man of war, informing the aſſembly that he durſt no longer truſt himſelf on ſhore. This produced a long courſe of diſputation, which ended in a poſitive refuſal of the Governor to truſt himſelf again in Williamſburg, even to give his aſſent to the bills, which could not be paſſed without it, and though the aſſembly offered to bind themſelves for his perſonal ſafety. In his turn he requeſted them to meet him on board the man of war, where he then was; but this propoſal was rejected, and all further correſpondence containing the leaſt appearance of friendſhip was diſcontinued.

Lord

Lord Dunmore, thus deprived of his government, attempted to reduce by force thoſe whom he could no longer govern. Some of the moſt ſtrenuous adherents to the Britiſh cauſe, whom their zeal had rendered obnoxious at home, now repaired to him. He was alſo joined by numbers of black ſlaves. With theſe, and the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh ſhipping, he was for ſome time enabled to carry on a kind of predatory war, ſufficient to hurt and exaſperate, but not to ſubdue. After ſome inconſiderable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the ſlaves, and ſetting up the royal ſtandard, he took up his reſidence at Norfolk, a maritime town of ſome conſequence, where the people were better affected to Britain than in moſt other places. A conſiderable force, however, was collected againſt him; and the natural impetuoſity of his temper prompting him to act againſt them with more courage than caution, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire to his ſhipping, which was now crowded by the number of thoſe who had incurred the reſentment of the Provincials.

In the mean time a ſcheme of the utmoſt magnitude and importance was formed by one Mr. Conolly, a Pennſylvanian, of an intrepid and aſpiring diſpoſition, and attached to the cauſe of Britain. The firſt ſtep of this plan was to enter into a league with the Ohio Indians. This he communicated to Lord Dunmore, and it received his approbation: Upon which Conolly ſet out, and actually ſucceeded in his deſign. On his return he was diſpatched to General Gage, from whom he received a colonel's commiſſion, and ſet out in order to accompliſh the remainder of his ſcheme. The plan in general was, that he ſhould return to the Ohio, where, by the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh and Indians in theſe parts, he was to penetrate through the back ſettlements into Virginia, and join Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. But by an accident very naturally to be expected, he was diſcovered, taken priſoner, and thrown into a dungeon.

In the ſouthern colonies of Carolina the governors were expelled and obliged to take refuge on board of men of war, as Lord Dunmore had been and Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, on a charge of attempting to raiſe the back-ſettlers, conſiſting chiefly of Scots Highlanders, againſt the colony. Having ſecured themſelves againſt any attempts from theſe enemies, however, they proceeded to regulate their internal concerns in the ſame manner as the reſt of the colonies; and by the end of the year 1775, Britain beheld the whole of America united againſt her in the moſt determined oppoſition. Her vaſt poſſeſſions of that tract of land were now reduced to the ſingle town of Boſton; in which her

forces were beſieged by an enemy with whom they were apparently not able to cope, and by whom they muſt of courſe expect in a very ſhort time to be expelled. The ſituation of the inhabitants of Boſton, indeed, was peculiarly unhappy. After having failed in their attempts to leave the town, General Gage had conſented to allow them to retire with their effects; but afterwards, for what reaſon does not well appear, he refuſed to fulfil his promiſe. When he reſigned his place to General Howe in October 1775, the latter, apprehenſive that they might give intelligence of the ſituation of the Britiſh troops, ſtrictly prohibited any perſon from leaving the place under pain of military execution. Thus matters continued till the month of March 1776, when the town was evacuated.

On the 2d of that month, General Waſhington opened a battery on the weſt ſide of the town, from whence it was bombarded with a heavy fire of cannon at the ſame time; and three days after, it was attacked by another battery from the eaſtern ſhore. This terrible attack continued for fourteen days without intermiſſion; when General Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, determined if poſſible to drive the enemy from their works. Preparations were therefore made for a moſt vigorous attack on an hill called Dorcheſter Neck, which the Americans had fortified in ſuch a manner as would in all probability have rendered the enterpriſe next to deſperate. No difficulties, however, were ſufficient to daunt the ſpirit of the general; and every thing was in readineſs, when a ſtorm prevented this intended exertion of Britiſh valour. Next day, upon a more cloſe inſpection of the works they were to attack, it was thought adviſeable to deſiſt from the enterpriſe altogether. The fortifications were very ſtrong, and extremely well provided with artillery; and beſides other implements of deſtruction, upwards of one hundred hogſheads of ſtones were provided to roll down upon the enemy as they came up; which, as the aſcent was extremely ſteep, muſt have done prodigious execution.

Nothing therefore now remained but to think of a retreat; and even this was attended with the utmoſt difficulty and danger. The Americans, however, knowing that it was in the power of the Britiſh general to reduce the town to aſhes, which could not have been repaired in many years, did not think proper to give the leaſt moleſtation; and for the ſpace of a fortnight the troops were employed in the evacuation of the place, from whence they carried along with them two thouſand of the inhabitants, who durſt not ſtay on account of their attachment to the Britiſh cauſe. From Boſton they ſailed to Halifax; but all their vigilance could not prevent a number of valuable ſhips from falling into the hands of the enemy. A conſiderable quantity of cannon and ammunition

munition had alſo been left at Bunker's Hill and Boſton Neck; and in the town, an immenſe variety of goods, principally woollen and linen, of which the provincials ſtood very much in need. The eſtates of thoſe who fled to Haliſax were confiſcated; as alſo thoſe who were attached to government, and had remained in the town. As an attack was expected as ſoon as the Britiſh forces ſhould arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications, already very ſtrong, impregnable. For this purpoſe ſome foreign engineers were employed, who had before arrived at Boſton; and ſo eager were people of all ranks to accompliſh this buſineſs, that every able-bodied man in the place, without diſtinction of rank, ſet apart two days in the week, to complete it the ſooner.

The Americans about this time began to be influenced by new views. The military arrangements of the preceding year—their unexpected union, and prevailing enthuſiaſm, expanded the minds of their leaders, and elevated the ſentiments of the great body of their people. Deciſive meaſures which would have been lately reprobated, now met with approbation.

The favourers of ſubordination under the former conſtitution, urged the advantages of a ſupreme head, to controul the diſputes of interfering colonies, and alſo the benefits which flowed from union; and that independence was untried ground, and ſhould not be entered upon but in the laſt extremity.

They flattered themſelves that Great Britain was ſo fully convinced of the determined ſpirit of America, that if the preſent controverſy was compromiſed, ſhe would not at any future period reſume an injurious exerciſe of her ſupremacy. They were therefore for proceeding no farther than to defend themſelves in the character of ſubjects, truſting that ere long the preſent hoſtile meaſures would be relinquiſhed, and the harmony of the two countries re-eſtabliſhed. The favourers of this ſyſtem were embarraſſed, and all their arguments weakened by the perſeverance of Great Britain in her ſchemes of coercion. A probable hope of a ſpeedy repeal of a few acts of Parliament would have greatly increaſed the number of thoſe who were advocates for reconciliation. But the certainty of intelligence to the contrary gave additional force to the arguments of the oppoſite party. Though new weight was daily thrown into the ſcale, in which the advantages of independence were weighed, yet it did not preponderate till about that time in 1776, when intelligence reached the Coloniſts of the act of Parliament paſſed in December 1775, for throwing them out of Britiſh protection, and of hiring foreign troops to aſſiſt in effecting their conqueſt. Reſpecting the firſt it was

ſaid,

ſaid, "that protection and allegiance were reciprocal, and that the refuſal of the firſt was a legal ground of juſtification for withholding the laſt." They conſidered themſelves to be thereby diſcharged from their allegiance, and that to declare themſelves independent was no more, than to announce to the world the real political ſtate in which Great Britain had placed them. This act proved that the Coloniſts might conſtitutionally declare themſelves independent, but the hiring of foreign troops to make war upon them, demonſtrated the neceſſity of their doing it immediately. They reaſoned that if Great Britain called in the aid of ſtrangers to cruſh them, they muſt ſeek ſimilar relief for their own preſervation. But they well knew this could not be expected, while they were in arms againſt their acknowledged Sovereign. They had therefore only a choice of difficulties, and muſt either ſeek foreign aid as independent ſtates, or continue in the aukward and hazardous ſituation of ſubjects, carrying on war from their own reſources, both againſt the King, and ſuch mercenaries as he choſe to employ for their ſubjugation. Neceſſity, not choice, forced them on the deciſion. Submiſſion, without obtaining a redreſs of their grievances, was advocated by none who poſſeſſed the public confidence. Some of the popular leaders may have ſecretly wiſhed for independence from the beginning of the controverſy, but their number was ſmall and their ſentiments were not generally known.

While the public mind was balancing on this eventful ſubject, ſeveral writers placed the advantages of independence in various points of view. Among theſe Thomas Paine in a pamphlet, under the ſignature of *Common Senſe*, held the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank. The ſtile, manner, and language of this performance was calculated to intereſt the paſſions, and to rouſe all the active powers of human nature. With a view of operating on the ſentiments of a religious people, Scripture was preſſed into his ſervice, and the powers, and even the name of a king was rendered odious in the eyes of the numerous Coloniſts who had read and ſtudied the hiſtory of the Jews, as recorded in the Old Teſtament. The folly of that people in revolting from a government, inſtituted by Heaven itſelf, and the oppreſſions to which they were ſubjected in conſequence of their luſting after kings to rule over them, afforded an excellent handle for pre-poſſeſſing the Coloniſts in favour of republican inſtitutions, and prejudicing them againſt kingly government. Hereditary ſucceſſion was turned into ridicule. The abſurdity of ſubjecting a great continent to a ſmall iſland on the other ſide of the globe, was repreſented in ſuch ſtriking language, as to intereſt the honour and pride of the Coloniſts in renouncing the government of Great Britain.

The neceſſity, the advantage, and practicability of independence were forcibly demonſtrated. Nothing could be better timed than this performance; it was addreſſed to freemen, who had juſt received convincing proof, that Great Britain had thrown them out of her protection, had engaged foreign mercenaries to make war upon them, and ſeriouſly deſigned to compel their unconditional ſubmiſſion to her unlimited power. It found the Coloniſts moſt thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and diſpoſed to do and ſuffer any thing that promiſed their eſtabliſhment. In union with the feelings and ſentiments of the people, it produced ſurpriſing effects. Many thouſands were convinced, and were led to approve and long for a ſeparation from the Mother Country. Though that meaſure, a few months before, was not only foreign from their wiſhes, but the object of their abhorrence, the current ſuddenly became ſo ſtrong in its favour, that it bore down all oppoſition. The multitude was hurried down the ſtream, but ſome worthy men could not eaſily reconcile themſelves to the idea of an eternal ſeparation from a country to which they had been long bound by the moſt endearing ties. They ſaw the ſword drawn, but could not tell when it would be ſheathed; they feared that the diſperſed individuals of the ſeveral Colonies would not be brought to coaleſce under an efficient government, and that after much anarchy, ſome future Cæſar would graſp their liberties, and confirm himſelf on a throne of deſpotiſm. They doubted the perſeverance of their countrymen in effecting their independence, and were alſo apprehenſive that in caſe of ſucceſs, their future condition would be leſs happy than their paſt. Some reſpectable individuals whoſe principles were pure, but whoſe ſouls were not of that firm texture which revolutions require, ſhrunk back from the bold meaſures propoſed by their more adventurous countrymen. To ſubmit without an appeal to Heaven, though ſecretly wiſhed for by ſome, was not the avowed ſentiment of any; but to perſevere in petitioning and reſiſting, was the ſyſtem of ſome miſguided honeſt men. The favourers of this opinion were generally wanting in that deciſion which graſps at great objects, and influenced by that timid policy which does its work by halves. Moſt of them dreaded the power of Britain. A few, on the ſcore of intereſt, or an expectancy of favours from royal government, refuſed to concur with the general voice. Some of the natives of the Parent State, who having lately ſettled in the Colonies, had not yet exchanged European for American ideas, together with a few others, conſcientiouſly oppoſed the meaſures of Congreſs: but the great bulk of the people, and eſpecially of the ſpirited and independent part of the community,

community, came with ſurpriſing unanimity into the project of independence.

The Americans, thus exaſperated to the utmoſt by the proceedings of parliament, now formally renounced all connection with Britain, and declared themſelves independent. This celebrated declaration was publiſhed on the 4th of July, 1776, and is as follows:

"When, in the courſe of human events, it becomes neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the powers of the earth the ſeparate and equal ſtation to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent reſpect to the opinions of mankind requires that they ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to the ſeparation.

"We hold theſe truths to be ſelf-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among theſe are life, liberty, and the purſuit of happineſs; that to ſecure theſe rights governments are inſtituted among men, deriving their juſt powers from the conſent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes deſtructive of theſe ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to aboliſh it, and to inſtitute a new government, laying its foundation on ſuch principles, and organizing its powers in ſuch form, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their ſafety and happineſs. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long eſtabliſhed ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient cauſes; and accordingly all experience hath ſhewn, that mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer while evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by aboliſhing the forms to which they are accuſtomed. But when a long train of abuſes and uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame object, evinces a deſign to reduce them under abſolute deſpotiſm, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off ſuch government, and to provide new guards for their future ſecurity. Such has been the patient ſufferance of theſe Colonies; and ſuch is now the neceſſity which conſtrains them to alter their former ſyſtems of government. The hiſtory of the preſent king of Great-Britain is a hiſtory of repeated injuries and uſurpations, all having in direct object the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute tyranny over theſe States. To prove this, let facts be ſubmitted to a candid world.

"He has refuſed his aſſent to laws the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to paſs laws of immediate and preſſing importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their operation till his aſſent ſhould

ſhould be obtained; and when ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

" He has refuſed to paſs other laws for the accommodation of large diſtricts of people, unleſs thoſe people would relinquiſh the right of repreſentation in the legiſlature; a right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

" He has called together legiſlative bodies at places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the depoſitory of their public records, for the ſole purpoſe of fatiguing them into compliance with his meaſures.

" He has diſſolved repreſentative houſes repeatedly, for oppoſing with manly firmneſs his invaſions on the rights of the people.

" He has refuſed, for a long time after ſuch diſſolutions, to cauſe others to be elected; whereby the legiſlative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exerciſe; the State remaining in the mean time expoſed to all the danger of invaſion from without, and convulſions within.

" He has endeavoured to prevent the population of theſe States; for that purpoſe obſtructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refuſing to paſs others to encourage their migrations hither; and raiſing the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

" He has obſtructed the adminiſtration of juſtice, by refuſing his aſſent to laws for eſtabliſhing judiciary powers.

" He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their ſalaries.

" He has erected a multitude of new offices, and ſent hither ſwarms of officers to harraſs our people and eat out their ſubſtance.

" He has kept among us, in times of peace, ſtanding armies, without the conſent of our legiſlatures.

" He has affected to render the military independent of, and ſuperior to, the civil power.

" He has combined with others to ſubject us to a juriſdiction foreign to our conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his aſſent to their acts of pretended legiſlation:

" For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

" For protecting them, by a mock trial, from puniſhment for any murders which they ſhould commit on the inhabitants of theſe States:

" For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

" For impoſing taxes on us without our conſent:

" For depriving us, in many caſes, of the benefits of trial by jury:

" For tranſporting us beyond ſeas to be tried for pretended offences:

" For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

" For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

" He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

" He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

" He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

" He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

" In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

" Nor have we been wanting to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

" We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world

world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great-Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

Previous to this a circular letter had been sent through each colony, stating the reasons for it; and such was the animosity now every where prevailing against Great Britain, that it met with universal approbation, except in the province of Maryland alone. It was not long, however, before the people of that colony, finding themselves left in a very dangerous minority, thought proper to accede to the measures of the rest. The manifesto itself was much in the usual style, stating a long list of grievances, for which redress had been often applied for in vain; and for these reasons they determined on a final separation; to hold the people of Britain as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends."

After thus publicly throwing off all allegiance and hope of reconciliation, the colonists soon found that an exertion of all their strength was required in order to support their pretensions. Their arms, indeed, had not, during this season, been attended with success in Canada. Reinforcements had been promised to Colonel Arnold, who still continued the blockade of Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to second his operations. Being sensible, however, that he must either desist from the enterprise, or finish it successfully, he recommenced in form; attempting to burn the shipping, and even to storm the town itself. They were unsuccessful, however, by reason of the smallness of their number, though they succeeded so far as to burn a number of houses in the suburbs; and the garrison were obliged to pull down the remainder, in order to prevent the fire from spreading.

As the provincials, though unable to reduce the town, kept the garrison in continual alarms, and in a very disagreeable situation, some of the nobility collected themselves into a body under the command of one Mr. Beaujeau, in order to relieve their capital; but they were met on their march by the provincials, and so entirely defeated, that they were never afterwards able to attempt any thing. The Americans, however,

had but little reaſon to plume themſelves on this ſucceſs. Their want of artillery at laſt convinced them, that it was impracticable in their ſituation to reduce a place ſo ſtrongly fortified: the ſmall-pox at the ſame time made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers; intimidating the reſt to ſuch a degree, that they deſerted in crowds. To add to their misfortunes, the Britiſh reinforcements unexpectedly appeared, and the ſhips made their way through the ice with ſuch celerity, that the one part of their army was ſeparated from the other; and General Carleton ſallying out as ſoon as the reinforcement was landed, obliged them to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind them all their cannon and military ſtores; at the ſame time that their ſhipping was entirely captured by veſſels ſent up the river for that purpoſe. On this occaſion the provincials fled with ſuch precipitation that they could not be overtaken; ſo that none fell into the hands of the Britiſh excepting the ſick and wounded. General Carleton now gave a ſignal inſtance of his humanity: Being well appriſed that many of the provincials had not been able to accompany the reſt in their retreat, and that they were concealed in woods, &c. in a very deplorable ſituation, he generouſly iſſued a proclamation, ordering proper perſons to ſeek them out, and give them relief at the public expence; at the ſame time, leſt, through fear of being made priſoners, they ſhould refuſe theſe offers of humanity, he promiſed, that, as ſoon as their ſituation enabled them, they ſhould be at liberty to depart to their reſpective homes.

The Britiſh general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was ſoon enabled to act offenſively againſt the provincials, by the arrival of the forces deſtined for that purpoſe from Britain. By theſe he was put at the head of twelve thouſand regular troops, among whom were thoſe of Brunſwick. With this force he inſtantly ſet out to the Three Rivers, where he expected that Arnold would have made a ſtand; but he had fled to Sorel, a place one hundred and fifty miles diſtant from Quebec, where he was at laſt met by the reinforcements ordered by Congreſs. Here, though the preceding events were by no means calculated to inſpire much military ardour, a very daring enterpriſe was undertaken; and this was to ſurpriſe the Britiſh troops poſted here under Generals Fraſer and Neſbit; of whom the former commanded thoſe on land, the latter ſuch as were on board of tranſports, and were but a little way diſtant. The enterpriſe was undoubtedly very hazardous, both on account of the ſtrength of the parties againſt whom they were to act, and as the main body of the Britiſh forces were advanced within fifty miles of the place; beſides that a number of armed veſſels and tranſports with troops lay between them and the Three Rivers. Two

thouſand

thouſand choſen men, however, under General Thomſon, engaged in this enterpriſe. Their ſucceſs was by no means anſwerable to their ſpirit and valour. Though they paſſed the ſhipping without being obſerved, General Fraſer had notice of their landing; and thus being prepared to receive them, they were ſoon thrown into diſorder, at the ſame time that General Neſbit, having landed his forces, prepared to attack them in the rear. On this occaſion ſome field pieces did prodigious execution, and a retreat was found to be unavoidable. General Neſbit, however, had got between them and their boats; ſo that they were obliged to take a circuit through a deep ſwamp, while they were cloſely purſued by both parties at the ſame time, who marched for ſome miles on each ſide of the ſwamp, till at laſt the miſerable provincials were ſheltered from further danger by a wood at the end of the ſwamp. Their general, however, was taken, with two hundred of his men.

By this diſaſter the provincials loſt all hopes of accompliſhing any thing in Canada. They demoliſhed their works, and carried off their artillery with the utmoſt expedition. They were purſued however, by General Burgoyne; againſt whom it was expected that they would have collected all their force, and made a reſolute ſtand. But they were now too much diſpirited by misfortune, to make any further exertions of valour. On the 18th of June the Britiſh general arrived at Fort St. John's, which he found abandoned and burnt. Chamblee had ſhared the ſame fate, as well as all the veſſels that were not capable of being dragged up againſt the current of the river. It was thought that they would have made ſome reſiſtance at Nut Iſland, the entrance to Lake Champlain; but this alſo they had abandoned, and retreated acroſs the lake to Crown Point, whither they could not be immediately followed. Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the Americans; whoſe loſs in their retreat from Quebec was not calculated at leſs than one thouſand men, of whom four hundred fell at once into the hands of the enemy at a place called the Cedars, about fifty miles above Montreal. General Sullivan, however, who conducted this retreat after the affair of General Thomſon, was acknowledged to have had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of congreſs accordingly.

This bad ſucceſs in the north, however, was ſomewhat compenſated by what happened in the ſouthern colonies.—We have formerly taken notice that Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province and take refuge on board a man of war. Notwithſtanding this, he did not deſpair of reducing it again to obedience. For this purpoſe he applied to the Regulators, a daring ſet of banditti, who lived in a kind of independent ſtate; and though conſidered by government

government as rebels, yet had never been moleſted, on account of their numbers and known ſkill in the uſe of fire-arms. To the chiefs of theſe people commiſſions were ſent, in order to raiſe ſome regiments; and Colonel Macdonald, a brave and enterpriſing officer, was appointed to command them. In the month of February he erected the king's ſtandard, iſſued proclamations, &c. and collected ſome forces, expecting to be ſoon joined by a body of regular troops, who were known to be ſhipped from Britain to act againſt the ſouthern colonies. The Americans, ſenſible of their danger, diſpatched immediately what forces they had to act againſt the royaliſts, at the ſame time that they diligently exerted themſelves to ſupport theſe with ſuitable reinforcements. Their preſent force was commanded by a General Moore, whoſe numbers were inferior to Macdonald; for which reaſon the latter ſummoned him to join the king's ſtandard under pain of being treated as a rebel. But Moore, being well provided with cannon, and conſcious that nothing could be attempted againſt him, returned the compliment, by acquainting Colonel Macdonald, that if he and his party would lay down their arms, and ſubſcribe an oath of fidelity to congreſs, they ſhould be treated as friends; but if they perſiſted in an undertaking for which it was evident they had not ſufficient ſtrength, they could not but expect the ſevereſt treatment. In a few days General Moore found himſelf at the head of eight thouſand men, by reaſon of the continual ſupplies which daily arrived from all parts. The royal party amounted only to two thouſand, and they were deſtitute of artillery, which prevented them from attacking the enemy while they had the advantage of numbers. They were now therefore obliged to have recourſe to a deſperate exertion of perſonal valour; by dint of which they effected a retreat for eighty miles to Moore's Creek, within ſixteen miles of Wilmington. Could they have gained this place, they expected to have been joined by Governor Martin and General Clinton, who had lately arrived with a conſiderable detachment. But Moore with his army purſued them ſo cloſe, that they were obliged to attempt the paſſage of the creek itſelf, though a conſiderable body of the enemy, under the command of Colonel Coſwell, with fortifications well planted with cannon, was poſted on the other ſide. On attempting the creek, however, it was found not to be fordable. They were obliged therefore to croſs over a wooden bridge, which the provincials had not time to deſtroy entirely. They had, however, by pulling up part of the planks, and greaſing the remainder in order to render them ſlippery, made the paſſage ſo difficult, that the royaliſts could not attempt it. In this ſituation they were, on the 27th of February, attacked by Moore, with his ſuperior army, and totally

totally defeated with the loſs of their general and moſt of their leaders, as well as the beſt and braveſt of their men.

Thus was the power of the Provincials eſtabliſhed in North Carolina. Nor were they leſs ſucceſsful in the province of Virginia; where Lord Dunmore, having long continued an uſeleſs predatory war, was at laſt driven from every creek and road in the province. The people he had on board were diſtreſſed to the higheſt degree by confinement in ſmall veſſels. The heat of the ſeaſon, and the numbers crowded together, produced a peſtilential fever, which made great havock, eſpecially among the blacks. At laſt, finding themſelves in the utmoſt hazard of periſhing by famine as well as diſeaſe, they ſet fire to the leaſt valuable of their veſſels, reſerving only about fifty for themſelves, which they bid a final adieu to Virginia, ſome ſailing to Florida, ſome to Bermuda, and the reſt to the Weſt Indies.

In South Carolina the Provincials had a more formidable enemy to deal with. A ſquadron, whoſe object was the reduction of Charleſtown, had been fitted out in December 1775: but by reaſon of unfavourable weather did not reach Cape Fear, in North Carolina, till the month of May 1776: and here it met with further obſtacles till the end of the month. Thus the Americans, always noted for their alertneſs in raiſing fortifications, had time to ſtrengthen thoſe of Charleſtown in ſuch a manner as rendered it extremely difficult to be attacked. The Britiſh ſquadron conſiſted of two fifty gun ſhips, four of thirty guns, two of twenty, an armed ſchooner, and bomb-ketch; all under the command of Sir Peter Parker. The land forces were commanded by Lord Cornwallis, with Generals Clinton and Vaughan. As they had yet no intelligence of the evacuation of Boſton, General Howe diſpatched a veſſel to Cape Fear, with ſome inſtructions; but it was too late; and in the beginning of June the ſquadron anchored off Charleſtown bar. Here they met with ſome difficulty in croſſing, being obliged to take out the guns from the two large ſhips, which were, notwithſtanding, ſeveral times in danger of ſticking faſt. The next obſtacle was a ſtrong fort on Sullivan's Iſland, ſix miles eaſt from Charleſtown; which, though not completely finiſhed, was very ſtrong. However, the Britiſh generals reſolved without heſitation to attack it; but though an attack was eaſy from the ſea, it was very difficult to obtain a co-operation of the land forces. This was attempted by landing them on Long Iſland, adjacent to Sullivan's Iſland on the eaſt, from which it is ſeparated by a narrow creek, ſaid not to be above two feet deep at low water. Oppoſite to this ford the Provincials had poſted a ſtrong body of troops, with cannon and entrenchments; while General Lee was poſted on the main land, with a

bridge of boats betwixt that and Sullivan's Iſland, ſo that he could at pleaſure ſend reinforcements to the troops in the fort on Sullivan's Iſland.

On the part of the Britiſh, ſo many delays occurred, that it was the 28th of June before matters were in readineſs for an attack; and by this time the provincials had abundantly provided for their reception. On the morning of that day the bomb ketch began to throw ſhells into Fort Sullivan, and about mid-day the two fifty gun ſhips and thirty gun frigates came up and began a ſevere fire. Three other frigates were ordered to take their ſtation between Charleſtown and the fort, in order to enfilade the batteries, and cut off the communication with the main land; but through the ignorance of the pilots they all ſtuck faſt; and though two of them were diſentangled, they were found to be totally unfit for ſervice: the third was burnt, that ſhe might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

The attack was therefore confined to the five armed ſhips and bomb-ketch, between whom and the fort a dreadful fire enſued. The Briſtol ſuffered exceſſively. The ſprings on her cable being ſhot away, ſhe was for ſome time entirely expoſed to the enemy's fire. As the enemy poured in great quantities of red-hot balls, ſhe was twice in flames. The captain (Mr. Morris), after receiving five wounds, was obliged to go below deck in order to have his arm amputated. After undergoing this operation he returned to his place, where he received another wound, but ſtill refuſed to quit his ſtation: at laſt he received a red-hot ball in his belly which inſtantly put an end to his life. Of all the officers and ſeamen who ſtood on the quarter-deck of this veſſel, not one eſcaped without a wound excepting Sir Peter Parker alone; whoſe intrepidity and preſence of mind on this occaſion was very remarkable. The engagement laſted till darkneſs put an end to it. Little damage was done by the Britiſh, as the works of the enemy lay ſo low that many of the ſhot flew over; and the fortifications, being compoſed of palm-trees mixed with earth, were extremely well calculated to reſiſt the impreſſion of cannon. During the height of the attack, the provincial batteries remained for ſome time ſilent, ſo that it was concluded that they had been abandoned; but this was found to proceed only from want of powder; for as ſoon as a ſupply of this neceſſary article was obtained, the firing was reſumed as briſk as before. During the whole of this deſperate engagement it was found impoſſible for the land forces to give the leaſt aſſiſtance to the fleet. The enemy's works were found to be much ſtronger than they had been imagined, and the depth of water effectually prevented them from making any attempt. In this unſucceſsful attack the killed and wounded on the part of the Britiſh amounted to about

about two hundred. The Briſtol and Experiment were ſo much damaged, that it was thought they could not have been got over the bar; however, this was at laſt accompliſhed by a very great exertion of naval ſkill, to the ſurprize of the provincials, who had expected to make them both prizes. On the American ſide the loſs was judged to have been very conſiderable, as moſt of their guns were diſmounted, and reinforcements had poured into the fort during the whole time of the action.

This year alſo, the Americans, having ſo frequently made trial of their valour by land, became deſirous of trying it by ſea, and of forming a navy that might in ſome meaſure be able to protect their trade, and do eſſential hurt to the enemy. In the beginning of March commodore Hopkins was diſpatched with five frigates to the Bahama Iſlands, where he made himſelf maſter of the ordnance and military ſtores; but the gunpowder, which had been the principal object, was removed. On his return he captured ſeveral veſſels; but was foiled in his attempt on the Glaſgow frigate, which found means to eſcape notwithſtanding the efforts of his whole ſquadron.

The time, however, was now come when the fortitude and patience of the Americans were to undergo a ſevere trial. Hitherto they had been on the whole ſucceſsful in their operations: but now they were doomed to experience misfortune, and miſery; the enemy overrunning their country, and their own armies not able to face them in the field. The province of New York, as being the moſt central colony, and moſt acceſſible by ſea, was pitched upon for the object of the main attack. The force ſent againſt it conſiſted of ſix ſhips of the line, thirty frigates, beſides other armed veſſels, and a vaſt number of tranſports. The fleet was commanded by lord Howe, and the land forces by his brother general Howe, who was now at Halifax. The latter, however, a conſiderable time before his brother arrived, had ſet ſail from Halifax, and lay before New York, but without attempting to commence hoſtilities until he ſhould be joined by his brother. The Americans had, according to cuſtom, fortified New York and the adjacent iſlands in an extraordinary manner. However, general Howe was ſuffered to land his troops on Staten Iſland, where he was ſoon joined by a number of the inhabitants. About the middle of July, Lord Howe arrived with the grand armament; and being one of the commiſſioners appointed to receive the ſubmiſſion of the coloniſts, he publiſhed a circular letter to this purpoſe to the ſeveral governors who had lately been expelled from their provinces, deſiring them to make the extent of his commiſſion, and the powers he was inveſted with by parliament, as public as poſſible. Here, however, congreſs ſaved him the trouble, by ordering his letter and declaration to be publiſhed in all the newſ-

papers, that every one might ſee the inſidiouſneſs of the Britiſh miniſtry, and that they had nothing to truſt to beſides the exertion of their own valour.

Lord Howe next ſent a letter to General Waſhington; but as it was directed "To George Waſhington, Eſq." the general refuſed to accept of it, as not being directed in the ſtyle ſuitable to his ſtation. To obviate this objection, Adjutant-general Paterſon was ſent with another letter, directed "To George Waſhington, &c. &c. &c." But though a very polite reception was given to the bearer, General Waſhington utterly refuſed the letter; nor could any explanation of the Adjutant induce him to accept of it. The only intereſting part of the converſation was, that relating to the powers of the commiſſioners, of which Lord Howe was one. The adjutant told him, that theſe powers were very extenſive; that the commiſſioners were determined to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to bring about a reconciliation; and that he hoped the general would conſider this viſit as a ſtep towards it. General Waſhington replied, that it did not appear that theſe powers conſiſted in any thing elſe than granting pardons; and as America had committed no offence, ſhe aſked no forgiveneſs, and was only defending her unqueſtionable rights.

The deciſion of every thing being now by conſent of both parties left to the ſword, no time was loſt, but hoſtilities commenced as ſoon as the Britiſh troops could be collected. This, however, was not done before the month of Auguſt; when they landed without any oppoſition on Long Iſland, oppoſite to the ſhore of Staten Iſland. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped and ſtrongly fortified on a peninſula on the oppoſite ſhore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal paſs of which was near a place called *Flat-buſh*. Here the centre of the Britiſh army, conſiſting of Heſſians, took poſt; the left wing, under General Grant, lying near the ſhore; and the right, conſiſting of the greater part of the Britiſh forces, lay under Lord Percy, Cornwallis, and General Clinton. Putnam had ordered the paſſes to be ſecured by large detachments, which was executed as to thoſe at hand; but one of the utmoſt importance, that lay at a diſtance, was entirely neglected. This gave an opportunity to a large body of troops under Lord Percy and Clinton to paſs the mountains and attack the Americans in the rear, while they were engaged with the Heſſians in front. Through this piece of negligence their defeat became inevitable. Thoſe who were engaged with the Heſſians firſt perceived their miſtake, and began a retreat towards the camp; but the paſſage was intercepted by the Britiſh troops, who drove them back into the woods. Here they

were met by the Heſſians; and thus were they for many hours ſlaughtered between the two parties, no way of eſcape remaining but by breaking through the Britiſh troops, and thus regaining their camp. In this attempt many periſhed; and the right wing, engaged with General Grant, ſhared the ſame fate. The victory was complete; and the Americans loſt on this fatal day (Auguſt 27th) between three and four thouſand men, of whom two thouſand were killed in the battle or purſuit. Among theſe a regiment, conſiſting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almoſt entirely cut in pieces, and of the ſurvivors not one eſcaped without a wound.

The ardour of the Britiſh troops was now ſo great, that they could ſcarce be reſtrained from attacking the lines of the provincials; but for this there was now no occaſion, as it was certain they could not be defended. Of the Britiſh only ſixty-one were killed in this engagement, and two hundred and fifty-ſeven wounded. Eleven hundred of the enemy, among whom were three generals, were taken priſoners.

As none of the American commanders thought it proper to riſk another attack, it was reſolved to abandon their camp as ſoon as poſſible. Accordingly on the night of the 29th of Auguſt, the whole of the continental troops were ferried over with the utmoſt ſecrecy and ſilence; ſo that in the morning the Britiſh had nothing to do but take poſſeſſion of the camp and artillery which they had abandoned.

This victory, though complete, was very far from being ſo deciſive as was at firſt imagined. Lord Howe, ſuppoſing that it would be ſufficient to intimidate the congreſs into ſome terms, ſent General Sullivan, who had been taken priſoner in the late action, to congreſs, with a meſſage, importing, that though he could not conſiſtently treat with them as a legal aſſembly, yet he would be very glad to confer with any of the members in their private capacity; ſetting forth at the ſame time the nature and extent of his powers as a commiſſioner. But the Congreſs were not to be intimidated to derogate in the leaſt from the dignity of character they had aſſumed. They replied, that the congreſs of the free and independent ſtates of America could not conſiſtently ſend any of its members in another capacity than that which they had publicly aſſumed; but as they were extremely deſirous of reſtoring peace to their country upon equitable conditions, they would appoint a committee of their body to wait upon him, and learn what propoſals he had to make.

This produced a new conference. The committee appointed by congreſs was compoſed of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge. They were very politely received by his Lordſhip; but the conference proved as fruitleſs as before independency had been declared, and the

final anſwer of the deputies was, that they were extremely willing to enter into any treaty with Great Britain that might conduce to the good of both nations, but that they would not treat in any other character than that of independent ſtates. This poſitive declaration inſtantly put an end to all hopes of reconciliation; and it was reſolved to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. Lord Howe, after publiſhing a manifeſto, in which he declared the refuſal of congreſs, and that he himſelf was willing to confer with all well diſpoſed perſons about the means of reſtoring public tranquillity, ſet about the moſt proper methods for reducing the city of New York. Here the provincial troops were poſted, and from a great number of batteries kept continually annoying the Britiſh ſhipping. The Eaſt River lay between them, of about twelve hundred yards in breadth, which the Britiſh troops were extremely deſirous of paſſing. At laſt the ſhips having, after an inceſſant cannonade of ſeveral days, ſilenced the moſt troubleſome batteries, a body of troops was ſent up the river to a bay, about three miles diſtant, where the fortifications were leſs ſtrong than in other places. Here having driven off the provincials by the cannon of the fleet, they marched directly towards the city; but the enemy finding that they ſhould now be attacked on all ſides, abandoned the city, and retired to the north of the iſland, where their principal force was collected. In their paſſage thither they ſkirmiſhed with the Britiſh, but carefully avoided a general engagement; and it was obſerved that they did not behave with that ardour and impetuous valour which had hitherto marked their character.

The Britiſh and provincial armies were not now above two miles diſtant from each other. The former lay encamped from ſhore to ſhore for an extent of two miles, being the breadth of the iſland, which though fifteen miles long, exceeds not two in any part in breadth. The provincials, who lay directly oppoſite, had ſtrengthened their camp with many fortifications; at the ſame time, being maſters of all the paſſes and defiles betwixt the two camps, they were enabled to defend themſelves againſt an army, much more numerous than their own; and they had alſo ſtrongly fortified a paſs called *King's Bridge*, whence they could ſecure a paſſage to the continent in caſe of any misfortune. Here General Waſhington, in order to inure the provincials to actual ſervice, and at the ſame time to annoy the enemy as much as poſſible, employed his troops in continual ſkirmiſhes; by which it was obſerved that they ſoon recovered their ſpirits, and behaved with their uſual boldneſs.

As the ſituation of the two armies was now highly inconvenient for the Britiſh generals, it was reſolved to make ſuch movements as might oblige General Waſhington to relinquiſh his ſtrong ſituation. The poſ-

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ſeſſion of New York had been leſs beneficial than was expected. It had been concerted among the provincials, that the city ſhould be burnt at the time of evacuation; but as they were forced to depart with precipitation, they were prevented from putting the ſcheme in execution. In a few days, however, it was attempted by ſome who had been left behind for that purpoſe. Taking advantage of a high wind and dry weather, the town was ſet on fire in ſeveral places at once, by means of combuſtibles properly placed for that purpoſe; and notwithſtanding the moſt active exertions of the ſoldiery and ſailors, a fourth part of the city was conſumed.

On this occaſion the Britiſh were irritated to the higheſt degree and many perſons, ſaid to be incendiaries, were without mercy thrown into the flames. It was determined to force the provincial army to a greater diſtance, that they might have it leſs in their power, by any emiſſaries, to engage others in a ſimilar attempt. For this purpoſe, Gen. Howe having left Lord Percy with ſufficient force to garriſon New York, he embarked his army in flat-bottom boats, by which they were conveyed through the dangerous paſſage called *Hell Gate*, and landed near the town of Weſt Cheſter, lying on the continent towards Connecticut. Here having received a ſupply of men and proviſions, they moved to New-Rochelle, ſituated on the ſound which ſeparates Long Iſland from the continent. After this, receiving ſtill freſh reinforcements, they made ſuch movements as threatened to diſtreſs the provincials very much, by cutting off their convoys of proviſions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement. This, however, General Waſhington determined at all events to avoid. He therefore extended his forces into a long line oppoſite to the way in which the enemy marched, keeping the Bruna, a river of conſiderable magnitude, between the two armies, with the North River on his rear, Here again the provincials continued for ſome time to annoy and ſkirmiſh with the Royal army, until at laſt, by ſome other manœuvres, the Britiſh general found means to attack them advantageouſly at a place called the *White Plains*, and drove them from ſome of their poſts. The victory on this occaſion was much leſs complete than the former; however it obliged the provincials once more to ſhift their ground, and to retreat farther up the country. General Howe purſued for ſome time; but at laſt finding all his endeavours vain to bring the Americans to a pitched battle, he determined to give over ſuch an uſeleſs chace, and employ himſelf in reducing the forts which the provincials ſtill retained in the neighbourhood of New York. In this he met with the moſt complete ſucceſs. The Americans, on the approach of the Britiſh forces, retreated from King's Bridge into Fort Waſhington;

Washington; and this, as well as Fort Lee, which lay in the neighbourhood, was quickly reduced, though the garrison made their escape. Thus the Jerseys were laid entirely open to the incursions of the British troops; and so fully were these provinces taken possession of by the Royal army, that its winter-quarters extended from New Brunswick to the river Delaware. Had any number of boats been at hand, it is probable that Philadelphia would now have fallen into their hands. All these, however, had been carefully removed by the Americans. In lieu of this enterprise, Sir Henry Clinton undertook an expedition to Rhode Island, and became master of it without losing a man. His expedition was also attended with this further advantage, that the American fleet under Commodore Hopkins was obliged to sail as far as possible up the river Providence, and thus remained entirely useless.

The same ill success continued to attend the Americans in other parts. After their expulsion from Canada, they had crossed the lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown Point, as we have already mentioned. Here they remained for some time in safety, as the British had no vessels on the lake, and consequently General Burgoyne could not pursue them. To remedy this deficiency, there was no possible method, but either to construct vessels on the spot, or take to pieces some vessels already constructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This, however, was effected in no longer a space than three months; and the British general, after incredible toil and difficulty, saw himself in possession of a great number of vessels, by which means he was enabled to pursue his enemies, and invade them in his turn. The labour undergone at this time by the sea and land forces must indeed have been prodigious; since there were conveyed over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Laurence, no fewer than thirty large long boats, four hundred batteux, besides a vast number of flat bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons. The intent of the expedition was to push forward before winter to Albany, where the army would take up its winter-quarters, and next spring effect a junction with that under General Howe, when it was not doubted that the united force and skill of these two commanders would speedily put a termination to the war.

By reason of the difficulties with which the equipment of this fleet had been attended, it was the beginning of October before the expedition could be undertaken. It was now, however, by every judge allowed to be completely able to answer the purpose for which it was intended. It consisted of one large vessel with three masts, carrying eighteen twelve pounders; two schooners, the one carrying fourteen, the other twelve six-pounders; a large flat-bottomed radeau with six

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twenty-four and ſix twelve-pounders; and a gondola with eight nine pounders. Beſides theſe there were twenty veſſels of a ſmaller ſize, called gun-boats, carrying each a piece of braſs ordnance from nine to twenty-four pounders or howitzers. Several long-boats were fitted out in the ſame manner; and beſides all theſe, there were a vaſt number of boats and tenders of various ſizes, to be uſed as tranſports for the troops and baggage. It was manned by a number of ſelect ſeamen, and the guns were to be ſerved by a detachment from the corps of artillery; the officers and ſoldiers appointed for this expedition were alſo choſen out of the whole army.

To oppoſe this formidable armament the Americans had only a very inconſiderable force, commanded by General Arnold; who, after engaging part of the [illegible] fleet for a whole day, took advantage of the darkneſs of the night to ſet ſail without being perceived, and next morning was out of ſight: but he was ſo cloſely purſued by the Britiſh, that on the ſecond day, after he was overtaken, and forced to a ſecond engagement. In this he behaved with great gallantry; but his force being inferior to that of the enemy, he was obliged to run his ſhips aſhore and ſet them on fire. A few only eſcaped to Lake George; and the garriſon of Crown Point having deſtroyed or carried off every thing of value, retired to Ticonderago. Thither General Carleton intended to have purſued them; but the difficulties he had to encounter appeared ſo many and ſo great, that it was thought proper to march back into Canada, and deſiſt from any further operations till next ſpring.

Thus the affairs of the Americans ſeemed every where going to wreck: even thoſe who had been moſt ſanguine in their cauſe began to waver. The time, alſo, for which the ſoldiers had enliſted themſelves was now expired; and the bad ſucceſs of the preceding campaign had been ſo very diſcouraging, that no perſon was willing to engage himſelf during the continuance of a war, of which the event ſeemed to be ſo doubtful. In conſequence of this, therefore, General Waſhington found his army decreaſing in ſtrength; ſo that from thirty-thouſand men, of whom it conſiſted, when General Howe landed on Staten Iſland, ſcarce a tenth part could now be muſtered. To aſſiſt the chief commander as much as poſſible, General Lee had collected a body of forces in the north; but on his way ſouthward, having imprudently taken up his lodging at ſome diſtance from his troops, information was given to Colonel Harcourt, who happened at that time to be in the neighbourhood, and Lee was made priſoner. The loſs of this general was much regretted, the more eſpecially as he was of ſuperior quality to any priſoner in the poſſeſſion of the

the coloniſts, and could not therefore be exchanged. Six field-officers were offered in exchange for him and refuſed; and the congreſs was highly irritated at its being reported that he was to be treated as a deſerter, having been a half-pay officer in the Britiſh ſervice at the commencement of the war. In conſequence of this they iſſued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the priſoners in their poſſeſſion whatever puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on any of thoſe taken by the Britiſh, and eſpecially that their conduct ſhould be regulated by the treatment of General Lee.

In the mean time they proceeded with the moſt indefatigable diligence to recruit their army, and bound their ſoldiers to ſerve for a term of three years, or during the continuance of the war. The army deſigned for the enſuing campaign was to conſiſt of eighty-eight battalions; of which each province was to contribute its quota; and twenty dollars were offered as a bounty to each ſoldier, beſides an allotment of lands at the end of the war. In this allotment was ſtipulated, that each ſoldier ſhould have one hundred acres; an enſign one hundred and fifty; a lieutenant two hundred; a captain three hundred; a major four hundred; a lieutenant-colonel four hundred and fifty; and a colonel five hundred. No lands were promiſed to thoſe who inliſted only for three years. All officers or ſoldiers diſabled through wounds received in the ſervice to enjoy half-pay during life. To defray the expence, congreſs borrowed five millions of dollars at five per cent; for payment of which the United States became ſurety. At the ſame time in order to animate the people to vigorous exertions, a declaration was publiſhed, in which they ſet forth the neceſſity there was for taking proper methods to inſure ſucceſs in their cauſe: they endeavoured to palliate as much as poſſible the misfortunes which had already happened; and repreſented the true cauſe of the preſent diſtreſs to be the ſhort term of enliſtment.

This declaration, together with the imminent danger of Philadelphia, determined the Americans to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in order to reinforce General Waſhington's army. They ſoon received farther encouragement, however, by an exploit of that general againſt the Heſſians. As the Royal army extended in different cantonments for a great way, Gen. Waſhington, perceiving the imminent danger to which Philadelphia was expoſed, reſolved to make ſome attempt on thoſe diviſions of the enemy which lay neareſt that city. Theſe happened to be the Heſſians, who lay in three diviſions, the laſt only twenty miles diſtant from Philadelphia. On the 25th of December, having collected as conſiderable a force as he could, he ſet out with an intent to ſurpriſe that

that body of the enemy who lay at Trenton. His army was divided into three bodies; one of which he ordered to croſs the Delaware at Trenton Ferry, a little below the town; the ſecond at a good diſtance below, at a place called *Bordentown*, where the ſecond diviſion of Heſſians was placed; while he himſelf with the third, directing his courſe to a ferry ſome miles above Trenton, intended to have paſſed it at midnight, and attack the Heſſians at break of day. But by reaſon of various impediments, it was eight of the morning before he could reach the place of his deſtination. The enemy, however, did not perceive his approach till they were ſuddenly attacked. Colonel Ralle, who commanded them, did all that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer; but every thing was in ſuch confuſion, that no efforts of valour or ſkill could now retrieve matters. The colonel himſelf was mortally wounded, his troops were entirely broken, their artillery ſeized, and about one thouſand taken priſoners.

This action, though ſeemingly of no very deciſive nature, was ſufficient at that time to turn the fortune of war in favour of America. It tended greatly to leſſen the fear which the provincials had of the Heſſians, at the ſame time it equally abated the confidence which the Britiſh had till now put in them. Reinforcements came into General Waſhington's army from all quarters; ſo that he was ſoon in a condition to leave Philadelphia, and take up his quarters at Trenton. Emboldened by his ſucceſs, he determined to make an attempt on a diviſion of the Britiſh forces ſtationed at Maidenhead, a town ſituated half way between Trenton and Princetown. This conſiſted of three regiments under the command of Colonel Mawhood, an officer of great merit. The troops were ſurpriſed on their march; but though they were ſeparately ſurrounded and attacked by a force ſo vaſtly ſuperior, they charged the enemy ſo reſolutely with their bayonets, that they effected a retreat. Theſe attempts of the Americans however, with the hoſtile diſpoſition of the people, ſhowed the impoſſibility of maintaining poſts ſo far advanced in the enemy's country; ſo that it was reſolved to retreat towards Brunſwick, in order to prevent it, with the troops and magazines it contained, from falling into the hands of the provincials. General Waſhington loſt no opportunity of recovering what had been loſt; and by dividing his army into ſmall parties, which could be reunited on a few hours warning, he in a manner entirely covered the country with it, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of all the important places.

Thus ended the campaign of 1776, with ſcarce any real advantage other than the acquiſition of the city of New-York, and a few for-

treſſes in its neighbourhood; where the troops were obliged to act with as much circumſpection as if they had been beſieged by a victorious army, inſtead of being themſelves the conquerors.

The army at New-York began in 1777 to exerciſe a kind of predatory war, by ſending out parties to deſtroy magazines, make incurſions, and take or deſtroy ſuch forts as lay on the banks of rivers, to which their great command of ſhipping gave them acceſs. In this they were generally ſucceſsful: the provincial magazines at Peck's-Hill, a place, of about fifty miles diſtant from New-York, were deſtroyed, the town of Dunbury in Connecticut burnt, and that of Ridgefield in the ſame province was taken poſſeſſion of. In returning from the laſt expedition, however, the Britiſh were greatly harraſſed by the enemy under Generals Arnold, Wooſter, and Sullivan; but they made good their retreat in ſpite of all oppoſition, with the loſs of only one hundred and ſeventy killed and wounded. On the American ſide the loſs was much greater; General Wooſter was killed, and Arnold in the moſt imminent danger. On the other hand, the Americans deſtroyed the ſtores at Sagg-harbour, in Long-Iſland, and made priſoners of all who defended the place.

As this method of making war, however, could anſwer but little purpoſe, and favoured more of the barbarous incurſions of ſavages than of a war carried on by a civilized people, it was reſolved to make an attempt on Philadelphia. At firſt it was thought that this could be done through the Jerſeys; but General Waſhington had received ſuch large reinforcements, and poſted himſelf ſo ſtrongly, that it was found to be impracticable. Many ſtratagems were uſed to draw him from this ſtrong ſituation, but without ſucceſs; ſo that it was found neceſſary to make the attempt on Philadelphia by ſea. While the preparations neceſſary for this expedition were going forward, the Americans found means to make amends for the capture of General Lee by that of General Preſcot, who was ſeized in his quarters with his aid-de-camp, in much the ſame manner as General Lee had been. This was exceedingly mortifying to the General himſelf, as he had not long before ſet a price upon General Arnold, by offering a ſum of money to any one that apprehended him; which the latter anſwered by ſetting a lower price upon General Preſcot.

The month of July was far advanced before the preparations for the expedition againſt Philadelphia were completed; and it was the 23d before the fleet was able to ſail from Sandy-Hook. The force employed in this expedition conſiſted of thirty-ſix battalions of Britiſh and Heſſians, a regiment of light horſe, and a body of loyaliſts raiſed at New-

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York. The remainder of theſe, with ſeventeen battalions, and another body of light horſe, were ſtationed at New York under Sir Henry Clinton. Seven battalions were ſtationed at Rhode-Iſland. After a week's ſailing they arrived at the mouth of the Delaware; but there received certain intelligence, that the navigation of the river was ſo effectually obſtructed, that no poſſibility of forcing a paſſage remained. Upon this it was reſolved to proceed farther ſouthward to Cheſapeak Bay in Maryland, from whence the diſtance to Philadelphia was not very great, and where the provincial army would find leſs advantage from the nature of the country than in the Jerſeys.

The navigation from Delaware to Cheſapeak took up the beſt part of the month of Auguſt, and that up the bay itſelf was extremely difficult and tedious. At laſt, having ſailed up the river Elk as far as was practicable, the troops were landed without oppoſition, and ſet forward on their intended expedition. On the news of their arrival in Cheſapeak, General Waſhington left the Jerſeys, and haſtened to the relief of Philadelphia; and in the beginning of September met the Royal army at Brandy-wine Creek about mid-day, between the head of the Elk and Philadelphia. Here he adhered to his former method of ſkirmiſhing and haraſſing the Royal army on its march; but as this proved inſufficient to ſtop its progreſs, he retired to that ſide of the Creek next to Philadelphia with an intent to diſpute the paſſage. This brought on a general engagement on the 11th of September, in which the Americans were worſted through the ſuperior diſcipline of the Britiſh troops; and it was only through the approach of night that they were ſaved from being entirely deſtroyed. On this occaſion the provincials loſt about one thouſand in killed and wounded, beſides four hundred taken priſoners.

The loſs of this battle proved alſo the loſs of Philadelphia. General Waſhington retired towards Lancaſter, an inland town at a conſiderable diſtance from Philadelphia. Here, however, the Britiſh general took ſuch meaſures as muſt have forced the provincials to a ſecond engagement; but a violent rain which laſted a day and a night prevented his deſign. General Waſhington, though he could not prevent the loſs of Philadelphia, ſtill adhered to his original plan of diſtreſſing the Royal party, by laying ambuſhes and cutting off detached parties: but in this he was leſs ſucceſsful than formerly; and one of his own detachments, which lay in ambuſh in a wood, were themſelves ſurpriſed and entirely defeated, with the loſs of three hundred killed and wounded, beſides a great number taken, and all their arms and baggage.

General Howe now perceiving that the Americans would not venture another battle even for the ſake of their capital, took peaceable poſſeſſion of it on the 26th of September. His firſt care was then to cut off, by means of ſtrong batteries, the communication between the upper and lower parts of the river; which was executed notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome American armed veſſels: one of which, carrying thirty-ſix guns, was taken. His next taſk was to open a communication with it by ſea; and this was a work of no ſmall difficulty. A vaſt number of batteries and forts had been erected, and immenſe machines formed like *chevaux de frize*, from whence they took their name, ſunk in the river to prevent its navigation. As the fleet was ſent round to the mouth of the river in order to co-operate with the army, this work, however difficult, was accompliſhed; nor did the provincials give much oppoſition, as well knowing that all places of this kind were now untenable. General Waſhington, however, took the advantage of the royal army being divided, to attack the camp of the principal diviſion of it that lay at German-town, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. In this he met with very little ſucceſs; for though he reached the place of deſtination by three o'clock in the morning, the patroles had time to call the troops to arms. The Americans, notwithſtanding, made a very reſolute attack: but they were received with ſuch bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the attempt, and retreat in great diſorder; with the advantage, however, of carrying off their cannon, though purſued for a conſiderable way, after having three hundred killed, ſix hundred wounded, and upwards of four hundred taken priſoners, among whom were fifty-four officers. On the Britiſh ſide, the loſs amounted to four hundred and thirty wounded and priſoners, and ſeventy killed; but among the laſt were General Agnew and Colonel Bird, with ſome other excellent officers.

There ſtill remained two ſtrong forts on the Delaware to be reduced. Theſe were Mud Iſland and Red Bank. The various obſtructions which the Americans had thrown in the way rendered it neceſſary to bring up the Auguſta, a ſhip of the line, and the Merlin frigate, to the attack of Mud Iſland; but during the heat of the action both were grounded. Upon this, the Americans ſent down four fire-ſhips, and directed the whole fire from their galleys againſt them. The former were rendered ineffectual by the courage and ſkill of the Britiſh ſeamen; but during the engagement both the Auguſta and Merlin took fire and were burnt to aſhes, and the other ſhips obliged to withdraw. The Americans encouraged by this unſucceſsful attempt, proceeded to throw new obſtructions in the way; but the Britiſh general having found means to

convey a number of cannon, and to erect batteries within gunshot of the fort by land, and bringing up three ships of the line which mounted heavy cannon, the garrison, after making a vigorous defence for one day, perceiving that preparations were making for a general assault on the next, abandoned the place in the night. Those who defended Red Bank followed their example, and abandoned it on the approach of Lord Cornwallis. A great number of the American shipping now finding themselves entirely destitute of any protection, sailed up the river in the night-time. Seventeen, however, remainded, whose retreat was intercepted by a frigate and some armed vessels; on which the Americans ran them ashore and burnt them, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

Thus the campaign of 1777 in Pensylvania concluded successfully on the part of the British. In the north, however, matters wore a different aspect. The expedition in that quarter had been projected by the British ministry as the most effectual method that could be taken to crush the colonies at once. The four provinces of New England had originally begun the confederacy against Britain, and were still considered as the most active in the continuation of it; and it was thought, that any impression made upon them would contribute in an effectual manner to the reduction of all the rest. For this purpose, an army of four thousand chosen British troops and three thousand Germans were put under the command of General Burgoyne; General Carleton was directed to use his interest with the Indians to persuade them to join in this expedition; and the province of Quebeck was to furnish large parties to join in the same. The officers who commanded under General Burgoyne were General Philips of the artillery, Generals Fraser, Powell, and Hamilton, with the German officers Generals Reidesel and Speecht. The soldiers, as has already been observed, were all excellently disciplined, and had been kept in their winter-quarters with all imaginable care, in order to prepare them for the expedition on which they were going. To aid the principal expedition, another was projected on the Mohawk River under Colonel St. Leger, who was to be assisted by Sir John Johnson, son to the famous Sir William Johnson, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the war of 1755.

On the 21st of June 1777, the army encamped on the western side of the Lake Champlain; where being joined by a considerable body of Indians, General Burgoyne made a speech, in which he exhorted these new allies to lay aside their ferocious and barbarous manner of making war; to kill only such as opposed them in arms; and to spare prisoners, with such women and children as should fall into their hands. After issuing

iſſuing a proclamation, in which the force of Britain and that which he commanded was ſet forth in very oſtentatious terms, the campaign opened with the ſiege of Ticonderoga. The place was very ſtrong, and garriſoned by ſix thouſand men under General Sinclair; nevertheleſs, the works were ſo extenſive that even this number was ſcarce ſufficient to defend them properly. They had therefore omitted to fortify a rugged eminence called *Sugar Hill*, the top of which overlooked and effectually commanded the whole works; vainly imagining that the difficulty of the aſcent would be ſufficient to prevent the enemy from taking poſſeſſion of it. On the approach of the firſt diviſion of the army, the provincials abandoned and ſet fire to their outworks; and ſo expeditious were the Britiſh troops, that by the 5th of July every poſt was ſecured which was judged neceſſary for inveſting it completely. A road was ſoon after made to the very ſummit of that eminence which the Americans had with ſuch confidence ſuppoſed could not be aſcended, and ſo much were they now diſheartened, that they inſtantly abandoned the fort entirely, taking the road to Skeneſborough, a place to the ſouth of Lake George; while their baggage, with what artillery and military ſtores they could carry off, were ſent to the ſame place by water. But the Britiſh generals were determined not to let them paſs ſo eaſily. Both were purſued and both overtaken. Their armed veſſels conſiſted only of five galleys; two of which were taken, and three blown up; on which they ſet fire to their boats and fortifications at Skeneſborough. On this occaſion the provincials loſt two hundred boats, one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, with all their proviſions and baggage. Their land-forces under Colonel Francis made a brave defence againſt General Fraſer: and being greatly ſuperior in number, had almoſt overpowered him, when General Reideſel with a large body of Germans came to his aſſiſtance. The Americans were now overpowered in their turn; and their commander being killed, they fled on all ſides with great precipitation. In this action two hundred Americans were killed, as many taken priſoners, and above ſix hundred wounded, many of whom periſhed in the woods for want of aſſiſtance.

During the engagement General Sinclair was at Caſtleton, about ſix miles from the place; but inſtead of going forward to Fort Anne, the next place of ſtrength, he repaired to the woods which lie between that fortreſs and New England. General Burgoyne, however, detached Colonel Hill with the ninth regiment, in order to intercept ſuch as ſhould attempt to retreat towards fort Anne. On his way he met with a body of the enemy, ſaid to be ſix times as numerous as his own; but after an engagement of three hours, they were obliged to retire with great

great loſs. After ſo many diſaſters, deſpairing of being able to make any ſtand at Fort Anne, they ſet fire to it and retired to Fort Edward. In all theſe engagements the loſs of killed and wounded in the royal army did not exceed two hundred men.

General Burgoyne was now obliged to ſuſpend his operations for ſome time, and wait at Skeneſborough for the arrival of his tents, proviſions, &c. but employed this interval in making roads through the country about St. Anne, and in clearing a paſſage for his troops to proceed againſt the enemy. This was attended with incredible toil; but all obſtacles were ſurmounted with equal patience and reſolution by the army. In ſhort, after undergoing the utmoſt difficulty that could be undergone, and making every exertion that man could make, he arrived with his army before Fort Edward about the end of July. Here General Schuyler had been for ſome time endeavouring to recruit the ſhattered American forces, and had been joined by General Sinclair with the remains of his army; the garriſon of Fort George alſo, ſituated on the lake of that name, had evacuated the place and retired to Fort Edward.

But on the approach of the royal army, they retired from thence alſo, and formed their head quarters at Saratoga. Notwithſtanding the great ſucceſſes of the Britiſh General, they ſhowed not the leaſt diſpoſition to ſubmit, but ſeemed only to conſider how they might make the moſt effectual reſiſtance. For this purpoſe, the militia was every where raiſed and draughted to join the army at Saratoga; and ſuch numbers of volunteers were daily added, that they ſoon began to recover from the terror into which they had been thrown. That they might have a commander whoſe abilities could be relied on, General Arnold was appointed, who repaired to Saratoga with a conſiderable train of artillery; but receiving intelligence that Colonel St. Leger was proceeding with great rapidity in his expedition on the Mohawk River, he removed to Still-water, a place about half-way between Saratoga and the junction of the Mohawk and Hudſon's River. The Colonel, in the mean time, had advanced as far as Fort Stanwix; the ſiege of which he preſſed with great vigour. On the 6th of Auguſt, underſtanding that a ſupply of proviſions, eſcorted by eight or nine hundred men, was on the way to the fort, he diſpatched Sir John Johnſon with a ſtrong detachment to intercept it. This he did ſo effectually, that, beſides intercepting the proviſions, four hundred of its guards were ſlain, two hundred taken, and the reſt eſcaped with great difficulty. The garriſon, however, were not to be intimidated by this diſaſter, nor by the threats or repreſentations of the Colonel: on the contrary, they made ſeveral ſucceſsful

ful ſallies under Colonel Willet, the ſecond in command; and this gentleman, in company with another, even ventured out of the fort, and, eluding the vigilance of the enemy, paſſed through them in order to haſten the march of General Arnold to their aſſiſtance.

Thus the affairs of Colonel St. Leger ſeemed to be in no very favourable ſituation notwithſtanding his late ſucceſs, and they were ſoon totally ruined by the deſertion of the Indians. They had been alarmed by the report of General Arnold's advancing with two thouſand men to the relief of the fort; and while the Colonel was attempting to give them encouragement, another report was ſpread, that General Burgoyne had been defeated with great ſlaughter, and was now flying before the provincials. On this he was obliged to do as they thought proper; and the retreat could not be effected without the loſs of the tents and ſome of the artillery and military ſtores.

General Burgoyne, in the mean time, notwithſtanding all the difficulties he had already ſuſtained, found that he muſt ſtill encounter more. The roads he had made with ſo much labour and pains were deſtroyed either by the wetneſs of the ſeaſon, or by the enemy; ſo that the proviſions he brought from Fort George could not arrive at his camp without the moſt prodigious toil. On hearing of the ſiege of Fort Stanwix, by Colonel St. Leger, he determined to move forward in hopes of incloſing the enemy betwixt his own army and that of St. Leger, or of obtaining the command of all the country between Fort Stanwix and Albany; or at any rate, a junction with Colonel St. Leger would be effected, which could not but be attended with the moſt happy conſequences. The only difficulty was the want of proviſions; and this it was propoſed to remedy by reducing the provincial magazines at Bennington. For this purpoſe, Colonel Baum, a German officer of great bravery, was choſen with a body of five hundred men. The place was about twenty miles from Hudſon's River; and to ſupport Colonel Baum's party, the whole army marched up the river's bank, and encamped almoſt oppoſite to Saratoga, with the river betwixt it and that place. An advanced party was poſted at Batten Kill, between the camp and Bennington, in order to ſupport Colonel Baum. In their way the Britiſh ſeized a large ſupply of cattle and proviſions, which were immediately ſent to the camp; but the badneſs of the roads retarded their march ſo much, that intelligence of their deſign was ſent to Bennington. Underſtanding now that the American force was greatly ſuperior to his own, the Colonel acquainted the General, who immediately diſpatched Colonel Breyman with a party to his aſſiſtance; but through the ſame cauſes that had retarded the march of Colonel Baum, this aſſiſtance could not arrive in time,

time. General Starke, in the mean time, who commanded at Bennington, determined to attack the two parties ſeparately; and for this purpoſe advanced againſt Colonel Baum, whom he ſurrounded on all ſides and attacked with the utmoſt intrepidity. The troops defended themſelves with great valour, but were to a man either killed or taken. Colonel Breyman, after a deſperate engagement, had the good luck to effect a retreat through the darkneſs of the night, which otherwiſe he could not have done, as his men had expended all their ammunition, being forty rounds to each.

General Burgoyne, thus diſappointed in his attempt on Bennington, applied himſelf with indefatigable diligence to procure proviſions from Fort George; and having at length amaſſed a ſufficient quantity to laſt for a month, he threw a bridge of boats over the river Hudſon, which he croſſed about the middle of September, encamping on the hills and plains near Saratoga. As ſoon as he approached the provincial army, at this time encamped at Stillwater under General Gates, he determined to make an attack; for which purpoſe he put himſelf at the head of the central diviſion of his army, having General Fraſer and Colonel Breyman on the right, with Generals Reideſel and Philips on the left. In this poſition he advanced towards the enemy on the 19th of September. But the Americans did not now wait to be attacked: on the contrary, they attacked the central diviſion with the utmoſt bravery; and it was not until General Philips with the artillery came up that they could be repulſed. On this occaſion, though the Britiſh troops loſt only three hundred and thirty in killed and wounded, and the enemy no fewer than fifteen hundred, the former were very much alarmed at the obſtinate reſolution ſhown by the Americans. This did not, however, prevent them from advancing towards the enemy, and poſting themſelves the next day within cannon-ſhot of their lines. But their allies the Indians began to deſert in great numbers; and at the ſame time the general was in the higheſt degree mortified by having no intelligence of any aſſiſtance from Sir Henry Clinton, as had been ſtipulated. He now received a letter from him, by which he was informed that Sir Henry intended to make a diverſion on the North River in his favour. This afforded but little comfort: however, he returned an anſwer by ſeveral truſty perſons whom he diſpatched different ways, ſtating his preſent diſtreſſed ſituation, and mentioning that the proviſions and other neceſſaries he had would only enable him to hold out till the 12th of October.

In the mean time the Americans, in order to cut off the retreat of the Britiſh army in the moſt effectual manner, undertook an expedition

againſt Ticonderoga; but were obliged to abandon the enterpriſe after having ſurpriſed all the out-poſts, and taken a great number of boats with ſome armed veſſels, and a number of priſoners. The army under General Burgoyne, however, continued to labour under the greateſt diſtreſſes; ſo that in the beginning of October he had been obliged to diminiſh the ſoldiers allowance. On the 7th of that month he determined to move towards the enemy. For this purpoſe he ſent a body of fifteen hundred men to reconnoitre their left wing; intending, if poſſible, to break through it in order to effect a retreat. The detachment, however, had not proceeded far when a dreadful attack was made upon the left wing of the Britiſh army, which was with great difficulty preſerved from being entirely broken by a reinforcement brought up by General Fraſer, who was killed in the attack. After the troops had with the moſt deſperate efforts regained their camp, it was moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by General Arnold; who, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, would have forced the entrenchments, had he not received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the attack failed on the left, but on the right the camp of the German reſerve was forced. Colonel Breyman killed, and his countrymen defeated with great ſlaughter and the loſs of all their artillery and baggage.

This was by far the heavieſt loſs the Britiſh army had ſuſtained ſince the action at Bunker's Hill. The liſt of killed and wounded amounted to near twelve hundred, excluſive of the Germans; but the greateſt misfortune was, that the enemy had now an opening on the right and rear of the Britiſh forces, ſo that the army was threatened with entire deſtruction. This obliged General Burgoyne once more to ſhift his poſition, that the enemy might alſo be obliged to alter theirs. This was accompliſhed on the night of the 7th, without any loſs, and all the next day he continued to offer the enemy battle; but they were now too well aſſured of obtaining a complete victory, by cutting off all ſupplies from the Britiſh, to riſk a pitched battle. Wherefore they advanced on the right ſide, in order to incloſe him entirely; which obliged the General to direct a retreat towards Saratoga. But the enemy had now ſtationed a great force on the ford at Hudſon's River, ſo that the only poſſibility of retreat was by ſecuring a paſſage to Lake George; and to effect this, a body of workmen were detached, with a ſtrong guard, to repair the roads and bridges that led to Fort Edward. As ſoon as they were gone, however, the enemy ſeemed to prepare for an attack; which rendered it neceſſary to recal the guard, and the workmen being of courſe left expoſed could not proceed.

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In the mean time, the boats which conveyed provifions down Hudfon's River were expofed to the continual fire of the American markfmen, who killed many of them; fo that it became neceffary to convey the provifions over land. In this extreme danger, it was refolved to march by night to Fort Edward, forcing the paffages at the fords either above or below the place; and in order to effect this the more eafily, it was refolved that the foldiers fhould carry their provifions on their backs, leaving behind their baggage and every other incumbrance. But before this could be executed, intelligence was received that the enemy had raifed ftrong entrenchments oppofite to thefe fords, well provided with cannon, and that they had likewife taken poffeffion of the rifing ground between Fort George and Fort Edward, which in like manner was provided with cannon.

All this time the American army was increafing by the continual arrival of militia and volunteers from all parts. Their parties extended all along the oppofite bank of Hudfon's River, and fome had even paffed it in order to obferve the leaft movement of the Britifh army. The whole force under General Gates was computed at fixteen thoufand men, while the army under General Burgoyne fcarce amounted to fix thoufand; and every part of the camp was reached by the grape and rifle fhot of the enemy, befides a difcharge from their artillery, which was almoft inceffant. In this ftate of extreme diftrefs and danger, the army continued with the greateft conftancy and perfeverance till the evening of the 13th of October, when an inventory of provifions being taken, it was found that no more remained that what were fufficient to ferve for three days; and a council of war being called, it was unanimoufly determined that there was no method now remaining but to treat with the enemy. In confequence of this, a negociation was opened next day, which fpeedily terminated in a capitulation of the whole Britifh army; the principal article of which was, that the troops were to have a free paffage to Britain, on condition of not ferving againft America during the war. On this occafion, General Gates ordered his army to keep within their camp while the Britifh foldiers went to a place appointed for them to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made fpectacles of fo melancholy an event. The number of thofe who furrendered at Saratoga amounted to five thoufand feven hundred and fifty, according to the American accounts; the lift of fick and wounded left in the camp when the army retreated to Saratoga, to five hundred and twenty-eight; and the number of thofe loft by other accidents fince the taking of Ticonderoga, to near three thoufand. Thirty-five brafs field-pieces, feven thoufand ftand of

arms, clothing for an equal number of ſoldiers, with their tents, military cheſt, &c. conſtituted the booty on this occaſion.

Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean time had ſailed up the North River, and deſtroyed the two forts called Montgomery and Clinton, with Fort Conſtitution, and another place called Continental Village, where were barracks for two thouſand men. Seventy large cannon were carried away, beſides a number of ſmaller artillery, and a great quantity of ſtores and ammunition; a large boom and chain reaching acroſs the river from Fort Montgomery to a point of land called St. Anthony's Noſe, and which coſt not leſs than ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling, were partly deſtroyed and partly carried away, as was alſo another boom of little leſs value at Fort Conſtitution. The loſs of the Britiſh army was but ſmall in number, though ſome officers of great merit were killed in the different attacks.

Another attack was made by Sir James Wallace with ſome frigates, and a body of land forces under General Vaughan. The place which now ſuffered was named Eſopus: the fortifications were deſtroyed, and the town itſelf was reduced to aſhes, as that called Continental Village had been before.

But theſe ſucceſſes, of whatever importance they might be, were now diſregarded by both parties. They ſerved only to irritate the Americans, flushed with their ſucceſs; and they were utterly inſufficient to raiſe the ſpirits of the Britiſh, who were now thrown into the utmoſt diſmay.

On the 16th of March 1778, Lord North intimated to the houſe of commons, that a paper had been laid before the king by the French ambaſſador, intimating the concluſion of an alliance between the court of France and the United States of America. The preliminaries of this treaty had been concluded in the end of the year 1777, and a copy of them ſent to congreſs, in order to counteract any propoſals that might be made in the mean time by the Britiſh miniſtry. On the 6th of February 1778, the articles were formally ſigned, to the great ſatisfaction of the French nation.

They were in ſubſtance as follows:

1. If Great Britain ſhould, in conſequence of this treaty, proceed to hoſtilities againſt France, the two nations ſhould mutually aſſiſt one another.

2. The main end of the treaty was in an effectual manner to maintain the independency of America.

3. Should thoſe places of North America ſtill ſubject to Britain be reduced

reduced by the colonies, they ſhould be confederated with them, or ſubjected to their juriſdiction.

4. Should any of the Weſt India iſlands be reduced by France, they ſhould be deemed its property.

5. No formal treaty with Great Britain ſhould be concluded either by France or America without the conſent of each other; and it was mutually engaged that they ſhould not lay down their arms till the independence of the States had been formally acknowledged.

6. The contracting parties mutually agreed to invite thoſe powers that had received injuries from Great Britain to join the common cauſe.

7. The United States guaranteed to France all the poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies which ſhe ſhould conquer; and France in her turn guaranteed the abſolute independency of the States, and their ſupreme authority over every country they poſſeſſed, or might acquire during the war.

The notification of ſuch a treaty as this could not but be looked upon as a declaration of war. On its being announced to the houſe, every one agreed in an addreſs to his Majeſty, promiſing to ſtand by him to the utmoſt in the preſent emergency; but it was warmly contended by the members in oppoſition, that the preſent miniſtry ought to be removed on account of their numberleſs blunders and miſcarriages in every inſtance. Many were of opinion, that the only way to extricate the nation from its trouble was to acknowledge the independency of America at once; and thus we might ſtill do with a good grace what muſt inevitably be done at laſt, after expending much more blood and treaſure than had yet been laviſhed in this unhappy conteſt. The miniſterial party, however, entertained different ideas. Inſtigated by ambition and folly, it was determined at once to reſent the interference of France, and proſecute hoſtilities againſt America with more vigour than ever, ſhould the terms now offered be rejected.

The Americans, in the mean time, aſſiduouſly employed their agents at the courts of Spain, Vienna, Pruſſia, and Tuſcany, in order, if poſſible, to conclude alliances with them, or at leaſt to procure an acknowledgment of their independency. As it had been reported that Britain intended to apply for aſſiſtance to Ruſſia, the American commiſſioners were enjoined to uſe their utmoſt influence with the German princes to prevent ſuch auxiliaries from marching through their territories, and to endeavour to procure the recal of the German troops already ſent to America, To France they offered a ceſſion of ſuch Weſt India iſlands as ſhould be taken by the united ſtrength of France and America; and ſhould Britain by their joint endeavours be diſpoſſeſſed of Newfound-

land, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, theſe territories ſhould be divided betwixt the two nations, and Great Britain be totally excluded from the fiſhery. The propoſals to the Spaniſh court were, that in caſe they ſhould think proper to eſpouſe their quarrel, the American States ſhould aſſiſt in reducing Penſacola under the dominion of Spain, provided their ſubjects were allowed the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and the uſe of the harbour of Penſacola; and they further offered, that if agreeable to Spain, they would declare war againſt Portugal, ſhould that power expel the American ſhips from its ports.

In the mean time, the troops under General Burgoyne were preparing to embark for Britain according to the convention at Saratoga; but in the interim, congreſs poſitively refuſed them permiſſion ſo to do, having diſcovered that ſome ſiniſter deſigns were harboured on the part of Britain, and that they only wanted an opportunity to join the other troops at Philadelphia or New York.

The ſeaſon for action was now approaching; and congreſs was indefatigable in its preparations for a new campaign, which it was confidently ſaid would be the laſt. Among other methods taken for this purpoſe, it was recommended to all the young gentlemen of the colonies to form themſelves into bodies of cavalry to ſerve at their own expence during the war. General Waſhington at the ſame time, in order to remove all incumbrances from his army, lightened the baggage as much as poſſible, by ſubſtituting ſacks and portmanteaus in place of cheſts and boxes, and uſing pack-horſes inſtead of waggons. On the other hand, the Britiſh army, expecting to be ſpeedily reinforced by twenty thouſand men, thought of nothing but concluding the war according to their wiſhes before the end of the campaign. It was with the utmoſt concern, as well as indignation therefore, that they received the news of Lord North's conciliatory bill. It was univerſally looked upon as a national diſgrace; and ſome even tore the cockades from their hats, and trampled them under their feet as a token of their indignation. By the coloniſts it was received with indifference. The Britiſh commiſſioners endeavoured to make it as public as poſſible; and congreſs, as formerly, ordered it to be printed in all the newſpapers. On this occaſion Governor Tryon incloſed ſeveral copies of the bill to General Waſhington in a letter, intreating that he would allow them to be circulated; to which that general returned for anſwer a copy of a newſpaper in which the bill was printed, with the reſolutions of congreſs upon it. Theſe were, that whoever preſumed to make a ſeparate agreement with Britain ſhould be deemed a public enemy; that the United States could not with any propriety keep correſpondence with the

the commiſſioners until their independence was acknowledged, and the Britiſh fleets and armies removed from America. At the ſame time, the colonies were warned not to ſuffer themſelves to be deceived into ſecurity by any offers that might be made; but to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſend their quotas with all diligence into the field. The individuals with whom the commiſſioners converſed on the ſubject of the conciliatory bill, generally returned for anſwer that the day of reconciliation was paſt; and that the haughtineſs of Britain had extinguiſhed all filial regard in the breaſts of Americans.

About this time alſo Mr. Silas Deane arrived from France with two copies of the treaty of commerce and alliance to be ſigned by congreſs. Advices of the moſt agreeable nature were alſo received from various parts, repreſenting in the moſt favourable light the diſpoſitions of the European powers; all of whom, it was ſaid, wiſhed to ſee the independence of America ſettled upon the moſt firm and permanent baſis. Conſidering the ſituation of matters with the coloniſts at this time, therefore, it is no wonder that the commiſſioners found themſelves unable to accompliſh the errand on which they came. Their propoſals were utterly rejected, themſelves treated as ſpies, and all intercourſe with them interdicted.

But before any final anſwer could be obtained from congreſs, Sir Henry Clinton had taken the reſoluton of evacuating Philadelphia. Accordingly, on the 10th of June, after having made all neceſſary preparations, the army marched out of the city and croſſed the Delaware before noon with all its baggage and other incumbrances. General Waſhington, appriſed of this deſign, had diſpatched expreſſes into the Jerſeys with orders to collect all the force that could be aſſembled in order to obſtruct the march of the enemy. After various movements on both ſides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived on the 27th of June at a place called Freehold; where, judging that the enemy would attack him, he encamped in a very ſtrong ſituation. Here General Waſhington determined to make an attack as ſoon as the army had begun its march. The night was ſpent in making the neceſſary preparations, and General Lee with his diviſion was ordered to be ready by day-break. But Sir Henry Clinton, juſtly apprehending that the chief object of the enemy was the baggage, committed it to the care of General Knyphauſeu, whom he ordered to ſet out early in the morning, while he followed with the reſt of the army. The attack was accordingly made; but the Britiſh general had taken ſuch care to arrange his troops properly, and ſo effectually ſupported his forces when engaged with the Americans, that the latter not only made no impreſſion, but were

were with difficulty preſerved from a total defeat by the advance of General Waſhington with the whole army. The Britiſh troops effected their retreat with the loſs of three hundred men, of whom many died through mere fatigue without any wound. In this action general Lee was charged by General Waſhington with diſobedience and miſconduct in retreating before the Britiſh army. He was tried by a court-martial, and ſentenced to a temporary ſuſpenſion from his command. After they had arrived at Sandy Hook, a bridge of boats was by Lord Howe's directions thrown from thence over the channel which ſeparated the iſland from the main land, and the troops were conveyed aboard the fleet: after which they ſailed to New York. After ſending ſome light detachments to watch the enemy's motions, General Waſhington marched towards the North River, where a great force had been collected to join him, and where it was now expected that ſome very capital operations would take place.

In the mean time, France had ſet about her preparations for the aſſiſtance of the Americans. On the 14th of April Count d'Eſtaing had ſailed from Toulon with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of the line and frigates, and arrived on the coaſt of Virginia in the beginning of July, while the Britiſh fleet was employed in conveying the forces from Sandy Hook to New York. It conſiſted of one ſhip of ninety guns, one of eighty, ſix of ſeventy-four, and four of ſixty-four, beſides ſeveral large frigates; and, excluſive of its compliment of ſailors, had ſix thouſand marines and ſoldiers on board. To oppoſe this the Britiſh had only ſix ſhips of ſixty-four guns, three of fifty, and two of forty, with ſome frigates and ſloops. Notwithſtanding this inferiority, however, the Britiſh admiral poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, and ſhowed ſuch ſuperior ſkill, that d'Eſtaing did not think proper to attack him. He therefore remained at anchor four miles off Sandy Hook till the 22d of July, without effecting any thing more than the capture of ſome veſſels, which, through ignorance of his arrival, fell into his hands.

The next attempt of the French admiral was, in conjunction with the Americans, on Rhode iſland. It was propoſed that d'Eſtaing, with the ſix thouſand troops he had with him, ſhould make a deſcent on the ſouthern part of the iſland, while a body of the Americans ſhould take and deſtroy all the Britiſh ſhipping. On the 8th of Auguſt the French admiral entered the harbour as was propoſed, but found himſelf unable to do any material damage, Lord Howe, however, inſtantly ſet ſail for Rhode iſland; and d'Eſtaing, confiding in his ſuperiority, immediately came out of the harbour to attack him. A violent ſtorm parted the two fleets, and did ſo much damage that they were rendered totally unfit

unfit for action. The French, however, ſuffered moſt; and ſeveral of their ſhips being afterwards attacked ſingly by the Britiſh, very narrowly eſcaped being taken. On the 20th of Auguſt he returned to Newport in a very ſhattered condition; and, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, ſailed two days after for Boſton. General Sullivan had landed in the mean time on the northern part of Rhode Iſland with ten thouſand men. On the 17th of Auguſt they began their operations by erecting batteries, and making their approaches to the Britiſh lines. But General Pigot, who commanded in Newport, had taken ſuch effectual care to ſecure himſelf on the land-ſide, that without the aſſiſtance of a marine force it was altogether impoſſible to attack him with any probability of ſucceſs. The conduct of d'Eſtaing, therefore, in abandoning them when maſter of the harbour, gave the greateſt diſguſt to the people of New England, and General Sullivan began to think of a retreat. On perceiving his intentions, the garriſon ſallied out upon him with ſo much vigour, that it was not without difficulty that he effected his retreat. He had not been long gone when Sir Henry Clinton arrived with a body of four thouſand men; which, had it arrived ſooner, would have enabled the Britiſh commander to have gained a deciſive advantage over him, as well as to have deſtroyed the town of Providence, which, by its vicinity to Rhode Iſland, and the enterpriſes which were continually projected and carried on in that place, kept the inhabitants of Rhode Iſland in continual alarms.

The firſt Britiſh expedition was to Buzzard's Bay, on the coaſt of New England and neighbourhood of Rhode Iſland. Here they deſtroyed a great number of privateers and merchantmen, magazines, with ſtorehouſes, &c.; whence proceeding to a fertile and populous iſland called Martha's Vineyard, they carried off ten thouſand ſheep and three hundred black cattle. Another expedition took place up the North River, under Lord Cornwallis and General Knyphauſen; the principal event of which was the deſtruction of a regiment of American cavalry, known by the name of Waſhington's Light Horſe. A third expedition was directed to Little Egg Harbour in New Jerſey, a place noted for privateers, the deſtruction of which was its principal intention. It was conducted by Captains Ferguſon and Collins, and ended in the deſtruction of the enemy's veſſels, as well as of the place itſelf. At the ſame time part of another body of American troops, called Pulaſki's Legion, was ſurprized, and a great number of them put to the ſword.

The Americans had, in the beginning of the year, projected the conqueſt of Weſt Florida; and Captain Willing, with a party of reſolute men, had made a ſucceſsful incurſion into the country. This

awakened the attention of the Britiſh to the ſouthern colonies, and an expedition againſt them was reſolved on. Georgia was the place of deſtination; and the more effectually to enſure ſucceſs, Colonel Campbell, with a ſufficient force, under convoy of ſome ſhips of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker, embarked at New York, while General Prevoſt, who commanded in Eaſt Florida, was directed to ſet out with all the force he could ſpare. The armament from New York arrived off the coaſt of Georgia in the month of December; and though the enemy were very ſtrongly poſted in an advantageous ſituation on the ſhore, the Britiſh troops made good their landing, and advanced towards Savannah the capital of the province. That very day they defeated the force of the provincials which oppoſed them; and took poſſeſſion of the town with ſuch celerity, that the Americans had not time to execute a reſolution they had taken of ſetting it on fire. In ten days the whole province of Georgia was reduced, Sunbury alone excepted; and this was alſo brought under ſubjection by General Prevoſt in his march northwards. Every method was taken to ſecure the tranquillity of the country; and rewards were offered for apprehending committee or aſſembly men or ſuch as they judged moſt inimical to the Britiſh intereſts. On the arrival of General Prevoſt, the command of the troops naturally devolved on him as the ſenior officer; and the conqueſt of Carolina was next projected.

In this attempt there was no ſmall probability of ſucceſs. The country contained a great number of friends to the Britiſh government, who now eagerly embraced the opportunity of declaring themſelves; many of the inhabitants of Georgia had joined the royal ſtandard; and there was not in the province any conſiderable body of provincial forces capable of oppoſing the efforts of regular and well diſciplined troops. On the firſt news of General Prevoſt's approach, the loyaliſts aſſembled in a body, imagining themſelves able to ſtand their ground until their allies ſhould arrive; but in this they were diſappointed. The Americans attacked and defeated them with the loſs of half their number. The remainder retreated into Georgia; and after undergoing many difficulties, at laſt effected a junction with the Britiſh forces.

In the mean time, General Lincoln, with a conſiderable body of American troops, had encamped within twenty miles of the town of Savannah; and another ſtrong party had poſted themſelves at a place called Briar's Creek, farther up the river of the ſame name. Thus the extent of the Britiſh government was likely to be circumſcribed within very narrow bounds. General Prevoſt therefore determined to diſlodge the party at Briar's Creek: and the latter, truſting to their ſtrong ſituation, and being remiſs

remiſs in their guard, ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed on the 30th of March 1779; when they were utterly routed, with the loſs of four hundred killed and taken, beſides a great number drowned in the river or the ſwamps. The whole artillery, ſtores, baggage, and almoſt all the arms, of this unfortunate party were taken, ſo that they could no more make any ſtand; and thus the province of Georgia was once more freed from the enemy, and a communication opened with thoſe places in Carolina where the royaliſts chiefly reſided.

The victory at Briar's Creek proved of conſiderable ſervice to the Britiſh cauſe. Great numbers of the loyaliſts joined the army, and conſiderably increaſed its force. Hence General Prevoſt was enabled to ſtretch his poſts farther up the river, and to guard all the principal paſſes: ſo that General Lincoln was reduced to a ſtate of inaction; and at laſt moved off towards Auguſta, in order to protect the provincial aſſembly, which was obliged to ſit in that place, the capital being now in the hands of the Britiſh.

Lincoln had no ſooner quitted his poſt, than it was judged a proper time by the Britiſh general to put in execution the grand ſcheme which had been meditated againſt Carolina. Many difficulties indeed lay in his way. The river Savannah was ſo ſwelled by the exceſſive rains of the ſeaſon, that it ſeemed impaſſable; the oppoſite ſhore, for a great way, was ſo full of ſwamps and marſhes, that no army could march over it without the greateſt difficulty; and, to render the paſſage ſtill more difficult, General Moultrie was left with a conſiderable body of troops in order to oppoſe the enemy's attempts. But in ſpite of every oppoſition, the conſtancy and perſeverance of the Britiſh forces at laſt prevailed. General Moultrie was defeated, and obliged to retire towards Charleſtown; and the victorious army, after having waded through the marſhes for ſome time, at laſt arrived in an open country, through which they purſued their march with great rapidity towards the capital; while General Lincoln remained in a ſtate of ſecurity at Auguſta, imagining that the obſtacles he had left in the way could not be ſurmounted.

Certain intelligence of the danger to which Charleſtown was expoſed, however, arouſed the American general from his lethargy. A choſen body of infantry, mounted on horſeback for the greater expedition, was diſpatched before him; while Lincoln himſelf followed with all the forces he could collect. General Moultrie too, with the troops he had brought from the Savannah, and ſome others he had collected ſince his retreat from thence, had taken poſſeſſion of all the avenues leading to Charleſtown, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But all oppoſition proved

ineffectual. The Americans were defeated in every encounter; and retreating continually, allowed the Britiſh army to come within cannon ſhot of Charleſtown on the 12th of May.

The town was now ſummoned to ſurrender, and the inhabitants would gladly have agreed to obſerve a neutrality during the reſt of the war, and would have engaged alſo for the reſt of the province. But theſe terms not being accepted, they made preparations for a vigorous defence. It was not, however, in the power of the Britiſh commander at this time to make an attack with any proſpect of ſucceſs. His artillery was not of ſufficient weight; there were no ſhips to ſupport his attack by land; and General Lincoln advancing rapidly with a ſuperior army, threatened to incloſe him between his own force and the town; ſo that ſhould he fail in his firſt attempt, certain deſtruction would be the conſequence. For theſe reaſons he withdrew his forces from before the town, and took poſſeſſion of two iſlands called St. James's and St. John's, lying to the ſouthward; where having waited ſome time, his force was augmented by the arrival of two frigates. With theſe he determined to make himſelf maſter of Port Royal, another iſland poſſeſſed of an excellent harbour and many other natural advantages, from its ſituation alſo commanding all the ſea-coaſt from Charleſtown to Savannah River. The American general, however, did not allow this to be accompliſhed without oppoſition. Perceiving that his opponent had occupied an advantageous poſt on St. John's iſland preparatory to his enterpriſe againſt Port Royal, he attempted, on the 20th of June to diſlodge him from it; but after an obſtinate attack, the provincials were obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. On this occaſion the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms was in a great meaſure owing to an armed float; which galled the right flank of the enemy ſo effectually, that they could direct their efforts only againſt the ſtrongeſt part of the lines, which proved impregnable to their attacks. This diſappointment was inſtantly followed by the loſs of Port Royal, which General Prevoſt took poſſeſſion of, and put his troops into proper ſtations, waiting for the arrival of ſuch reinforcements as were neceſſary for the intended attack on Charleſtown.

In the mean time, Count d'Eſtaing, who, as we have already obſerved, had put into Boſton harbour to refit, had uſed his utmoſt efforts to ingratiate himſelf with the inhabitants of that city. Zealous alſo in the cauſe of his maſter, he had publiſhed a proclamation to be diſperſed through Canada, inviting the people to return to their original friendſhip with France, and declaring that all who renounced their allegiance to Great Britain ſhould certainly find a protector in the

king of France. All his endeavours, however, proved insufficient at this time to produce any revolution, or even to form a party of any consequence among the Canadians.

As soon as the French admiral had refitted his fleet, he took the opportunity, while that of admiral Byron had been shattered by a storm, of sailing to the West Indies. During his operations there, the Americans having represented his conduct as totally unintelligible to them, he received orders from Europe to assist the colonists with all possible speed.

In compliance with these orders, he directed his course towards Georgia, with a design to recover that province out of the hands of the enemy, and to put it, as well as South Carolina, in such a posture of defence as would effectually secure them from any future attack. This seemed to be an easy matter, from the little force with which he knew he should be opposed; and the next object in contemplation was no less than the destruction of the British fleet and army at New York, and their total expulsion from the continent of America. Full of these hopes, the French commander arrived off the coast of Georgia with a fleet of twenty-two sail of the line and ten large frigates. His arrival was so little expected, that several vessels laden with provisions and military stores fell into his hands: the Experiment also, a vessel of fifty guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was taken after a stout resistance. On the continent, the British troops were divided. General Prevost, with an inconsiderable part, remained at Savannah; but the main force was under Colonel Maitland at Port Royal. On the first appearance of the French fleet, an express was dispatched to Colonel Maitland: but it was intercepted by the enemy; so that before he could set out in order to join the commander in chief, the Americans had secured most of the passes by land, while the French fleet effectually blocked up the passage by sea. But by taking advantage of creeks and inlets, and marching over land, he arrived just in time to relieve Savannah.

D'Estaing, after making a gasconade of what had happened at St. Vincent's and Grenada, had allowed General Prevost twenty-four hours to deliberate whether he should capitulate or not. This time the general employed in making the best preparations he could for a defence; and during this time it was that Colonel Maitland arrived. D'Estaing's summons was now rejected; and as on this occasion the superiority of the enemy was by no means so much out of proportion as it had been at Grenada, there was every probability of success on the part of the British. The garrison now consisted of three thousand men, all of approved valour and experience, while the united force of the French and Ameri-

Americans did not amount to ten thouſand. The event was anſwerable to the expectations of the Britiſh general. Having the advantage of a ſtrong fortification and excellent engineers, the fire of the allies made ſo little impreſſion, that D'Eſtaing reſolved to bombard the town, and a battery of nine mortars was erected for the purpoſe. This produced a requeſt from General Prevoſt, that the women and children might be allowed to retire to a place of ſafety. But the allied commanders refuſed to comply; and they reſolved to give a general aſſault. This was accordingly attempted on the 9th of October: but the aſſailants were every where repulſed with ſuch ſlaughter, that twelve hundred were killed and wounded; among the former were Count Polaſki, and among the latter was D'Eſtaing himſelf.

This diſaſter entirely overthrew the ſanguine hopes of the Americans and French; mutual reproaches and animoſities took place in the moſt violent degree; and after waiting eight days longer, both parties prepared for a retreat; the French to their ſhipping, and the Americans into Carolina.

While the allies were thus unſucceſsfully employed in the ſouthern colonies, their antagoniſts were no leſs aſſiduous in diſtreſſing them in the northern parts. Sir George Collier was ſent with a fleet, carrying on board General Matthews, with a body of land forces, into the province of Virginia. Their firſt attempt was on the town of Portſmouth; where, though the enemy had deſtroyed ſome ſhips of great value, the Britiſh troops arrived in time to ſave a great number of others. On this occaſion about one hundred and twenty veſſels of different ſizes were burnt, and twenty carried off; and an immenſe quantity of proviſions deſigned for the uſe of General Waſhington's army was either deſtroyed or carried off, together with a great variety of naval and military ſtores. The fleet and army returned with little or no loſs to New York.

The ſucceſs with which this expedition was attended, ſoon gave encouragement to attempt another. The Americans had for ſome time been employed in the erection of two ſtrong forts on the river; the one at Verplanks Neck on the eaſt, and the other at Stoney Point on the weſt ſide. Theſe when completed would have been of the utmoſt ſervice to the Americans, as commanding the principal paſs, called the *King's Ferry*, between the northern and ſouthern colonies. At preſent however, they were not in a condition to make any effectual defence; and it was therefore determined to attack them before the work ſhould be completed. The force employed on this occaſion was divided into two bodies; one of which directed its courſe againſt Verplanks, and the other againſt Stoney Point. The former was commanded by General Vaughan,

Vaughan, the latter by General Pattiſon, while the ſhipping was under the direction of Sir George Collier. General Vaughan met with no reſiſtance, the enemy abandoning their works, and ſetting fire to every thing combuſtible that they could not carry off. At Stoney Point, however, a vigorous defence was made, though the garriſon was at laſt obliged to capitulate upon honourable conditions. To ſecure the poſſeſſion of this laſt, which was the more important of the two, General Clinton removed from his former ſituation, and encamped in ſuch a manner that General Waſhington could not give any aſſiſtance. The Americans, however, revenged themſelves by diſtreſſing, with their numerous privateers, the trade to New York.

This occaſioned a third expedition to Connecticut, where theſe privateers were chiefly built and harboured. The command was given to Governor Tryon and to General Garth, an officer of known valour and experience. Under convoy of a conſiderable number of armed veſſels they landed at Newhaven, where they demoliſhed the batteries that had been erected to oppoſe them, and deſtroyed the ſhipping and naval ſtores; but they ſpared the town itſelf, as the inhabitants had abſtained from firing out of their houſes upon the troops. From Newhaven they marched to Fairfield, where they proceeded as before, reducing the town alſo to aſhes. Norwalk was next attacked, which in like manner was reduced to aſhes; as was alſo Greenfield, a ſmall ſeaport in the neighbourhood.

Theſe ſucceſſes proved very alarming as well as detrimental to the Americans; ſo that General Waſhington determined at all events to drive the enemy from Stoney Point. For this purpoſe he ſent General Wayne with a detatchment of choſen men, directing them to attempt the recovery of it by ſurpriſe. On this occaſion the Americans ſhewed a ſpirit and reſolution exceeding any thing they had performed during the courſe of the war. Though after the capture of it by the Britiſh the fortifications of this place had been completed, and were very ſtrong, they attacked the enemy with bayonets, after paſſing through a heavy fire of muſquetry and grape-ſhot; and in ſpite of all oppoſition, obliged the ſurviving part of the garriſon, amounting to five hundred men, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

Though the Americans did not at preſent attempt to retain poſſeſſion of Stoney Point, the ſucceſs they had met with in the enterpriſe emboldened them to make a ſimilar attempt on Paulus Hook, a fortified poſt on the Jerſey ſide oppoſite to New York; but in this they were not attended with equal ſucceſs, being obliged to retire with precipitation after they had made themſelves maſters of one or two poſts.

Another

Another expedition of greater importance was now projected on the part of the Americans. This was againſt a poſt on the river Penobſcot, on the borders of Nova Scotia, of which the Britiſh had lately taken poſſeſſion, and where they had begun to erect a fort which threatened to be a very great inconvenience to the coloniſts. The armament deſtined againſt it was ſo ſoon got in readineſs, that Colonel Maclane, the commanding officer at Penobſcot, found himſelf obliged to drop the execution of part of his ſcheme; and inſtead of a regular fort, to content himſelf with putting the works already conſtructed in as good a poſture of defence as poſſible. The Americans could not effect a landing without a great deal of difficulty, and bringing the guns of their largeſt veſſels to bear upon the ſhore. As ſoon as this was done, however, they erected ſeveral batteries, and kept up a briſk fire for the ſpace of a fortnight; after which they propoſed to give a general aſſault: but before this could be effected, they perceived Sir George Collier with a Britiſh fleet ſailing up the river to attack them. On this they inſtantly embarked their artillery and military ſtores, ſailing up the river as far as poſſible in order to avoid him. They were ſo cloſely purſued, however, that not a ſingle veſſel could eſcape; ſo that the whole fleet, conſiſting of nineteen armed veſſels and twenty-four tranſports, was deſtroyed; moſt of them indeed being blown up by themſelves. The ſoldiers and ſailors were obliged to wander through immenſe deſerts, where they ſuffered much for want of proviſions; and to add to their calamities, a quarrel broke out between the ſoldiers and ſeamen concerning the cauſe of their diſaſter, which ended in a violent fray, wherein a great number were killed.

Thus the arms of America and France being almoſt every where unſucceſsful, the independency of the former ſeemed yet to be in danger notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of ſo powerful an ally, when further encouragement was given by the acceſſion of Spain to the confederacy againſt Britain in the month of June 1779. The firſt effect of this appeared in an invaſion of Weſt Florida by the Spaniards in September 1779. As the country was in no ſtate of defence, the enemy eaſily made themſelves maſters of the whole almoſt without oppoſition. Their next enterpriſe was againſt the Bay of Honduras, where the Britiſh logwood-cutters were ſettled. Theſe finding themſelves too weak to reſiſt, applied to the governor of Jamaica for relief; who ſent them a ſupply of men, ammunition, and military ſtores, under Captain Dalrymple. Before the arrival of this detachment, the principal ſettlement in thoſe parts, called *St. George's Key*, had been taken by the Spaniards and retaken by the Britiſh. In his way Captain Dalrymple fell

fell in with a ſquadron from Admiral Parker in ſearch of ſome regiſter ſhips richly laden; but which retreating into the harbour of Omoa, were too ſtrongly protected by the fort to be attacked with ſafety. A project was then formed, in conjunction with the people of Honduras, to reduce this fort. The deſign was to ſurpriſe it; but the Spaniards having diſcovered them, they were obliged to fight. Victory quickly declared for the Britiſh; but the fortifications were ſo ſtrong, that the artillery they had brought along with them were found too light to make any impreſſion. It was then determined to try the ſucceſs of an eſcalade; and this was executed with ſo much ſpirit, that the Spaniards ſtood aſtoniſhed without making any reſiſtance, and, in ſpite of all the efforts of the officers, threw down their arms and ſurrendered. The ſpoil was immenſe, being valued at three millions of dollars. The Spaniards chiefly lamented the loſs of two hundred and fifty quintals of quickſilver; a commodity indiſpenſably neceſſary in the working of their gold and ſilver mines, ſo that they offered to ranſom it at any price; but this was refuſed, as well as the ranſom of the fort, though the governor offered three hundred thouſand dollars for it. A ſmall garriſon was left for the defence of the place; but it was quickly attacked by a ſuperior force, and obliged to evacuate it, though not without deſtroying every thing that could be of uſe to the enemy; ſpiking the guns, and even locking the gates of the fort and carrying off the keys. All this was done in the ſight of the beſiegers; after which the garriſon embarked without the loſs of a man.

As no operations of any conſequence took place this year in the province of New York, the congreſs made uſe of the opportunity to diſpatch General Sullivan with a conſiderable force, in order to take vengeance on the Indians for their ravages and depredations: and the object of the expedition was, not merely the reduction of them, but if poſſible their utter extirpation. Of this the Indians were appriſed; and collecting all their ſtrength, reſolved to come to a deciſive engagement. Accordingly they took a ſtrong poſt in the moſt woody and mountainous part of the country; erecting a breaſt-work in their front of large logs of wood extending half a mile in length, while their right flank was covered by a river, and the left by a hill of difficult acceſs. This advantageous poſition they had taken by the advice of the refugees who were among them, and of whom two or three hundred were preſent in the battle.

Thus poſted, the Indians waited the approach of the American army: but the latter having brought ſome artillery along with them, played it againſt the breaſt work of the enemy with ſuch ſucceſs, that in two hours it

was almoſt deſtroyed; and at the ſame time a party having reached the top of the hill, they became apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, on which they inſtantly fled with precipitation, leaving a great number of killed and wounded behind them. The Americans after this battle met with no further reſiſtance of any conſequence. They were ſuffered to proceed without interruption, and to execute in the moſt ample manner the vengeance they had projected. On entering the country of the Indians, it appeared that they had been acquainted with agriculture and the arts of peace far beyond what had been ſuppoſed. From General Sullivan's account it was learned, that the Indian houſes were large, convenient, and even elegant; their grounds were excellently cultivated, and their gardens abounded in fruit-trees and vegetables of all kinds fit for food. The whole of this fine country was now by the American general converted into a deſart. Forty towns and ſettlements, beſides ſcattered habitations, were demoliſhed; the fields of corn, the orchards, the plantations, were utterly laid waſte; all the fruit-trees were cut down; and ſo great had been the induſtry of the Indians, that in one orchard one thouſand five hundred of theſe were deſtroyed. The quantity of corn waſted on this occaſion was ſuppoſed to amount to one hundred and ſixty thouſand buſhels. In ſhort, ſuch was the deſolation, that on the American army's leaving the country, not a houſe, not a field of corn, nor a fruit-tree, was left upon the ground, nor was an Indian to be ſeen throughout the whole track.

We muſt now take a view of the tranſactions in the ſouthern colonies; to which the war was, in the year 1780, ſo effectually transferred, that the operations there became at laſt deciſive. The ſucceſs of General Prevoſt in advancing to the very capital of South Carolina has been already related, together with the obſtacles which prevented him from becoming maſter of it at that time. Towards the end of the year 1779, however, Sir Henry Clinton ſet ſail from New York with a conſiderable body of troops, intended for the attack of Charleſtown, South Carolina, in a fleet of ſhips of war and tranſports under the command of Vice-admiral Arbuthnot. They had a very tedious voyage; the weather was uncommonly bad; ſeveral of the tranſports were loſt, as were alſo the greateſt part of the horſes which they carried with them, intended for cavalry or other public uſes; and an ordnance-ſhip likewiſe foundered at ſea. Having arrived at Savannah, where they endeavoured to repair the damages ſuſtained on their voyage, they proceeded from thence on the 10th of February 1780 to North Ediſto, the place of debarkation which had been previouſly appointed. They had a favourable and ſpeedy paſſage thither: and though it required time to

have

have the bar explored and the channel marked, the tranſports all entered the harbour the next day; and the army took poſſeſſion of John's iſland without oppoſition. Preparations were then made for paſſing the ſquadron over Charleſtown bar, where the high-water ſpring-tides were only nineteen feet deep: but no opportunity offered of going into the harbour till the 20th of March, when it was effected without any accident, though the American galleys continually attempted to prevent the Engliſh boats from ſounding the channel. The Britiſh troops had previouſly removed from John's to James's iſland; and on the 29th of the ſame month they effected their landing on Charleſtown Neck. On the 1ſt of April they broke ground within eight hundred yards of the American works; and by the 8th the beſiegers guns were mounted in battery.

As ſoon as the army began to erect their batteries againſt the town, Admiral Arbuthnot embraced the firſt favourable opportunity of paſſing Sullivan's Iſland, upon which there was a ſtrong ſort of batteries, the chief defence of the harbour. He weighed on the 9th, with the Roebuck, Richmond, and Romulus, Blonde, Virginia, Raleigh, and Sandwich armed ſhip, the Renown bringing up the rear; and, paſſing through a ſevere fire, anchored in about two hours under James's Iſland, with the loſs of twenty-ſeven ſeamen killed and wounded. The Richmond's fore-top-maſt was ſhot away, and the ſhips in general ſuſtained damage in their maſts and rigging, though not materially in their hulls. But the Acetus tranſport, having on board ſome naval ſtores, grounded within gun-ſhot of Sullivan's Iſland, and received ſo much damage that ſhe was obliged to be abandoned and burnt.

On the 10th, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot ſummoned the town to ſurrender to his Majeſty's arms: but Major-General Lincoln, who commanded in Charleſtown, returned them an anſwer, declaring it to be his intention to defend the place. The batteries were now opened againſt the town; and from their effect the fire of the American advanced works conſiderably abated. It appears that the number of troops under the command of Lincoln were by far too few for defending works of ſuch extent as thoſe of Charleſtown; and that many of theſe were men little accuſtomed to military ſervice, and very ill provided with cloaths and other neceſſaries. General Lincoln had been for ſome time expecting reinforcements and ſupplies from Virginia and other places: but they came in very ſlowly. Earl Cornwallis and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton under him, were alſo extremely active in intercepting ſuch reinforcements and ſupplies as were ſent to the American general. They totally defeated a conſiderable body of cavalry and militia which was proceed-

ing to the relief of the town; and alſo made themſelves maſters of ſome poſts, which gave them in a great degree the command of the country, by which means great ſupplies of proviſions fell into their hands.

Such was the ſtate of things, and Fort Sullivan had alſo been taken by the king's troops, when on the 18th of May General Clinton again ſummoned the town to ſurrender; an offer being made, as had been done before, that if they ſurrendered, the lives and property of the inhabitants ſhould be preſerved to them. Articles of capitulation were then propoſed by General Lincoln; but the terms were not agreed to by General Clinton. At length, however, the town being cloſely inveſted on all ſides, and the preparations to ſtorm it in every part being in great forwardneſs, and the ſhips ready to move to the aſſault, General Lincoln, who had been applied to for that purpoſe by the inhabitants, ſurrendered it on ſuch articles of capitulation as General Clinton had before agreed to. This was on the 4th of May, which was one month and two days after the town had been firſt ſummoned to ſurrender.

A large quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition, were found in Charleſtown; and, according to Sir Henry Clinton's account, the number of priſoners taken in Charleſtown amounted to five thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen men, excluſive of near a thouſand ſailors in arms; but according to General Lincoln's account tranſmitted to the congreſs, the whole number of continental troops taken priſoners amounted to no more than two thouſand four hundred and eighty ſeven. The remainder, therefore, included in General Clinton's account, muſt have conſiſted of militia and inhabitants of the town. Several American frigates were alſo taken or deſtroyed in the harbour of Charleſtown.

The loſs of Charleſtown evidently excited a conſiderable alarm in America: and their popular writers, particularly the author of the celebrated performance intitled Common Senſe, in ſome other pieces made uſe of it as a powerful argument to lead them to more vigorous exertions againſt Great Britain, that they might the more effectually and certainly ſecure their independence.

While Sir Henry Clinton was employed in his voyage to Charleſtown, and in the ſiege of that place, the garriſon at New York ſeem not to have been wholly free from apprehenſions for their own ſafety. An intenſe froſt, accompanied with great falls of ſnow, began about the middle of December 1779, and ſhut up the navigation of the port of New York from the ſea, within a few days after the departure of Admiral Arbuthnot and General Clinton. The ſeverity of the weather increaſed to ſo great a degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with New York by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones opened

opened by the ice. The inhabitants could ſcarcely be ſaid to be in an inſular ſtate. Horſes with heavy carriages could go over the ice into the Jerſeys from one iſland to another. The paſſage in the North River, even in the wideſt part from New York to Paulus Hook, which was two thouſand yards, was about the 19th of January practicable for the heavieſt cannon: an event which had been unknown in the memory of man. Proviſions were ſoon after tranſported upon ſledges, and a detachment of cavalry marched upon the ice from New York to Staten Iſland, which was a diſtance of eleven miles.

The city of New York being thus circumſtanced, was conſidered as much expoſed to the attacks from the continental troops: and it was ſtrongly reported that General Waſhington was meditating a great ſtroke upon New York with his whole force, by different attacks. Some time before this, Major-general Patteſon, commandant at New York, having received an addreſs from many of the inhabitants, offering to put themſelves in military array, he thought the preſent a favourable opportunity of trying the ſincerity of their profeſſions. Accordingly he iſſued a proclamation, calling upon all the male inhabitants from ſixteen to ſixty to take up arms. The requiſition was ſo readily complied with, that in a few days, forty companies from the ſix wards of the city were inrolled, officered, and under arms, to the number of two thouſand ſix hundred, many ſubſtantial citizens ſerving in the ranks of each company. Other volunteer companies were formed; and the city was put into a very ſtrong poſture of defence.

No attack, however, was made upon New York, whatever deſign might originally have been meditated: but an attempt was made upon Staten Iſland, where there were about eighteen hundred men, under the command of Brigadier-general Sterling, who were well intrenched. General Waſhington, whoſe army was hutted at Morris-Town, ſent a detachment of two thouſand ſeven hundred men, with ſix pieces of cannon, two mortars, and ſome horſes, commanded by Lord Sterling, who arrived at Staten Iſland early in the morning of the 15th of January. The advanced poſts of the Britiſh troops retired upon the approach of the Americans, who formed the line, and made ſome movements in the courſe of the day; but they withdrew in the night, after having burnt one houſe, pillaged ſome others, and carried off with them about two hundred head of cattle. Immediately on the arrival of the Americans on Staten Iſland, Lieutenant-general Knyphauſen had embarked ſix hundred men to attempt a paſſage, and to ſupport General Sterling: but the floating ice compelled them to return. It is, however, imagined, that the appearance of theſe tranſports, with the Britiſh troops on board

board, which the Americans could ſee towards the cloſe of the day, induced the latter to make ſo precipitate a retreat.

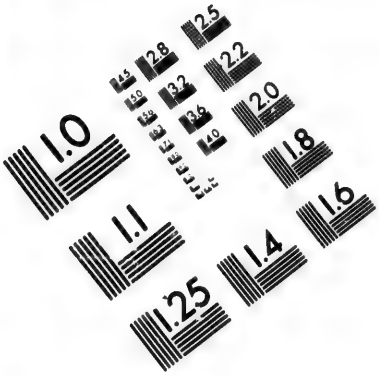
After Charleſtown had ſurrendered to the king's troops, General Clinton iſſued two proclamations, and alſo circulated a hand-bill amongſt the inhabitants of South Carolina, in order to induce them to return to their allegiance, and to be ready to join the king's troops. It was ſaid, that the helping hand of every man was wanted to re-eſtabliſh peace and good government: and that as the commander in chief wiſhed not to draw the king's friends into danger, while any doubt could remain of their ſucceſs; ſo now that this was certain, he truſted that one and all would heartily join, and by a general concurrence give effect to ſuch neceſſary meaſures for that purpoſe as from time to time might be pointed out. Thoſe who had families were to form a militia to remain at home, and occaſionally to aſſemble in their own diſtricts, when required, under officers of their own chooſing, for the maintenance of peace and good order. Thoſe who had no families, and who could conveniently be ſpared for a time, it was preſumed, would cheerfully aſſiſt his Majeſty's troops in driving their oppreſſors, acting under the authority of congreſs, and all the miſeries of war, far from that colony. For this purpoſe it was ſaid to be neceſſary that the young men ſhould be ready to aſſemble when required, and to ſerve with the king's troops for any ſix months of the enſuing twelve that might be found requiſite, under proper regulations. They might chooſe officers to each company to command them; and were to be allowed, when on ſervice, pay, ammunition, and proviſions, in the ſame manner as the king's troops. When they joined the army, each man was to be furniſhed with a certificate, declaring that he was only engaged to ſerve as a militia-man for the time ſpecified; that he was not to be marched beyond North Carolina and Georgia; and that, when the time was out, he was freed from all claims whatever of military ſervice, excepting the common and uſual militia-duty where he lived. He would then, it was ſaid, have paid his debt to his country, and be intitled to enjoy undiſturbed that peace, liberty, and property, at home, which he had contributed to ſecure. The proclamations and publications of General Clinton appear to have produced ſome effect in South Carolina; though they probably operated chiefly upon thoſe who were before not much inclined to the cauſe of American independence. Two hundred and ten of the inhabitants of Charleſtown ſigned an addreſs to General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, ſoliciting to be readmitted to the character and condition of Britiſh ſubjects, the inhabitants of that city having been hitherto conſidered as priſoners on parole; declaring their diſapprobation of the doctrine of

American independence; and expreſſing their regret, that after the repeal of thoſe ſtatutes which gave riſe to the troubles in America, the overtures made by his Majeſty's commiſſioners had not been regarded by the congreſs. Sir Henry Clinton, in one of the proclamations iſſued at this time, declared, that if any perſons ſhould thenceforward appear in arms in order to prevent the eſtabliſhment of his Majeſty's government in that country, or ſhould under any pretence or authority whatſoever attempt to compel any other perſon or perſons to do ſo, or who ſhould hinder or intimidate the king's faithful and loyal ſubjects from joining his forces or otherwiſe performing thoſe duties their allegiance required, ſuch perſons ſhould be treated with the utmoſt ſeverity, and their eſtates be immediately ſeized in order to be confiſcated.

Mean time the ravages of war did not prevent the Americans from paying ſome attention to the arts of peace. On the 4th of May an act paſſed by the council and house of repreſentatives of Maſſachuſett's Bay for incorporating and eſtabliſhing a ſociety for the cultivation and promotion of the arts and ſciences.

Some doubts having ariſen in the Congreſs, towards the cloſe of the preceding year, about the propriety of their aſſembling in the city of Philadelphia, it was now reſolved that they ſhould continue to meet there: and a committee of three members was appointed, to report a proper place where buildings might be provided for the reception of the congreſs, together with an eſtimate of the expence of providing ſuch buildings and the neceſſary offices for the ſeveral boards. It was alſo reſolved by the congreſs, that a monument ſhould be erected to the memory of their late general Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, in teſtimony of his ſignal and important ſervices to the United States of America, with an inſcription expreſſive of his amiable character and heroic atchievements; and that the continental treaſurers ſhould be directed to advance a ſum not exceeding three hundred pounds to Dr. Franklin to defray the expence; that gentleman being deſired to cauſe the monument to be executed at Paris, or in ſome other part of France. It was likewiſe reſolved by the congreſs, that a court ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the trial of all appeals from the court of admiralty of the United States of America, in caſes of capture; to conſiſt of three judges, appointed and commiſſioned by congreſs, and who were to take an oath of office; and that the trials in this court ſhould be determined by the uſage of nations.

The difficulties of the Congreſs and of the people of America had been greatly increaſed by the depreciation of their paper-currency. At the



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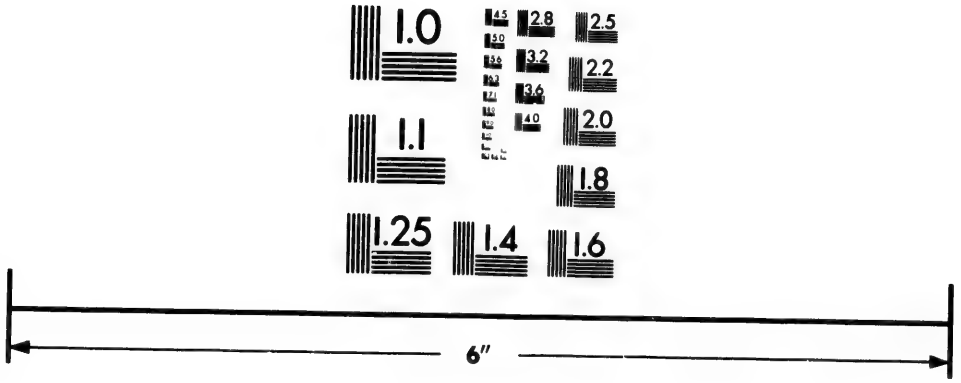

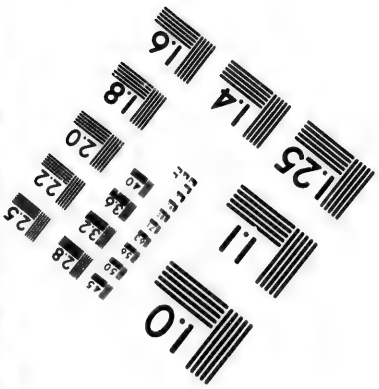

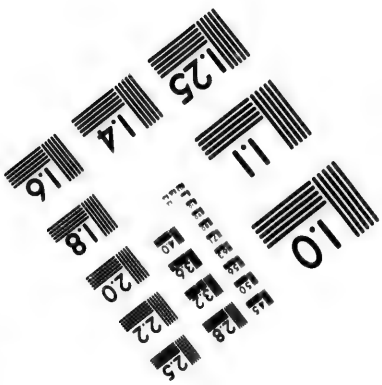

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the time when the colonies engaged in a war with Great Britain, they had no regular civil governments eſtabliſhed among them of ſufficient energy to enforce the collection of taxes, or to provide funds for the redemption of ſuch bills of credit as their neceſſities obliged them to iſſue. In conſequence of this ſtate of things, their bills increaſed in quantity far beyond the ſum neceſſary for the purpoſe of a circulating medium: and as they wanted at the ſame time ſpecific funds to reſt on for their redemption, they ſaw their paper-currency daily ſink in value. The depreciation continued, by a kind of gradual progreſſion, from the year 1777 to 1780: ſo that, at the latter period, the continental dollars were paſſed, by common conſent, in moſt parts of America, at the rate of at leaſt $\frac{39}{40}$ths below their nominal value. The impoſſibility of keeping up the credit of the currency to any fixed ſtandard, occaſioned great and almoſt inſurmountable embarraſſments in aſcertaining the value of property, or carrying on trade with any ſufficient certainty. Thoſe who ſold, and thoſe who bought, were left without a rule whereon to form a judgment of their profit or loſs: and every ſpecies of commerce or exchange, whether foreign or domeſtic, was expoſed to numberleſs and increaſing difficulties. The conſequences of the depreciation of the paper-currency were alſo felt with peculiar ſeverity by ſuch of the Americans as were engaged in their military ſervices, and greatly augmented by their other hardſhips. The requiſitions made by the congreſs to the ſeveral colonies for ſupplies, were alſo far from always being regularly complied with: and their troops were not unfrequently in want of the moſt common neceſſaries; which naturally occaſioned complaints and diſcontent among them. Some of theſe difficulties, reſulting from their circumſtances and ſituation, perhaps no wiſdom could have prevented: but they ſeem to have ariſen in part from the congreſs not being ſufficiently acquainted with the principles of finance, and from a defect of ſyſtem in the departments of their government. The cauſe of the Americans appears alſo to have ſuffered ſomewhat by their depending too much on temporary enliſtments. But the congreſs endeavoured, towards the cloſe of the year 1780, to put their army upon a more permanent footing, and to give all the ſatisfaction to their officers and ſoldiers which their circumſtances would permit. They appointed a committee for arranging their finances, and made ſome new regulations reſpecting their war-office and treaſury-board, and other public departments.

Notwithſtanding the diſadvantages under which they laboured, the Americans ſeemed to entertain no doubts but that they ſhould be able to maintain their independency. The 4th of July was celebrated this year

ear at Philadelphia with ſome pomp, as the anniverſary of American independence. A commencement for conferring degrees in the arts was held the ſame day, in the hall of the univerſity there; at which the preſident and members of the congreſs attended, and other perſons in public offices. The Chevalier De la Lucerne, miniſter plenipotentiary from the French king to the United States, was alſo preſent on the occaſion. A charge was publicly addreſſed by the provoſt of the univerſity to the ſtudents; in which he ſaid, that he could not but congratulate them "on that auſpicious day, which, amidſt the confuſions and deſolations of war, beheld learning beginning to revive; and animated them with the pleaſing proſpect of ſeeing the ſacred lamp of ſcience burning with a ſtill brighter flame, and ſcattering its invigorating rays over the unexplored deſerts of that extenſive continent, until the whole world ſhould be involved in the united blaze of knowledge, liberty, and religion. When he ſtretched his views forward (he ſaid), and ſurveyed the riſing glories of America, the enriching conſequences of their determined ſtruggle for liberty, the extenſive fields of intellectual improvement and uſeful invention, in ſcience and arts, in agriculture and commerce, in religion and government, through which the unfettered mind would range, with increaſing delight, in queſt of the undiſcovered treaſure which yet lay concealed in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms of that new world; or in the other fertile ſources of knowledge with which it abounded. His heart ſwelled with the pleaſing proſpect, that the ſons of that inſtitution would diſtinguiſh themſelves, in the different walks of life, by their literary contributions to the embelliſhment and increaſe of human happineſs."

On the 10th of July, M. Ternay, with a fleet conſiſting of ſeven ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, and a large body of French troops, commanded by Count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Iſland; and the following day ſix thouſand men were landed there. A committee from the general aſſembly of Rhode Iſland; was appointed to congratulate the French general on his arrival: whereupon he returned an anſwer, in which he informed them, that the king his maſter had ſent him to the aſſiſtance of his good and faithful allies the United States of America. At preſent, he ſaid he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force deſtined for their aid; and the king had ordered him to aſſure them, that his whole power ſhould be exerted for their ſupport. He added, that the French troops were under the ſtricteſt diſcipline; and, acting under the orders of General Waſhington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

A ſcheme was ſoon formed, of making a combined attack with Engliſh ſhips and troops, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, againſt the French fleet and troops at Rhode Iſland. Accordingly a conſiderable part of the troops at New York were embarked for that purpoſe. General Waſhington having received information of this, paſſed the North River, by a very rapid movment, and, with an army increaſed to twelve thouſand men, proceeded with celerity towards King's Bridge, in order to attack New York; but learning that the Britiſh general had changed his intentions, and diſembarked his troops on the 31ſt of the month, General Waſhington recroſſed the river and returned to his former ſtation. Sir Henry Clinton and the admiral had agreed to relinquiſh their deſign of attacking the French and Americans at Rhode Iſland as impracticable for the preſent.

An unſucceſsful attempt was alſo made about this time in the Jerſeys by General Knyphauſen, with ſeven thouſand Britiſh troops under his command, to ſurpriſe the advanced poſts of General Waſhington's army. They proceeded very rapidly towards Springfield, meeting with little oppoſition till they came to the bridge there, which was very gallantly defended by one hundred and ſeventy of the continental troops, for fifteen minutes, againſt the Britiſh army: but they were at length obliged to give up ſo unequal a conteſt, with the loſs of thirty-ſeven men. After ſecuring this paſs, the Britiſh troops marched into the place, and ſet fire to moſt of the houſes. They alſo committed ſome other depredations in the Jerſeys; but gained no laurels there, being obliged to return about the beginning of July without effecting any thing material.

But in South Carolina the royal arms were attended with more ſucceſs. Earl Cornwallis, who commanded the Britiſh troops there, obtained a very ſignal victory over General Gates on the 16th of Auguſt. The action began at break of day, in a ſituation very advantageous for the Britiſh troops, but very unfavourable to the Americans. The latter were much more numerous; but the ground on which both armies ſtood was narrowed by ſwamps on the right and left, ſo that the Americans could not properly avail themſelves of their ſuperior numbers. There ſeems to have been ſome want of generalſhip in Gates, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſurpriſed in ſo diſadvantageous a poſition: but this circumſtance was partly the effect of accident; for both armies ſet out with a deſign of attacking each other preciſely at the ſame time, at ten the preceding evening, and met together before day-light at the place where the action happened. The attack was made by the Britiſh troops with great vigour, and in a few

minutes the action was general along the whole line. It was at this time a dead calm, with a little haziness in the air, which preventing the smoke from rising, occasioned so thick a darkness, that it was difficult to see the effect of a very heavy and well-supported fire on both sides. The British troops either kept up a constant fire, or made use of bayonets, as opportunities offered: and after an obstinate resistance during three quarters of an hour, threw the Americans into total confusion, and forced them to give way in all quarters. The continental troops appear to have behaved well, but the militia were soon broken, and left the former to oppose the whole force of the British troops. General Gates did all in his power to rally the militia, but without effect: the continentals retreated in some order, but the rout of the militia was so great, that the British cavalry are said to have pursued them to the distance of twenty-two miles from the place where the action happened. The loss of the Americans was very considerable: about one thousand prisoners were taken, and more are said to have been killed and wounded, but the number is not accurately ascertained. Seven pieces of brass cannon, a number of colours, and all the ammunition-waggons of the Americans, were also taken. Of the British troops, the killed and wounded amounted to two hundred and thirteen. Among the prisoners taken was Major-general Baron de Kalb, a Prussian officer in the American service, who was mortally wounded, having exhibited great gallantry in the course of the action, and received eleven wounds. The British troops by which this great victory was atchieved, did not much exceed two thousand, while the American army is said to have amounted to six thousand; of which, however, the greatest part were militia.

Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who had greatly distinguished himself in this action, was detached the following day, with some cavalry and light infantry, amounting to about three hundred and fifty men, to attack a corps of Americans under General Sumpter. He executed this service with great activity and military address. He procured good information of Sumpter's movements; and by forced and concealed marches came up with and surprised him in the middle of the day on the 18th, near the Catawba fords. He totally destroyed or dispersed his detachment, which consisted of seven hundred men, killing one hundred and fifty on the spot, and taking two pieces of brass cannon, three hundred prisoners, and forty-four waggons.

Not long after these events, means were found to detach Major General Arnold, who had engaged so ardently in the cause of America, and who had exhibited so much bravery in the support of it, from the

intereſts of the congreſs. Major Andrè, Adjutant General to the Britiſh army, was a principal agent in this tranſaction: or, if the overture of joining the King's troops came firſt from Arnold, this gentleman was the perſon employed to concert the affair with him. More muſt have been originally comprehended in the ſcheme than the mere deſertion of the American cauſe by Arnold: but whatever deſigns had been formed for promoting the views of the Britiſh government, they were fruſtrated by the apprehending of Major Andrè. He was taken in diſguiſe, after having aſſumed a falſe name, on the 23d of September, by three American ſoldiers; to whom he offered conſiderable rewards if they would have ſuffered him to eſcape, but without effect. Several papers written by Arnold were found upon him; and when Arnold had learned that Major Andrè was ſeized, he found means to get on board a barge, and to eſcape to one of the King's ſhips. General Waſhington referred the caſe of Major Andrè to the examination and deciſion of a board of general officers, conſiſting of Major General Green, Major General Lord Sterling, Major General the Marquis de la Fayette, Major General the Baron de Steuben, two other Major Generals, and eight Brigadier Generals. Major Andrè was examined before them, and the particulars of his caſe inquired into; and they reported to the American commander in chief, that Mr. Andrè came on ſhore from the Vulture ſloop of War in the night, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and ſecret manner; that he changed his dreſs within the American lines; and, under a feigned name, and in a diſguiſed habit, paſſed the American works at Stoney and Verplank's Points, on the evening of the 22d of September; that he was taken on the morning of the 23d at Tarry-town, he being then on his way for New York: and that, when taken, he had in his poſſeſſion ſeveral papers which contained intelligence for the enemy. They therefore determined, that he ought to be conſidered as a ſpy from the enemy; and that, agreeable to the law and uſage of nations, he ought to ſuffer death. Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant General Robertſon, and the late American general Arnold, all wrote preſſing letters to General Waſhington on the occaſion, in order to prevent the deciſion of the board of general officers from being put in force: But their applications were ineffectual. Major Andrè was hanged at Tappan, in the province of New York, on the 2d of October. He met his fate with great firmneſs; but appeared ſomewhat hurt that he was not allowed a more military death, for which he had ſolicited. He was a gentleman of very amiable qualities, had a taſte for literature and the fine arts, and poſſeſſed many accompliſhments. His death, therefore, was regretted even by his enemies;

mies; and the ſeverity of the determination concerning him was much exclaimed againſt in Great Britain. It was, however, generally acknowledged by impartial perſons, that there was nothing in the execution of this unfortunate gentleman but what was perfectly conſonant to the rules of war.

Arnold was made a brigadier general in the King's ſervice, and publiſhed an addreſs to the inhabitants of America, dated from New York, October 7, in which he endeavoured to juſtify his deſertion of their cauſe. He ſaid, that when he firſt engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and duty and honour called him to her defence. A redreſs of grievances was his only aim and object; and therefore he acquieſced unwillingly in the declaration of independence, becauſe he thought it precipitate. But what now induced him to deſert their cauſe was the diſguſt he had conceived at the French alliance, and at the refuſal of Congreſs to comply with the laſt terms offered by Great Britain, which he thought equal to all their expectations and to all their wiſhes.

The Americans, however, accounted for the conduct of Arnold in a different manner. They alledged that he had ſo involved himſelf in debts and difficulties by his extravagant manner of living in America, that he had rendered it very inconvenient for him to continue there: that after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the Britiſh troops, General Arnold, being inveſted with the command of that city, had made the houſe of Mr. Penn, which was the beſt in the city, his head quarters. This he had furniſhed in an elegant and expenſive manner, and lived in a ſtyle far beyond his income. It was manifeſt, they ſaid, that he could at firſt have no great averſion to the French alliance, becauſe that when M. Gerard, miniſter plenipotentiary from the court of France, arrived at Philadelphia in July 1778, General Arnold early and earneſtly ſolicited that miniſter, with his whole ſuite, to take apartments and bed and board at his houſe, until a proper houſe could be provided by order of the Congreſs. This offer M. Gerard accepted, and continued with him ſome weeks. The French miniſter reſided upwards of fourteen months in Philadelphia; during which time General Arnold kept up the moſt friendly and intimate acquaintance with him, and there was a continued interchange of dinners, balls, routes, and concerts: ſo that M. Gerard muſt have believed, that in General Arnold he had found and left one of the warmeſt friends the court of France had in America. He was alſo one of the firſt in congratulating the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the ſecond French miniſter. About this time complaints and accuſations were exhibited againſt him by the government of Philadelphia

ladelphia for divers mal-practices; among which charges were, the appropriation of goods and merchandize to his own uſe, which he had ſeized as Britiſh property in Philadelphia in July 1778. It was determined by a court-martial that his conduct was highly reprehenſible; but he was indulgently treated, and was therefore only reprimanded by the commander in chief General Waſhington. It was in theſe circumſtances, the Americans ſaid, bankrupted in reputation and fortune, loaded with debts, and having a growing and expenſive family, that General Arnold firſt turned his thoughts towards joining the royal arms.

After the defeat of General Gates by Earl Cornwallis, that nobleman exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in extending the progreſs of the Britiſh arms, and with conſiderable effect. But one enterpriſe, which was conducted by Major Ferguſon, proved unſucceſsful. That officer had taken abundant pains to diſcipline ſome of the tory militia, as they were termed; and with a party of theſe and ſome Britiſh troops, amounting in the whole about one thouſand four hundred men, made incurſions into the country. But on the 7th of October he was attacked by a ſuperior body of Americans at a place called King's Mountain, and totally defeated. One hundred and fifty were killed in the action, and eight hundred and ten made priſoners, of which one hundred and fifty were wounded. Fifteen hundred ſtands of arms alſo fell into the hands of the Americans, whoſe loſs was inconſiderable. But the following month Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, who continued to exert his uſual activity and bravery, with a party of one hundred and ſeventy, chiefly cavalry, attacked and defeated General Sumpter, who is ſaid to have had one thouſand men, at a place called Black Stocks. Sumpter was wounded, and about one hundred and twenty of the Americans killed, wounded, or taken. Of the Britiſh troops about fifty were killed and wounded.

On the 3d of September the Mercury, a congreſs packet, was taken by the Veſtal, Captain Keppel, near Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Laurens, late Preſident of the Congreſs, who was bound on an embaſſy to Holland. He had thrown his papers overboard, but great part of them were recovered without having received much damage. He was brought to London, and examined before the privy council; in conſequence of which he was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, on the 6th of October, on a charge of high treaſon. His papers were delivered to the miniſtry, and continued to facilitate a rupture with Holland, as among them was found the ſketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the United States of America.

At

At the beginning of the year 1781, an affair happened in America, from which expectations were formed by Sir Henry Clinton, that ſome conſiderable advantage might be derived to the royal cauſe. The long continuance of the war, and the difficulties under which the Congreſs laboured, had prevented their troops from being properly ſupplied with neceſſaries and conveniencies. In conſequence of this, on the firſt of January, the American troops that were hutted at Morris Town, and who formed what was called the Pennſylvania Line, turned out, being in number about one thouſand three hundred, and declared, that they would ſerve no longer, unleſs their grievances were redreſſed, as they had not received their pay, or been furniſhed with the neceſſary cloathing or proviſions. It is ſaid that they were ſomewhat inflamed with liquor, in conſequence of rum having been diſtributed to them more liberally than uſual, New Year's Day being conſidered as a kind of feſtival. A riot enſued, in which an officer was killed, and four wounded; five or ſix of the inſurgents were alſo wounded. They then collected the artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and waggons, and marched out of the camp. They paſſed by the quarters of General Wayne, who ſent a meſſage to them, requeſting them to deſiſt, or the conſequences would prove fatal. They refuſed, and proceeded on their march till the evening, when they took poſt on an advantageous piece of ground, and elected officers from among themſelves. On the ſecond, they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third to Princetown, where they fixed their quarters. On that day a flag of truce was ſent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a meſſage, deſiring to know what were their intentions. Some of them anſwered, that they had already ſerved longer than the time for which they were enliſted, and would ſerve no longer; and others, that they would not return, unleſs their grievances were redreſſed. But at the ſame time they repeatedly, and in the ſtrongeſt terms, denied being influenced by the leaſt diſaffection to the American cauſe, or having any intentions of deſerting to the enemy.

Intelligence of this tranſaction was ſoon conveyed to New York. A large body of Britiſh troops were immediately ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs to move on the ſhorteſt notice, it being hoped that the American revolters might be induced to join the royal army. Meſſengers were alſo ſent to them from General Clinton, acquainting them that they ſhould directly be taken under the protection of the Britiſh government; that they ſhould have a free pardon for all former offences; and that the pay due to them from the Congreſs ſhould be faithfully paid them, without any expectation of military ſervice, unleſs it ſhould be voluntary, upon condition of their laying down their

arms

arms and returning to their allegiance. It was alſ recommended to them to move beyond the South river; and they were aſſured, that a body of Britiſh troops ſhould be ready to protect them whenever they deſired it. Theſe propoſitions were rejected with diſdain; aud they even delivered up two of Sir Henry Clinton's meſſengers to the congreſs. Joſeph Reed, Eſq. preſident of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, afterwards repaired to them at Prince-town, and an accommodation took place: ſuch of them as had ſerved out their full terms were permitted to return to their own homes, and others again joined the American army, upon receiving ſatisfactory aſſurances that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed.

Lord Cornwallis now began to make very vigorous exertions, in order to penetrate into North Carolina. On the 11th of January his Lordſhip's army was in motion, and advancing towards that province; but was ſomewhat delayed by an attempt made by the Americans, under General Morgan, to make themſelves maſters of the valuable diſtrict of Ninety-ſix. In order to prevent this, Lord Cornwallis detached Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, with three hundred cavalry, three hundred light infantry, the ſeventh regiment, the firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, and two three-pounders, to oppoſe the progreſs of Morgan, not doubting but that he would be able to perform this ſervice effectually. The Britiſh troops came up with the Americans under General Morgan on the 17th of January. The Americans were drawn up in an open wood, and having been lately joined by ſome militia, were more numerous than the Britiſh troops under Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton; but the latter were ſo much better diſciplined, that they had the utmoſt confidence of obtaining a ſpeedy victory. The attack was begun by the firſt line of infantry, conſiſting of the ſeventh regiment and a corps of light infantry, with a troop of cavalry placed on each flank. The firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt and the remainder of the cavalry formed the reſerve. The American line ſoon gave way, and their militia quitted the field; upon which the royal troops, ſuppoſing the victory already gained, engaged with ardour in the purſuit, and were thereby thrown into ſome diſorder. General Morgan's corps, who were ſuppoſed to have been routed, then immediately faced about and threw in a heavy fire upon the king's troops, which occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion amongſt them; and they were at length totally defeated by the Americans. Four hundred of the Britiſh infantry were either killed, wounded, or taken priſoners: the loſs of the cavalry was much leſs conſiderable; but the two three-pounders fell into the hands of the Americans, together with the colours of the ſeventh regiment; and all the detachment of royal artillery were either killed or wounded in defence

defence of their colours. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, however, made another effort; having aſſembled about fifty of his cavalry, he charged and repulſed Colonel Waſhington's horſe, retook his baggage, and killed the Americans who were appointed to guard it. He then retreated to Hamilton's ford, near the mouth of Bullock's creek, carrying with him part of his baggage, and deſtroying the remainder.

This defeat of the troops under Tarleton was a ſevere ſtroke to Lord Cornwallis, as the loſs of his light infantry was a great diſadvantage to him. The day after that event, he employed in collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps, and endeavouring to form a junction with General Leſlie, who had been ordered to march towards him with a body of Britiſh troops from Wynneſborough. Conſiderable exertions were then made by part of the army, without baggage, to retake the priſoners in the hands of the Americans, and to intercept General Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that American officer, after his defeat of Tarleton, had made forced marches up into the country, and croſſed the Catawba the evening before a great rain, which ſwelled the river to ſuch a degree, as to prevent the royal army from croſſing for ſeveral days; during which time the Britiſh priſoners were got over the Yadkin; whence they proceeded to Dan River, which they alſo paſſed, and on the 14th of February had reached Court-houſe in the province of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis employed a halt of two days in collecting ſome flour, and in deſtroying ſuperfluous baggage and all his waggons excepting thoſe laden with hoſpital ſtores, ſalt, and ammunition, and four reſerved empty in readineſs for ſick or wounded. Being thus freed from all unneceſſary incumbrances, he marched through North Carolina with great rapidity, and penetrated to the remoteſt extremities of that province on the banks of the Dan. His progreſs was ſometimes impeded by parties of the militia, and ſome ſkirmiſhes enſued, but he met with no very conſiderable oppoſition. On the 1ſt of February, the king's troops croſſed the Catawba at M'Cowan's Ford, where General Davidſon, with a party of American militia, was poſted, in order to oppoſe their paſſage; but he falling by the firſt diſcharge, the royal troops made good their landing, and the militia retreated. When Lord Cornwallis arrived at Hillſborough, he erected the king's ſtandard, and invited, by proclamation, all loyal ſubjects to repair to it, and to ſtand forth and take an active part in aſſiſting his Lordſhip to reſtore order and government. He had been taught to believe that the king's friends were numerous in that part of the country: but the event did not confirm the truth of the repreſentations that had been given. The

royaliſts were but few in number, and ſome of them too timid to join the king's ſtandard. There were, indeed, about two hundred who were proceeding to Hillſborough, under Colonel Pyle, in order to avow their attachment to the royal cauſe; but they were met accidentally, and ſurrounded by a detachment from the American army, by whom a number of them are ſaid to have been killed when they were begging for quarter, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Mean while General Greene was marching with great expedition with the troops under his command, in order to form a junction with other corps of American troops, that he might thereby be enabled to put an effectual ſtop to the progreſs of Lord Cornwallis.

In other places ſome conſiderable advantages were obtained by the royal arms. On the 4th of January, ſome ſhips of war with a number of tranſports, on board which was a large body of troops under the command of Brigadier-general Arnold, arrived at Weſtover, about one hundred and forty miles from the Capes of Virginia, where the troops immediately landed and marched to Richmond; which they reached without oppoſition, the militia that was collected having retreated on their approach. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe marched from hence with a detachment of Britiſh troops to Weſtham, where they deſtroyed one of the fineſt founderies for cannon in America, and a large quantity of ſtores and cannon. General Arnold, on his arrival at Richmond, found there large quantities of ſalt, rum, ſail-cloth, tobacco, and other merchandiſe; and that part of theſe commodities which was public property he deſtroyed. The Britiſh troops afterwards attacked and diſperſed ſome ſmall parties of the Americans, took ſome ſtores and a few pieces of cannon, and the 20th of the ſame month marched into Portſmouth. On the 25th, Captain Barclay, with ſeveral ſhips of war, and a body of troops under the command of Major Craig, arrived in Cape Fear river. The troops landed about nine miles from Wilmington, and on the 28th entered that town. It was underſtood that their having poſſeſſion of that town, and being maſters of Cape Fear river, would be productive of very beneficial effects to Lord Cornwallis's army.

General Greene having effected a junction about the 10th of March with a continental regiment of what were called *eighteen months men*, and two large bodies of militia belonging to Virginia and North Carolina, formed a reſolution to attack the Britiſh troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis. The American army marched from the High Rock Ford on the 12th of the month, and on the 14th arrived at Guildford. Lord Cornwallis, from the information he had received of the motions of the American general, concluded what were his deſigns. As they approached

approached more nearly to each other, a few ſkirmiſhes enſued between ſome advanced parties, in which the king's troops had the advantage. On the morning of the 15th, Lord Cornwallis marched with his troops at day-break in order to meet the Americans, or to attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard of the Britiſh army, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the Americans, conſiſting of Lieutenant-colonel Lee's legion, ſome Back Mountain men and Virginian militia, with whom he had a ſevere ſkirmiſh, but whom he at length obliged to retreat.

The greater part of the country in which the action happened is a wilderneſs, with a few cleared fields interſperſed. The American army, which was ſuperior to the royal in point of numbers, was poſted on a riſing ground about a mile and a half from Guildford court-houſe. It was drawn up in three lines: the front line was compoſed of the North Carolinian militia, under the command of the generals Butler and Eaton; the ſecond line of Virginian militia, commanded by the generals Stephens and Lawſon, forming two brigades; the third line, conſiſting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland continental troops, commanded by General Huger and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, with the dragoons of the firſt and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry compoſed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen under Colonel Lynch, formed a corps of obſervation for the ſecurity of their right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of obſervation for the ſecurity of their left flank. The attack on the American army was directed to be made by Lord Cornwallis in the following order: On the right, the regiment of Boſe and the ſeventy-firſt regiment, led by Major-general Leſlie, and ſupported by the firſt battalion of guards; on the left, the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by Lieutenant-colonel Webſter, and ſupported by the grenadiers and ſecond battalion of guards commanded by Brigadier-general O'Hara; the Yagers and light infantry of the guards remained in a wood on the left of the guns, and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumſtances might require.

About half an hour after one in the afternoon, the action commenced by a cannonade, which laſted about twenty minutes; when the Britiſh troops advanced in three columns and attacked the North Carolinian brigades with great vigour, and ſoon obliged part of theſe troops, who behaved very ill, to quit the field: but the Virginian militia gave them a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time, till being beaten back, the action became general almoſt every where. The

American corps under the lieutenant-colonels Washington and Lee were also warmly engaged, and did considerable execution. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, excepting to protect any of the corps from the most evident danger of being defeated. The excessive thickness of the woods rendered the British bayonets of little use, and enabled the broken corps of Americans to make frequent stands with an irregular fire. The second battalion of the guards first gained the clear ground near Guildford court-house, and found a corps of continental infantry, superior in number, formed in an open field on the left of the road. Desirous of signalizing themselves, they immediately attacked and soon defeated them, taking two six-pounders: but as they pursued the Americans into the wood with too much ardour, they were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire, and instantly charged and driven back into the field by Lieutenant-colonel Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the six-pounders they had taken. But the American cavalry were afterwards repulsed, and the two six-pounders again fell into the hands of the British troops. The spirited exertions of Brigadier-general O'Hara and of Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, greatly contributed to bring the action to a termination. The British troops having at length broken the second Maryland regiment, and turned the left flank of the Americans, got into the rear of the Virginian brigade, and appeared to be gaining their right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, when General Greene thought it prudent to order a retreat. Many of the American militia dispersed in the woods; but the continental troops retreated in good order to Reedy Fork River, and crossed at the Ford about three miles from the field of action, and there halted. When they had collected their stragglers, they retreated to the iron-works, ten miles distant from Guildford, where they encamped. They lost their artillery and two waggons laden with ammunition. It was a hard fought action, and lasted an hour and an half. Of the British troops, the loss, as stated by Lord Cornwallis, was five hundred and thirty-two killed, wounded, and missing. General Greene, in his account of the action transmitted to the congress, stated the loss of the continental troops to amount to three hundred and twenty-nine killed, wounded, and missing; but he made no estimate of the loss of the militia. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart was killed in the action; and Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and the captains Schutz, Maynard, and Goodriche, died of the wounds that they received in it. Brigadier-general O'Hara, Brigadier-general Howard, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton were also wounded. Of the Americans the principal officer killed was Major Anderson,

Anderſon of the Maryland line, and the generals Stephens and Huger were wounded.

The Britiſh troops underwent great hardſhips in the courſe of this campaign; and in a letter of Lord Cornwallis's to Lord George Germain, dated March 17th, he obſerved, that "the ſoldiers had been two days without bread." His lordſhip quitted Guildford three days after the battle which was fought in that place; and on the 7th of April arrived in the neighbourhood of Wilmington. Soon after, General Greene, notwithſtanding his late defeat, endeavoured to make ſome vigorous attempts againſt the king's forces in South Carolina. Lord Rawdon had been appointed to defend the poſt of Camden, with about eight hundred Britiſh and provincials; and on the 19th of April General Greene appeared before that place with a large body of continentials and militia. He found it, however, impoſſible to attempt to ſtorm the town with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and therefore endeavoured to take ſuch a poſition as ſhould induce the Britiſh troops to ſally from their works. He poſted the Americans about a mile from the town, on an eminence which was covered with woods, and flanked on the left by an impaſſable ſwamp. But on the morning of the 25th, Lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and with great gallantry attacked General Greene in his camp. The Americans made a vigorous reſiſtance, but were at laſt compelled to give way; and the purſuit is ſaid to have been continued three miles. For ſome time after the action commenced, General Gates entertained great hopes of defeating the Britiſh troops; in which, as the Americans were ſuperior in point of numbers, he would probably have ſucceeded, had not ſome capital military errors been committed by one or two of the officers who ſerved under him. On the American ſide Colonel Waſhington behaved extremely well in this action, having made upwards of two hundred of the Engliſh priſoners, with ten or twelve officers, before he perceived that the Americans were abandoning the field of battle. The loſs of the Engliſh was about one hundred killed and wounded. Upwards of one hundred of the Americans were taken priſoners; and, according to the account publiſhed by General Greene, they had one hundred and twenty-ſix killed and wounded. After this action, Greene retreated to Rugeley's mills, twelve miles from Camden, in order to collect his troops and wait for reinforcements.

Notwithſtanding the advantage which Lord Rawdon had obtained over General Greene at Camden, that nobleman ſoon after found it neceſſary to quit that poſt; and the Americans made themſelves maſters of ſeveral other poſts that were occupied by the king's troops, and the garriſons

garrifons of which were obliged to furrender themfelves prifoners of war. Thefe troops were afterwards exchanged under a cartel which took place between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene for the releafe of all prifoners of war in the fouthern diftrict. After thefe events, General Greene laid clofe fiege to Ninety-fix, which was confidered as the moft commanding and important of all the poits in the back-country; and on the 19th of June he attempted to ftorm the garrifon, but was repulfed by the gallantry of the Britifh troops, with the lofs, as it is faid, of feventy-five killed and one hundred and fifty wounded. General Greene then raifed the fiege, and retired with his army behind the Saluda, to a ftrong fituation within fixteen miles of Ninety-fix.

On the 18th of April a large body of Britifh troops, under the command of Major-general Philips and Brigadier-general Arnold, embarked at Portfmouth in Virginia, in order to proceed on an expedition for the purpofe of deftroying fome of the American ftores. A party of light-infantry were fent ten or twelve miles up the Chickahomany: where they deftroyed feveral armed fhips, fundry warehoufes, and the American ftate fhip yards. At Peterfburgh, the Engliih deftroyed four thoufand hogfheads of tobacco, one fhip, and a number of fmall veffels on the ftocks and in the river. At Chefterfield court-houfe, they burnt a range of barracks for two thoufand men and three hundred barrels of flour. At a place called *Ofborn's*, they made themfelves maflers of feveral veffels loaded with cordage and flour, and deftroyed about two thoufand hogfheads of tobacco, and fundry veffels were funk and burnt. At Warwick, they burnt a magazine of five hundred barrels of flour, fome fine mills belonging to Colonel Carey, a large range of public rope-walks and ftorehoufes, tan and bark houfes full of hides and bark, and great quantities of tobacco. A like deftruction of ftores and goods was made in other parts of Virginia.

From the account already given of fome of the principal military operations of the prefent year in America, it appears, that though confiderable advantages had been gained by the royal troops, yet no event had taken place from which it could rationally be expected that the final termination of the war would be favourable to Great Britain. It was alfo a difadvantageous circumftance that there was a mifunderftanding between Admiral Arbuthnot and Sir Henry Clinton, and a mutual difapprobation of each other's conduct. This was manifeft from their difpatches to government, and efpecially from thofe of General Clinton, whofe expreffions refpecting the conduct of the Admiral were by no means equivocal.

On the 16th of March 1781, a partial action happened off the Capes of Virginia, between the fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot, confifting of feven

ſhips of the line and one fifty-gun ſhip, and a French ſquadron, conſiſting of the ſame number of ſhips of the line and one forty-gun ſhip. Some of the ſhips in both fleets received conſiderable damage in the action, and the loſs of the Engliſh was thirty killed, and ſeventy-three wounded; but no ſhip was taken on either ſide. The Britiſh fleet had, however, conſiderably the advantage; as the French were obliged to retire, and were ſuppoſed to be prevented by this action from carrying troops up the Cheſapeak, in order to attack General Arnold and impede the progreſs of Lord Cornwallis. But it was an unfortunate circumſtance, that ſome time before this engagement the Romulus, a ſhip of forty-four guns, was captured by the French off the Capes of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis, after his victory over General Greene at Guildford, proceeded, as we have ſeen, to Wilmington, where he arrived on the 7th of April. But before he reached that place, he publiſhed a proclamation, calling upon all loyal ſubjects to ſtand forth and take an active part in reſtoring good order and government; and declaring to all perſons who had engaged in the preſent rebellion againſt his majeſty's authority, but who were now convinced of their error, and deſirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, that if they would ſurrender themſelves with their arms and ammunition at head quarters, or to the officer commanding in the diſtrict contiguous to their reſpective places of reſidence, on or before the 20th of that month, they would be permitted to return to their homes upon giving a military parole; they would be protected in their perſons and properties from all ſorts of violence from the Britiſh troops and would be reſtored as ſoon as poſſible to all the privileges of legal and conſtitutional government. But it does not appear that any conſiderable number of the Americans were allured by theſe promiſes to give any evidences of their attachment to the royal cauſe.

On the 20th of May, his Lordſhip arrived at Peterſburgh in Virginia, where he joined a body of Britiſh troops that had been under the command of Major-general Philips; but the command of which, in conſequence of the death of that officer, had devolved upon Brigadier-general Arnold. Before this junction he had encountered conſiderable inconveniences from the difficulty of procuring proviſions and forage; ſo that in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he informed him, that his cavalry wanted every thing, and his infantry every thing but ſhoes. He added, that he had experienced the diſtreſſes of marching hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hoſtile, without one active or uſeful friend, without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country.

On the 26th of June, about ſix miles from Williamſburgh, Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, and three hundred and fifty of the queen's rangers, with

with eighty mounted yagers, were attacked by a much ſuperior body of the Americans; but whom they repulſed with great gallantry and with equal ſucceſs, making four officers and twenty private men priſoners. The loſs of the Americans in this action is ſaid to have been upwards of one hundred and twenty, and that of the Britiſh troops not more than forty.

On the 6th of July an action happened near the Green Springs in Virginia, between a reconnoitring party of the Americans under General Wayne, amounting to about eight hundred, and a large part of the Britiſh army under Lord Cornwallis; in which the Americans had one hundred aud twenty-ſeven killed and wounded, and the loſs of the royal troops is ſuppoſed to have been conſiderably greater. It was an action in which no ſmall degree of military ſkill and courage was exhibited by the Americans. In a variety of ſkirmiſhes, the Marquis la Fayette very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and diſplayed the utmoſt ardour in the American cauſe.

In South Carolina, an action happened on the 9th of September near Eata Springs, between a large body of Britiſh troops under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Stuart and a much ſuperior body of Americans, ſaid to amount to more than four thouſand, under the command of General Greene. It was an obſtinate engagement, and laſted near two hours; but the Americans were defeated, and two of their ſix-pounders fell into the hands of the Engliſh. The loſs, however, of the royal troops was very conſiderable; amounting to more than four hundred killed and wounded, and upwards of two hundred miſſing.

In the courſe of the ſame month, General Arnold was ſent on an expedition againſt New London, in Connecticut, where he deſtroyed a a great part of the ſhipping, and an immenſe quantity of naval ſtores, European manufactures, and Eaſt and Weſt India commodities. The town itſelf was alſo burnt, which is ſaid to have been unavoidable on account of the exploſions of great quantities of gunpowder which happened to be in the ſtorehouſes that were ſet on fire. A fort, of which it was thought neceſſary to gain poſſeſſion in this expedition, was not taken without conſiderable loſs. This was fort Griſwold; which was defended by the Americans with great gallantry, and the aſſault was made by the Engliſh with equal bravery. The Britiſh troops entered the works with fixed bayonets, and were oppoſed with great vigour by the garriſon with long ſpears. After a moſt obſtinate defence of near forty minutes, the aſſailants gained poſſeſſion of the fort, in which eighty-five Americans were found dead, and ſixty wounded, moſt of them mortally. Of the Britiſh troops Major Montgomery was killed by a ſpear in

in entering the American works; and one hundred and ninety-two men were alſo killed and wounded in this expediton.

Notwithſtanding the ſignal advantages that Lord Cornwallis had obtained over the Americans, his ſituation in Virginia began by degrees to be very critical: and the rather becauſe he did not receive thoſe reinforcements and ſupplies from Sir Henry Clinton, of which he had formed expectations, and which he conceived to be neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his operations. Indeed, the commander in chief was prevented from ſending thoſe reinforcements to Lord Cornwallis which he otherwiſe might have done, by his fears reſpecting New York, againſt which he entertained great apprehenſions that General Waſhington intended to make a very formidable attack. In fact, that able American general appears to have taken much pains, and to have employed great fineſſe, in order to lead Sir Henry Clinton to entertain this imagination. Letters, expreſſive of this intention, fell into the hands of Sir Henry, which were manifeſtly written with a deſign that they ſhould be intercepted, and only with a view to amuſe and deceive the Britiſh general. The project was ſucceſsful; and by a variety of judicious military manœuvres, in which he completely out-generalled the Britiſh commander, he increaſed his apprehenſions about New York, and prevented him from ſending proper aſſiſtance to Lord Cornwallis. Having for a conſiderable time kept Sir Henry Clinton in perpetual alarm in New York, though with an army much inferior to the garriſon of that city, General Waſhington ſuddenly quitted his camp at White Plains, croſſed the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, apparently with a deſign to attack Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton then received information that the Count de Graſſe, with a large French fleet, was expected every moment in the Cheſapeak, in order to co-operate with General Waſhington. He immediately endeavoured, both by land and water, to communicate this information to Lord Cornwallis; and alſo ſent him aſſurances, that he would either reinforce him by every poſſible means in his power, or make the beſt diverſion he could in his favour. In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis had taken poſſeſſion of the poſts of York Town and Glouceſter in Virginia, where he fortified himſelf in the beſt manner he was able.

On the 28th of Auguſt, Sir Samuel Hood, with a ſquadron from the Weſt Indies, joined the ſquadron under the command of Admiral Graves before New York. It was then neceſſary, on account of the ſituation of Lord Cornwallis, that they ſhould immediately proceed to the Cheſapeak; but ſome time appears to have been needleſsly loſt, though Admiral Hood was extremely anxious that no delay might be

made. They arrived, however, in the Cheſapeak, on the 5th of September, with nineteen ſhips of the line; where they found the Count de Graſſe, who had anchored in that bay on the 30th of Auguſt with twenty-four ſhips of the line. The French admiral had previouſly landed a large body of troops, which had been brought from Rhode Iſland, and who immediately marched to join the American army under General Waſhington. The Britiſh and French fleets came to an action on the ſame day in which the former arrived in the Cheſapeak. On board the Britiſh fleet ninety were killed and two hundred and forty-ſix wounded: ſome of the ſhips were greatly damaged in the engagement; and the Terrible, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, was ſo much ſhattered, that it was afterwards found neceſſary to ſet fire to it. That this action had not been favourable to the Engliſh, was manifeſt from the event: the fleets continued in ſight of each other for five days ſucceſſively, and ſometimes were very near; but at length the French fleet all anchored within the Cape, ſo as to block up the paſſage. Admiral Graves, who was the commander in chief, then called a counſel of war, in which it was reſolved that the fleet ſhould proceed to New York, that the ſhips might be there put in the beſt ſtate for the ſervice: and thus were the French left maſters of the navigation of the Cheſapeak.

Before the news of this action had reached New York, a council of war was held there, in which it was reſolved, that five thouſand men ſhould be embarked on board the kings ſhips, in order to proceed to the aſſiſtance of Lord Cornwallis. But when it was known that the French were abſolute maſters of the navigation of the Cheſapeak, it was thought inexpedient to ſend off that reinforcement immediately. In another council of war, it was reſolved, that as Lord Cornwallis had proviſions to laſt him to the end of October, it was adviſable to wait for more favourable accounts from Admiral Graves, or for the arrival of Admiral Digby, who was expected with three ſhips of the line. It was not then known at New York, that Admiral Graves had determined to return with the whole fleet to that port.

In the mean time, the moſt effectual meaſures were adopted by General Waſhington for ſurrounding the Britiſh army under Lord Cornwallis. A large body of French troops under the command of Lieutenant-general the Count de Rochambeau, with a very conſiderable train of artillery, aſſiſted in the enterpriſe. The Americans amounted to near eight thouſand continentals, and five thouſand militia. General Waſhington was inveſted with the authority of commander in chief of theſe combined forces of America and France. On the 29th of September, the inveſtment of York Town was complete, and the Britiſh army

army quite blocked up. The day following Sir Henry Clinton wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis, containing aſſurances that he would do every thing in his power to relieve him, and ſome information concerning the ſteps that would be taken for that purpoſe. A duplicate of this letter was ſent to his Lordſhip by Major Cochran, on the 3d of October. That gentleman, who was a very gallant officer, went in a veſſel to the Capes, and made his way to Lord Cornwallis, through the whole French fleet, in an open boat. He got to York Town on the 10th of the month; and ſoon after his arrival had his head carried off by a cannon ball.

After the return of Admiral Graves to New York, a council of war was held, conſiſting of flag and general officers, in which it was reſolved, that a large body of troops ſhould be embarked on board the king's ſhips as ſoon as they were refitted, and that the exertions of both fleet and army ſhould be made in order to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton himſelf embarked on board the fleet, with upwards of ſeven thouſand troops, on the 18th; they arrived off Cape Charles, at the entrance of the Cheſapeak, on the 24th, where they received intelligence that Lord Cornwallis had been obliged to capitulate five days before.

It was on the 19th of October that Lord Cornwallis ſurrendered himſelf and his whole army, by capitulation, priſoners to the combined armies of America and France, under the command of General Waſhington. He made a defence ſuitable to the character he had before acquired for courage and military ſkill; but was compelled to ſubmit to untoward circumſtances and ſuperior numbers. It was agreed by the articles of capitulation, that the Britiſh troops were to be priſoners to the United States of America, and the ſeamen to the French king, to whoſe officers alſo the Britiſh veſſels found at York Town and Glouceſter were to be delivered up. The Britiſh priſoners amounted to more than ſix thouſand; but many of them, at the time of ſurrender, were incapable of duty. A conſiderable number of cannon, and a large quantity of military ſtores, fell into the hands of the Americans on this occaſion.

As no rational expectation now remained of a ſubjugation of the colonies, the military operations that ſucceeded in America were of little conſequence. Some inconſiderable actions and ſkirmiſhes did indeed take place after that event; in which the refugees chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and diſcovered an inveterate animoſity againſt the Americans. On the 5th of May 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York, being appointed to the command of the Britiſh troops in

America in the room of Sir Henry Clinton. Two days after his arrival, he wrote a letter to General Waſhington, acquainting him, that Admiral Digby was joined with himſelf in a commiſſion to treat for peace with the people of America; tranſmitting to him, at the ſame time, ſome papers tending to manifeſt the pacific diſpoſition of the government and people of Britain towards thoſe of America. He alſo deſired a paſſport for Mr. Morgan, who was appointed to tranſmit a ſimilar letter of compliment to the congreſs. General Waſhington declined ſigning any paſſport till he had taken the opinion of congreſs upon that meaſure; and by them he was directed to refuſe any paſſport for ſuch a purpoſe. However, another letter was ſent to General Waſhington, dated the 2d of Auguſt, and ſigned by Sir Guy Carleton and Rear Admiral Digby, in which they informed him, that they were acquainted by authority that negociations for a general peace had already commenced at Paris; that Mr. Grenville was inveſted with full powers to treat with all the parties at war; and was then at Paris in the execution of his commiſſion. They farther informed him, that his Majeſty, in order to remove all obſtacles to that peace which he ſo ardently wiſhed to reſtore, had commanded his miniſters to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independency of the thirteen provinces ſhould be propoſed by him, in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of making it the condition of a general treaty. But ſome jealouſies were entertained by the Americans, that it was the deſign of the Britiſh court either to diſunite them, or to bring them to treat of a peace ſeparately from their ally the king of France: they therefore reſolved, that any man, or body of men, who ſhould preſume to make any ſeparate or partial convention or agreement with the king of Great Britain, or with any commiſſioner or commiſſioners under the crown of Great Britain, ought to be conſidered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the United State of America; and alſo that thoſe ſtates could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain, unleſs they ſhould, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe, in poſitive or expreſs terms, acknowledge the independence of the ſaid ſtates. They likewiſe reſolved, that any propoſitions which might be made by the court of Great Britain, in any manner tending to violate the treaty ſubſiſting between them and the king of France, ought to be treated with every mark of indignity and contempt.

On the 30th of November, 1782, the proviſional articles of peace and reconciliation between Great Britain and the American States, were ſigned at Paris; by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence

dependence and ſovereignty of the United States of America. Theſe articles were ratified by a definitive treaty, September 3d, 1783. This peace was negociated on the part of Great Britain by Mr. Oſwald, and the definitive treaty was ſigned by Mr. Hartley; and on the part of the United States by John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin, Eſquires *.

Thus ended a long and arduous conflict, in which Great Britain expended near an hundred millions of money, with an hundred thouſand lives, and won nothing. America endured every cruelty and diſtreſs from her enemies; loſt many lives and much treaſure; but delivered herſelf from a foreign dominion, and gained a rank among the nations of the earth.

Holland acknowledged the independence of the United States on the 19th of April, 1782; Sweden, February 5th, 1783; Denmark, the 25th of February; Spain, in March, and Ruſſia, in July 1783.

No ſooner was peace reſtored by the difinitive treaty, and the Britiſh troops withdrawn from the country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. While an enemy was in the country, fear, which had firſt impelled the colonies to aſſociate in mutual defence, continued to operate as a band of political union. It gave to the reſolutions and recommendations of Congreſs the force of laws, and generally commanded a ready acquieſcence on the part of the State legiſlatures. Articles of confederation and perpetual union had been framed in Congreſs, and ſubmitted to the conſideration of the States, in the year 1778. Some of the States immediately acceded to them; but others, which had not unappropriated lands, heſitated to ſubſcribe a compact, which would give an advantage to the States which poſſeſſed large tracts of unlocated lands, and were thus capable of a great ſuperiority in wealth and population. All objections, however, had been overcome, and by the acceſſion of Maryland, in March 1781, the articles of confederation were ratified, as the frame of government for the United States.

Theſe articles, however, were framed during the rage of war, when a principle of common ſafety ſupplied the place of a coercive power in government, by men who could have had no experience in the art of governing an extenſive country, and under circumſtances the moſt critical and embarraſſing. To have offered to the people, at that time, a ſyſtem of government armed with the powers neceſſary to regulate and control the contending intereſts of Thirteen States, and the poſſeſſions of

* This Treaty, with other Papers, will be found in the Appendix to the Fourth Volume of this work.

millions

millions of people, might have raiſed a jealouſy between the States or in the minds of the people at large, that would have weakened the operations of the war, and perhaps have rendered an union impracticable. Hence the numerous defects of the confederation.

On the concluſion of peace, theſe defects began to be felt. Each ſtate aſſumed the right of diſputing the propriety of the reſolutions of Congreſs, and the intereſt of an individual State was placed in oppoſition to the common intereſt of the union. In addition to this ſource of diviſion, a jealouſy of the powers of Congreſs began to be excited in the minds of the people.

This jealouſy of the privileges of freemen had been rouſed by the oppreſſive acts of the Britiſh parliament: and no ſooner had the danger from this quarter ceaſed, than the fears of people changed their object, and were turned againſt their own rulers.

In this ſituation, there were not wanting men of induſtry and talents, who had been enemies to the revolution, and who embraced the opportunity to multiply the apprehenſions of the people, and increaſe the popular diſcontents. A remarkable inſtance of this happenedin Connecticut. As ſoon as the tumults of war had ſubſided, an attempt was made to convince the people, that the act of Congreſs paſſed in 1778, granting to the officers of the army half-pay for life, was highly unjuſt and tyrannical; and that it was but the firſt ſtep towards the eſtabliſhment of penſions, and an uncontroulable deſpotiſm. The act of Congreſs, paſſed in 1783, commuting half-pay for life, for five years full pay, was deſigned to appeaſe the apprehenſions of the people, and to convince them that this gratuity was intended merely to indemnify the officers for their loſſes by the depreciating of the paper currency, and not to eſtabliſh a precedent for the granting of penſions. This act, however, did not ſatisfy the people, who ſuppoſed that the officers had been generally indemnified for the loſs of their pay by the grants made them from time to time by the legiſlatures of the ſeveral States. Beſides, the act, while it gave five years full pay to the officers, allowed but one year's pay to the privates; a diſtinction which had great influence in exciting and continuing the popular ferment, and one that turned a large ſhare of the public rage againſt the officers themſelves.

The moment an alarm was raiſed reſpecting this act of Congreſs, the enemies of their independence became active in blowing up the flame, by ſpreading reports unfavourable to the general government, and tending to create public diſſenſions. Newſpapers, in ſome parts of the country, were filled with inflammatory publications; while falſe reports, and groundleſs inſinuations were induſtriouſly circulated to the prejudice

prejudice of Congreſs, and the officers of the late army. Among a people feelingly alive to every thing that could affect the rights for which they had been contending, theſe reports could not fail of having a powerful effect; the clamour ſoon became general; the officers of the army, it was believed, had attempted to raiſe their fortunes on the diſtreſſes of their fellow-citizens, and Congreſs become the tyrants of their country.

Connecticut was the ſeat of this uneaſineſs; although other States were much agitated on the occaſion. But the inhabitants of that State accuſtomed to order, and a due ſubordination to the laws, did not proceed to outrages; they took their uſual mode of collecting the ſenſe of the State—aſſembled in town meetings—appointed committees to meet in convention, and conſult what meaſures ſhould be adopted to procure a redreſs of their grievances. In this convention, which was held at Middletown, ſome nugatory reſolves were paſſed, expreſſing the diſapprobation of the half-pay act, and the ſubſequent commutation of the grant for five years whole pay. The ſame ſpirit alſo diſcovered itſelf in the aſſembly at their October ſeſſion, 1783. A remonſtrance againſt the acts in favour of the officers was framed in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and notwithſtanding the Upper Houſe refuſed to concur in the meaſure, it was ſent to Congreſs.

During this ſituation of affairs, the public odium againſt the officers was augmented by another circumſtance. The officers, juſt before the diſbanding of the army, as has already been noticed, had formed a ſociety, called by the name of the *Cincinnati*.

Whatever were the real views of the framers of this inſtitution its deſign was generally underſtood to be harmleſs and honourable. The oſtenſible views of the ſociety could not however ſcreen it from popular jealouſly.

Notwithſtanding the diſcontents of the people were general, and ready to burſt forth in ſedition, yet men of information, viz. the officers of government, the clergy, and perſons of liberal education, were moſtly oppoſed to the unconſtitutional ſteps taken by the committees and convention at Middletown. They ſupported the propriety of the meaſures of Congreſs, both by converſation and writing, proved that ſuch grants to the army were neceſſary to keep the troops together, and that the expence would not be enormous nor oppreſſive. During the cloſe of the year 1783, every poſſible exertion was made to enlighten the people, and ſuch was the effect of the arguments uſed by the minority, that in the beginning of the following year, the oppoſition ſubſided, the committees were diſmiſſed, and tranquillity reſtored

to

to the State. In May, the legiſlature were able to carry ſeveral meaſures which had before been extremely unpopular. An act was paſſed granting the impoſt of five per cent. to Congreſs; another giving great encouragement to commerce; and ſeveral towns were incorporated with extenſive privileges, for the purpoſe of regulating the exports of the State, and facilitating the collection of debts.

The oppoſition to the congreſſional acts in favour of the officers, and to the order of the Cincinnati, did not riſe to the ſame pitch in the other States as in Connecticut; yet it produced much diſturbance in Maſſachuſetts, and ſome others. Jealouſy of power had been univerſally ſpread among the people of the United States. The deſtruction of the old forms of governments, and the licentiouſneſs of war, had, in a great meaſure, broken their habits of obedience; their paſſions had been inflamed by the cry of deſpotiſm; and like centinels, who have been ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the approach of an enemy, the ruſtling of a leaf was ſufficient to give them an alarm. This ſpirit of jealouſy operated with other cauſes to relax the energy of federal operations.

During the war, vaſt ſums of paper currency had been emitted by Congreſs, and large quantities of ſpecie had been introduced, towards the cloſe of the war, by the French army, and the Spaniſh trade. This plenty of money enabled the States to comply with the firſt requiſitions of Congreſs; ſo that during two or three years, the federal treaſury was, in ſome meaſure, ſupplied. But when the danger of war had ceaſed, and the vaſt importations of foreign goods had leſſened the quantity of circulating ſpecie, the States began to be very remiſs in furniſhing their proportion of monies. The annihilation of the credit of the paper bills had totally ſtopped their circulation, and the ſpecie was leaving the country in cargoes for remittances to Great Britain; ſtill the luxurious habits of the people, contracted during the war, called for new ſupplies of goods, and private gratification ſeconded the narrow policy of ſtate intereſt in defeating the operations of the general government.

Thus the revenues of Congreſs were annually diminiſhing; ſome of the States wholly neglecting to make proviſion for paying the intereſt of the national debt; others making but a partial proviſion, until the ſcanty ſupplies received from a few of the richeſt States, would hardly ſatisfy the demands of the civil liſt.

This weakneſs of the federal government, in conjunction with the flood of certificates or public ſecurities, which Congreſs could neither fund nor pay, occaſioned them to depreciate to a very inconſiderable value. The officers and ſoldiers of the late army, and thoſe who furniſhed

niſhed ſupplies for public exigencies, were obliged to receive for wages theſe certificates, or promiſſary notes, which paſſed at a fifth, an eighth, or a tenth, of their nominal value; being thus deprived at once of the greateſt part of the reward due for their ſervices. Some indeed profited by ſpeculations in theſe evidences of the public debt; but ſuch as were under a neceſſity of parting with them, were robbed of that ſupport which they had a right to expect and demand from their countrymen.

Pennſylvania indeed made a proviſion for paying the intereſt of her debts, both ſtate and federal; aſſuming her ſuppoſed proportion of the continental debt, and giving the creditors of her own State notes in exchange for thoſe of the United States. The reſources of that State are immenſe, but ſhe was not able to make punctual payments, even in a depreciated paper currency.

Maſſachuſetts, in her zeal to comply fully with the requiſitions of Congreſs, and ſatisfy the demands of her own creditors, laid a heavy tax upon the people. This was the immediate cauſe of the rebellion in that State, in 1786. But a heavy debt lying on the State, added to burdens of the ſame nature, upon almoſt every corporation within it; a decline, or rather an extinction of public credit; a relaxation and corruption of manners, and a free uſe of foreign luxuries; a decay of trade and manufactures, with a prevailing ſcarcity of money; and, above all, individuals involved in debt to each other. Theſe were the real, though more remote cauſes of the inſurrection. It was the tax which the people were required to pay, that cauſed them to feel the evils which we have enumerated—this called forth all their other grievances; and the firſt act of violence committed was the burning or deſtroying of the tax-bill. This ſedition threw the State into a convulſion which laſted about a year; courts of juſtice were violently obſtructed; the collection of debts was ſuſpended; and a body of armed troops, under the command of General Lincoln, was employed during the winter of 1786, to diſperſe the inſurgents. Yet ſo numerous were the latter in the counties of Worceſter, Hampſhire, and Berkſhire, and ſo obſtinately combined to oppoſe the execution of law by force, that the governor and council of the State thought proper not to intruſt General Lincoln with military powers, except to act on the defenſive, and to repel force with force, in caſe the inſurgents ſhould attack him. The leaders of the rebels, however, were not men of talents; they were deſperate, but without fortitude; and even while they were ſupported with a ſuperior force, they appeared to be impreſſed with that conſciouſneſs of guilt, which awes the moſt daring wretch, and makes him ſhrink from his purpoſe. This appears by the conduct of a large

party of the rebels before the magazine at Springfield, where General Shepard, with a ſmall guard, was ſtationed to protect the continental ſtores. The inſurgents appeared upon the plain, with a vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, but a few ſhot from the artillery made the multitude retreat in diſorder with the loſs of four men. This ſpirited conduct of General Shepard, with the induſtry, perſeverance, and prudent firmneſs of General Lincoln, diſperſed the rebels—drove the leaders from the State, and reſtored tranquillity. An act of indemnity was paſſed in the legiſlature for all the inſurgents, except a few of the leaders, on condition they ſhould become peaceable ſubjects, and take the oath of allegiance. The leaders afterwards petitioned for pardon, which, from motives of policy, was granted by the legiſlature.*

But the loſs of public credit, popular diſturbances, and inſurrections, were not the only evils which were generated by the peculiar circumſtances of the times. The emiſſions of bills of credit and tender laws were added to the black catalogue of political diſorders.

The expedient of ſupplying the deficiencies of ſpecie, by emiſſions of paper bills, was adopted very early in the colonies. The expedient was obvious and produced good effects. In a new country, where population is rapid, and the value of lands increaſing, the farmer finds an advantage in paying legal intereſt for money; for if he can pay the intereſt by his profits, the increaſing value of his lands will in a few years diſcharge the principal.

In no colony was this advantage more ſenſibly experienced than in Pennſylvania. The emigrations to that province were numerous—the natural population rapid—and theſe circumſtances combined, advanced the value of real property to an aſtoniſhing degree. As the firſt ſettlers there, as well as in other provinces, were poor, the purchaſe of a few foreign articles drained them of ſpeice. Indeed for many years, the balance of trade muſt have neceſſarily been greatly againſt the colonies.

But bills of credit, emitted by the State, and loaned to the induſtrious inhabitants, ſupplied the want of ſpecie, and enabled the farmer to purchaſe ſtock. Theſe bills were generally a legal tender in all colonial or private contracts, and the ſums iſſued did not generally exceed the quantity requiſite for a medium of trade; they retained their full nominal value in the purchaſe of commodities: but as they were not received by the Britiſh merchants, in payment of their goods, there was a great demand for ſpecie and bills, which occaſioned the latter at

* See an elegant and impartial Hiſtory of this Rebellion, by George Richards Minot, Eſq.

various

various times to appreciate. Thus was introduced a difference between the Engliſh ſterling money and the currencies of the colonies, which remains to this day. *

The advantages the colonies had derived from bills of credit, under the Britiſh government ſuggeſted to Congreſs, in 1775, the idea of iſſuing bills for the purpoſe of carrying on the war; and this was perhaps their only expedient. Money could not be raiſed by taxation—it could not be borrowed. The firſt emiſſions had no other effect upon the medium of commerce, than to drive the ſpecie from circulation. But when the paper ſubſtituted for ſpecie had, by repeated emiſſions, augmented the ſum in circulation, much beyond the uſual ſum of ſpecie, the bills began to loſe their value. The depreciation continued in proportion to the ſums emitted, until ſeventy, and even one hundred and fifty nominal paper dollars, were hardly an equivalent for one Spaniſh milled dollar. Still, from the year 1775 to 1781, this depreciating paper currency was almoſt the only medium of trade. It ſupplied the place of ſpecie, and enabled Congreſs to ſupport a numerous army; until the ſum in circulation amounted to two hundred millions of dollars. But about the year 1780, ſpecie began to be plentiful, being introduced by the French army, a private trade with the Spaniſh iſlands, and an illicit intercourſe with the Britiſh garriſon at New York. This circumſtance accelerated the depreciation of paper bills, until their value had ſunk almoſt to nothing. In 1781, the merchants and brokers in the ſouthern States, apprehenſive of the approaching fate of the currency, puſhed immenſe quantities of it ſuddenly into New England—made vaſt purchaſes of goods in Boſton—and inſtantly the bills vaniſhed from circulation.

The whole hiſtory of this continental paper is a hiſtory of public and private frauds. Old ſpecie debts were often paid in a depreciated currency—and even new contracts for a few weeks or days were often diſcharged with a ſmall part of the value received. From this plenty and fluctuating ſtate of the medium ſprung hoſts of ſpeculators and itinerant traders, who left their honeſt occupations for the proſpect of immenſe gains, in a fraudulent buſineſs, that depended on no fixed principles, and the profits of which could be reduced to no certain calculations.

To increaſe theſe evils, a project was formed to fix the prices of

* A Dollar in ſterling money is 4s. 6d. But the price of a Dollar roſe in New England currency to 6s. in New York to 8s. in New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, and Maryland to 7s. 6d. in Virginia to 6s. in North Carolina to 8s. in South Carolina and Georgia to 4s. 8d. This difference, originating between paper and ſpecie, or bills, continued afterwards to exiſt in the nominal eſtimation of gold and ſilver.

articles, and reſtrain perſons from giving or receiving more for any commodity than the price ſtated by authority. Theſe regulating acts were reprobated by every man acquainted with commerce and finance; as they were intended to prevent an effect without removing the cauſe. To attempt to fix the value of money, while ſtreams of bills were inceſſantly flowing from the treaſury of the United States, was as ridiculous as an attempt to reſtrain the riſing of water in rivers amidſt ſhowers of rain.

Notwithſtanding all oppoſition, ſome States framed and attempted to enforce theſe regulating acts. The effect was, a momentary apparent ſtand in the price of articles; innumerable acts of colluſion and evaſion among the diſhoneſt; numberleſs injuries done to the honeſt; and finally a total diſregard of all ſuch regulations, and the conſequential contempt of laws and the authority of the magiſtrate.

During theſe fluctuations of buſineſs, occaſioned by the variable value of money, people loſt ſight, in ſome meaſure, of the ſteady principles which had before governed their intercourſe with each other. Speculation followed and relaxed the rigour of commercial obligations.

Induſtry likewiſe had ſuffered by the flood of money which had deluged the States. The prices of produce had riſen in proportion to the quantity of money in circulation, and the demand for the commodities of the country. This made the acquiſition of money eaſy, and indolence and luxury, with their train of deſolating conſequences, ſpread themſelves among all deſcriptions of people.

But as ſoon as hoſtilities between Great Britain and America were ſuſpended, the ſcene was changed. The bills emitted by Congreſs had for ſome time before ceaſed to circulate; and the ſpecie of the country was ſoon drained off to pay for foreign goods, the importations of which exceeded all calculation. Within two years from the cloſe of the war, *a ſcarcity of money* was the general cry. The merchants found it impoſſible to collect their debts, and make punctual remittances to their creditors in Great Britain; and the conſumers were driven to the neceſſity of retrenching their ſurperfluities in living, and of returning to their ancient habits of induſtry and economy.

This change was however progreſſive and ſlow. In many of the States which ſuffered by the numerous debts they had contracted, and by the diſtreſſes of war, the people called aloud for emiſſions of paper bills to ſupply the deficiency of a medium. The depreciation of the continental bills was a recent example of the ill effects of ſuch an expedient, and the impoſſibility of ſupporting the credit of paper was urged by the oppoſers of the meaſure as a ſubſtantial argument againſt

adopting

adopting it. But nothing would ſilence the popular clamor; and many men of the firſt talents and eminence united their voices with that of the populace. Paper money had formerly maintained its credit, and been of ſingular utility: and paſt experience, notwithſtanding a change of circumſtances, was an argument in its favour that bore down all oppoſition.

Pennſylvania, although one of the richeſt States in the union, was the firſt to emit bills of credit, as a ſubſtitute for ſpecie. But the revolution had removed the neceſſity of it, at the ſame time that it had deſtroyed the means by which its former credit had been ſupported. Lands, at the cloſe of the war, were not riſing in value—bills on London could not ſo readily be purchaſed, as while the province was dependent on Great Britain—the State was ſplit into parties, one of which attempted to defeat the meaſures moſt popular with the other—and the depreciation of continental bills, with the injuries which it had done to individuals, inſpired a general diſtruſt of all public promiſes.

Notwithſtanding a part of the money was loaned on good landed ſecurity, and the faith of that wealthy State pledged for the redemption of the whole at its nominal value, yet the advantages of ſpecie as a medium of commerce, eſpecially as an article of remittance to London, ſoon made a difference of ten per cent. between the bills of credit and ſpecie. This difference may be conſidered rather as an appreciation of gold and ſilver, than a depreciation of paper; but its effects, in a commercial ſtate, muſt be highly prejudicial. It opens the door to frauds of all kinds, and frauds are uſually practiſed on the honeſt and unſuſpecting, eſpecially upon all claſſes of labourers.

North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, had recourſe to the ſame wretched expedient to ſupply themſelves with money; not reflecting that induſtry, frugality, and good commercial laws are the only means of turning the balance of trade in favour of a country, and that this balance is the only permanent ſource of ſolid wealth and ready money. But the bills they emitted ſhared a worſe fate than thoſe of Pennſylvania; they expelled almoſt all the circulating caſh from the States; they loſt a great part of their nominal value, they impoveriſhed the merchants, and embarraſſed the planters.

The State of Virginia tolerated a baſe practice among the inhabitants of cutting dollars and ſmaller pieces of ſilver, in order to prevent it from leaving the State. This pernicious practice prevailed alſo in Georgia *.

* A Dollar was uſually cut in five pieces, and each paſſed by toll for a quarter; ſo that the man who cut it gained a quarter, or rather a fifth.

Maryland

Maryland escaped the calamity of a paper currency. The house of delegates brought forward a bill for the emission of bills of credit to a large amount; but the senate firmly and successfully resisted the pernicious scheme. The opposition between the two houses was violent and tumultuous; it threatened the State with anarchy; but the question was carried to the people, and the good sense af the Senate finally prevailed.

New Jersey is situated between two of the largest commercial towns in America, and consequently drained of specie. This state also emitted a large sum in bills of credit, which served to pay the interest of the public debt; but the currency depreciated, as in other States.

Rhode Island exhibited a melancholy proof of that licentiousness and anarchy which always follows a relaxation of the moral principles. In a rage for supplying the State with money, and filling every man's pocket without obliging him to earn it by his diligence, the legislature passed an act for making one hundred thousand pounds in bills; a sum much more than sufficient for a medium of trade in that State, even without any specie. The merchants in Newport and Providence opposed the act with firmness; and their opposition added fresh vigor to the resolution of the assembly, and induced them to enforce the scheme by a legal tender of a most extraordinary nature. They passed an act, ordaining that if any creditor should refuse to take their bills, for any debt whatever, the debtor might lodge the sum due, with a justice of the peace, who should give notice of it in the public papers; and if the creditor did not appear and receive the money within six months from the first notice, his debt should be forfeited. This act astonished all honest men; and even the promoters of paper money-making in other States, and other principles, reprobated this act of Rhode Island, as wicked and oppressive. But the State was governed by faction. During the cry for paper money, a number of boisterous, ignorant men were elected into the legislature, from the smaller towns in the State. Finding themselves united with a majority in opinion, they formed and executed any plan their inclination suggested; they opposed every measure that was agreeable to the mercantile interest; they not only made bad laws to suit their own wicked purposes, but appointed their own corrupt creatures to fill the judicial and executive departments. Their money depreciated sufficiently to answer all their vile purposes in the discharge of debts—business almost totally ceased, all confidence was lost, the State was thrown into confusion at home, and was execrated abroad.

Massachusetts Bay had the good fortune, amidst her political calamities,

ties, to prevent an emiſſion of bills of credit. New Hampſhire made no paper; but in the diſtreſſes which followed her loſs of buſineſs after the war, the legiſlature made horſes, lumber, and moſt articles of produce, a legal tender in the fulfilment of contracts. It is doubtleſs unjuſt to oblige a creditor to receive any thing for his debt, which he had not in contemplation at the time of the contract. But as the commodities which were to be a tender by law, in New Hampſhire, were of an intrinſic value, bearing ſome proportion to the amount of the debt, the injuſtice of the law was leſs flagrant than that which enforced the tender of paper in Rhode Iſland. Indeed a ſimilar law prevailed for ſome time in Maſſachuſetts; and in Connecticut it is optional with the creditor, either to impriſon the debtor or take land on execution at a price to be fixed by three indifferent freeholders; provided no other means of payment ſhall appear to ſatisfy the demand. It muſt not, however, be omitted, that while the moſt flouriſhing commercial States introduced a paper medium, to the great injury of honeſt men, a bill for an emiſſion of paper in Connecticut, where there is very little ſpecie, could never command more than one eighth of the votes of the legiſlature. The movers of the bill have hardly eſcaped ridicule; ſo generally is the meaſure reprobated as a ſource of frauds and public miſchief.

The legiſlature of New York, a State that had the leaſt neceſſity and apology for making paper money, as her commercial advantages always furniſh her with ſpecie ſufficient for a medium, iſſued a large ſum in bills of credit, which ſupported their value better than the currency of any other State. Still the paper raiſed the value of ſpecie, which is always in demand for exportation, and this difference of exchange between paper and ſpecie ever expoſes commerce to moſt of the inconveniences reſulting from a depreciated medium.

Such is the hiſtory of paper money thus far; a miſerable ſubſtitute for real coin, in a country where the reins of government are too weak to compel the fulfilment of public engagements, and where all confidence in public faith is totally deſtroyed.

While the States were thus endeavouring to repair the loſs of ſpecie by empty promiſes, and to ſupport their buſineſs by ſhadows, rather than by reality, the Britiſh miniſtry formed ſome commercial regulations that deprived them of the profits of their trade to the Weſt Indies and Great Britain. Heavy duties were laid upon ſuch articles as were remitted to the London merchants for their goods, and ſuch were the duties upon American bottoms, that the States were almoſt wholly deprived of the carrying trade. A prohibition was laid upon the produce

duce of the United States, ſhipped to the Engliſh Weſt India Iſlands in American built veſſels, and in thoſe manned by American ſeamen. Theſe reſtrictions fell heavy upon the eaſtern States, which depended much upon ſhip-building for the ſupport of their trade; and they materially injured the buſineſs of the other States.

Without a union that was able to form and execute a general ſyſtem of commercial regulations, ſome of the States attempted to impoſe reſtraints upon the Britiſh trade that ſhould indemnify the merchant for the loſſes he had ſuffered, or induce the Britiſh miniſtry to enter into a commercial treaty, and relax the rigour of their navigation laws. Theſe meaſures however produced nothing but miſchief. The States did not act in concert, and the reſtraints laid on the trade of one State operated to throw the buſineſs into the hands of its neighbour. Maſſachuſetts, in her zeal to counteract the effect of the Engliſh navigation laws, laid enormous duties upon Britiſh goods imported into that State; but the other States did not adopt a ſimilar meaſure; and the loſs of buſineſs ſoon obliged that State to repeal or ſuſpend the law. Thus when Pennſylvania laid heavy duties on Britiſh goods, Delaware and New Jerſey made a number of free ports to encourage the landing of goods within the limits of thoſe States; and the duties in Pennſylvania ſerved no purpoſe but to create ſmuggling.

Thus divided, the States began to feel their weakneſs: moſt of the legiſlatures had neglected to comply with the requiſitions of Congreſs for furniſhing the federal treaſury; the reſolves of Congreſs were diſregarded; the propoſition for a general impoſt to be laid and collected by Congreſs was negatived, firſt by Rhode Iſland, and afterwards by New York. The Britiſh troops continued, under pretence of a breach of treaty on the part of America, to hold poſſeſſion of the forts on the frontiers of the States. Many of the States individually were infeſted with popular commotions or iniquitous tender laws, while they were oppreſſed with public debts; the certificates or public notes had loſt moſt of their value, and circulated merely as the objects of ſpeculation; Congreſs loſt their reſpectability, and the United States their credit and importance.

The untoward events which followed the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, though evils of themſelves, were over-ruled for great national good. From the failure of their expectations of an immediate increaſe of political happineſs, the lovers of liberty and independence began to be leſs ſanguine in their hopes from the American revolution, and to fear that they had built a viſionary fabric of government on the fallacious ideas of public virtue; but that elaſticity of the human mind, which is nurtured

nurtured by free conſtitutions, kept them from deſponding. By an exertion of thoſe inherent principles of ſelf-preſervation, which republics poſſeſs, a recurrence was had to the good ſenſe of the people for the rectification of fundamental diſorders. While the country, free from foreign force and domeſtic violence, enjoyed tranquillity, a propoſition was made by Virginia to all the other States to meet in convention, for the purpoſe of digeſting a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the union. The firſt motion for this purpoſe was made by Mr. Maddiſon, and he had the pleaſure of ſeeing it acceded to by twelve of the States, and finally to iſſue in the eſtabliſhment of a New Conſtitution, which bids fair to repay the citizens of the United States for the toils, dangers, and waſtes of the revolution. The fundamental diſtinction between the articles of confederation and the new conſtitution lies in this; the former acted only on States, the latter on individuals; the former could neither raiſe men nor money by its own authority, but lay at the diſcretion of thirteen different legiſlatures, and without their unanimous concurrence was unable to provide for the public ſafety, or for the payment of the national debt. The experience of ſeveral years had proved the impoſſibility of a government anſwering the end of its inſtitution, which was dependent on others for the means neceſſary for attaining theſe ends. By the new conſtitution, one legiſlative, executive, and judicial power pervades the whole union. This enſures an uniform obſervance of treaties, and gives a ſtability to the general government, which never could be attained while the acts and requiſitions of Congreſs were ſubject to the reviſion of thirteen legiſlatures, and while thirteen diſtinct and unconnected judiciaries had a conſtitutional right to decide on the ſame ſubject. The people of the United States gave no new powers to their rulers, but made a more judicious arrangement of what they had formerly ceded. They enlarged the powers of the general government, not by taking from the people, but from the State legiſlatures. They took from the latter a power of levying duties on the importation of merchandiſe from foreign countries, and transferred it to Congreſs for the common benefit of the union. They alſo inveſted the general government with a power to regulate trade, levy taxes and internal duties on the inhabitants. That theſe enlarged powers might be uſed only with caution and deliberation, Congreſs, which formerly conſiſted of only one body, was made to conſiſt of two; one of which was to be choſen by the people in proportion to their numbers, the other by the State legiſlatures. The execution of the acts of this compounded le-

giſlature was committed to a Supreme Magiſtrate, with the title of Preſident. The conſtitution, of which theſe were the principal features, was ſubmitted to the people for ratification. Animated debates took place on the propriety of eſtabliſhing or rejecting it. Some States, who from their local ſituation were benefited by receiving impoſt duties into their treaſuries, were averſe from the giving of them up to the union. Others, who were conſuming but not importing States, had an intereſted inducement of an oppoſite kind, to ſupport the propoſed new conſtitution. The proſpects of increaſed employment for ſhipping, and the enlargement of commerce, weighed with thoſe States which abounded in ſailors and ſhips, and alſo with ſea-port towns, to advocate the adoption of the new ſyſtem; but thoſe States, or parts of States, which depended chiefly on agriculture, were afraid that zeal for encouraging an American marine, by narrowing the grounds of competition among foreigners for purchaſing and carrying their produce, would leſſen their profits. Some of this deſcription therefore conceived that they had a local intereſt in refuſing the new ſyſtem.

Individuals who had great influence in State legiſlatures, or who held profitable places under them, were unwilling to adopt a government which, by diminiſhing the power of the States, would eventually diminiſh their own importance: others, who looked forward to ſeats in the general government, or for offices under its authority, had the ſame intereſted reaſon for ſupporting its adoption. Some from jealouſy of liberty were afraid of giving too much power to their rulers; others, from an honeſt ambition to aggrandize their country, were for paving the way to national greatneſs by melting down the ſeparate States into a national maſs. The former feared the new conſtitution; the latter gloried in it. Almoſt every paſſion which could agitate the human breaſt, intereſted States and individuals for and againſt the adoption of the propoſed plan of government: ſome whole claſſes of people were in its favour. The maſs of public creditors expected payment of their debts from the eſtabliſhment of an efficient government, and were therefore decidedly for it adoption. Such as lived on ſalaries, and thoſe who, being clear of debt, wiſhed for a fixed medium of circulation and the free courſe of law, were friends of a conſtitution which prohibited the iſſuing of paper money and all interference between debtor and creditor. In addition to theſe, the great body of independent men, who ſaw the neceſſity of an energetic general government, and who, from the jarring intereſts of the different

ſent State, could not foreſee any probability of getting a better one than was propoſed, gave their ſupport to what the federal convention had projected, and their influence effected its eſtabliſhment. After a full conſideration, and thorough diſcuſſion of its principles, it was ratified by the conventions of eleven of the original Thirteen States, and the acceſſion of the other two was ſoon expected.* The ratification of it was celebrated in moſt of the capitals of the States with elegant proceſſions, which far exceeded any thing of the kind ever before exhibited in America. Time and experience only can fully diſcover the effects of this new diſtribution of the powers of government; but in theory it ſeems well calculated to unite liberty with ſafety, and to lay the foundation of national greatneſs, while it abridges none of the rights of the States, or of the people.

The new conſtitution having been ratified by eleven of the States, and ſenators and repreſentatives having been choſen agreeably to the articles thereof, they met at New York, and commenced proceedings under it. The old Congreſs and confederation, like the continental money, expired without a ſigh or groan, in April 1789. A new Congreſs, with more ample powers, and a new conſtitution, partly national, and partly federal, ſucceeded in their place, to the great joy of all who wiſhed for the happineſs of the United States.

Though great diverſity of opinions had prevailed about the new conſtitution, there was but one opinion about the perſon who ſhould be appointed its ſupreme executive officer. The people, as well anti-

* The following exhibits at one view the order, time, &c. in which the ſeveral States ratified the Federal Conſtitution:

					Majority.
Delaware,	December	3,	1787,	unanimouſly	
Pennſylvania,	December	13,		46 to 23	23
New Jerſey,	December	19,		unanimouſly	
Georgia,	January	2,	1788,	unanimouſly	
Connecticut,	January	9,		128 to 40	88
Maſſachuſetts,	February	6,		187 to 168	19
Maryland,	April	28		63 to 12	51
South Carolina,	May	23		149 to 73	76
New Hampſhire,	June	21		57 to 46	11
Virginia,	June	25		89 to 79	10
New York,	July	26		30 to 25	5
North Carolina	November	27	1789,	193 to 75	118
Rhode Iſland,	May	29	1790,		2
Vermont,	January	10	1791,	by a great majority.	
Kentucky,					

federaliſts as federaliſts, (for by theſe names the parties for and againſt the new conſtitution were called) unanimouſly turned their eyes on the late commander of their armies, as the moſt proper perſon to be their firſt Preſident. Perhaps there was not a well-informed individual in the United States, (Mr. Waſhington himſelf only excepted) who was not anxious that he ſhould be called to the executive adminiſtration of the propoſed new plan of government. Unambitious of farther honours he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and hoped to be excuſed from all farther public ſervice; but his country called him by an unanimous vote to fill the higheſt ſtation in its gift. That honeſt zeal for the public good, which had uniformly influenced him to devote both his time and talents to the ſervice of his country, got the better of his love of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the great buſineſs of making a nation happy. The intelligence of his election being communicated to him, while on his farm in Virginia, he ſet out ſoon after for New-York. On his way thither, the road was crowded with numbers anxious to ſee the Man of the people. Eſcorts of militia, and of gentlemen of the firſt character and ſtation, attended him from State to State, and he was every where received with the higheſt honours which a grateful and admiring people could confer. Addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to him by the inhabitants of almoſt every place of conſequence through which he paſſed, to all of which he returned ſuch modeſt, unaſſuming anſwers as were in every reſpect ſuitable to his ſituation. So great were the honours with which he was loaded, that they could ſcarcely have failed to produce haughtineſs in the mind of any ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever diſcovered in this extraordinary perſonage. On all occaſions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great in deſerving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated with them.

Gray's-Bridge over the Schuylkill, which Mr. Waſhington had to paſs, was highly decorated with laurels and evergreens. At each end of it were erected magnificent arches compoſed of laurels, emblematical of the ancient Roman triumphal arches; and on each ſide of the bridge was a laurel ſhrubbery. As Mr. Waſhington paſſed the bridge, a youth ornamented with ſprigs of laurel, aſſiſted by machinery, let drop above his head, though unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. Upwards of twenty thouſand citizens lined the fences, fields, and avenues, between the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. Through theſe he was conducted to the city, by a numerous and reſpectable body of the

the citizens, where he partook of an elegant entertainment provided for him. The pleaſures of the day were ſucceeded by a handſome diſplay of fireworks in the evening.

When Mr. Waſhington croſſed the Delaware, and landed on the Jerſey ſhore, he was ſaluted with three cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was diſplayed in large figures, *December* 26th 1776. On the ſweep of the arch, beneath was this inſcription, *The defender of the Mothers will alſo protect their Daughters.* On the north ſide were ranged a number of young girls dreſſed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and baſkets of flowers on their arms; in the ſecond row ſtood the young ladies, and behind them the married ladies of the town. The inſtant he paſſed the arch, the young girls began to ſing the following ode:

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more,
"Welcome to this grateful ſhore:
"Now no mercenary foe
"Aims again the fatal blow,
"Aims at thee the fatal blow.
"Virgins fair, and matrons grave,
"Theſe thy conquering arm did ſave,
"Build for thee triumphal bowers;
"Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
"Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

As they ſung the laſt lines, they ſtrewed their flowers on the road before their beloved deliverer. His ſituation on this occaſion, contraſted with what he had in Dec. 1776 felt on the ſame ſpot, when the affairs of America were at the loweſt ebb of depreſſion, filled him with ſenſations that cannot be deſcribed. He was rowed acroſs the bay from Elizabeth-Town to New-York in an elegant barge by thirteen pilots. All the veſſels in the harbour hoiſted their flags. Stairs were erected and decorated for his reception. On his landing, univerſal joy diffuſed itſelf through every order of the people, and he was received and congratulated by the governor of the State, and officers of the corporation. He was conducted from the landing-place to the houſe which had been fitted up for his reception, and was followed by an elegant proceſſion of militia in their uniforms, and by great numbers of

of citizens. In the evening, the houſes of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated. A day was fixed, ſoon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office, which was in the following words: "I do ſolemnly ſwear that I will faithfully execute the office of Preſident of the United States, and will, to the beſt of my ability, preſerve, protect, and defend, the conſtitution of the United States." On this occaſion he was wholly cloathed in American manufactures. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpoſe, the clergy of different denominations aſſembled their congregations in their reſpective places of worſhip, and offered up public prayers for the Preſident and people of the United States. About noon a proceſſion followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the Preſident's houſe to Federal Hall. When they came within a ſhort diſtance from the Hall, the troops formed a line on both ſides of the way, through which Mr. Waſhington, accompanied by the Vice-Preſident, Mr. John Adams, paſſed into the Senate Chamber. Immediately after, accompanied by both houſes, he went into the gallery fronting Broad-ſtreet, and before them, and an immenſe concourſe of citizens, took the oath preſcribed by the conſtitution, which was adminiſtered by R. R. Livingſton, the Chancellor of the State of New-York. An awful ſilence prevailed among the ſpectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the moſt ſublime political joy. The Chancellor then proclaimed him Preſident of the United States. This was anſwered by the diſcharge of thirteen guns, and by the effuſion of ſhouts, from near ten thouſand grateful and affectionate hearts. The Preſident bowed moſt reſpectfully to the people, and the air reſounded again with their acclamations. He then retired to the Senate Chamber, where he made an animated ſpeech to both houſes; in which his language not only expreſſed his own feelings on this ſolemn occaſion, but likewiſe diſcovered his anxiety and concern for the welfare and happineſs of the people in whoſe cauſe he had before riſked his life.

Several circumſtances concurred to render the ſcene of his inauguration unuſually ſolemn—the preſence of the beloved Father and Deliverer of his country—the impreſſions of gratitude for his paſt ſervices—the vaſt concourſe of ſpectators—the devout fervency with which he repeated the oath, and the reverential manner in which he bowed to kiſs the ſacred volume—theſe circumſtances, together with that of his being choſen to the moſt dignified office in America, and perhaps in the world, by the unanimous voice of more than three millions of enlightened

ened *freemen*, all conſpired to place this among the moſt auguſt and intereſting ſcenes which have ever been exhibited on this globe. *

Hitherto the deliberations of the legiſlature of the Union have been marked with wiſdom, and the meaſures they have adopted have been productive of great national proſperity. The wiſe appointments to office, which, in general, have been made—the eſtabliſhment of a revenue and judiciary ſyſtem, and of a national bank—the aſſumption of debts of the individual States, and the encouragement that has been given to manufactures, commerce, literature, and to uſeful inventions, open the faireſt proſpect of the peace, union, and increaſing reſpectability of the American States.

* "It ſeemed, from the number of witneſſes," ſaid a ſpectator of the ſcene, "to be a ſolemn appeal to heaven and earth at once. Upon the ſubject of this great and good man, I may, perhaps, be an enthuſiaſt; but, I confeſs, I was under an awful and religious perſuaſion, that the gracious Ruler of the Univerſe was looking down at that moment with peculiar complacency on an act, which, to a part of his creatures, was ſo very important. Under this impreſſion, when the Chancellor pronounced, in a very feeling manner, "LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON," my ſenſibility was wound up to ſuch a pitch, that I could do no more than wave my hat with the reſt, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.